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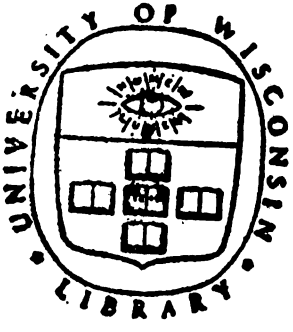

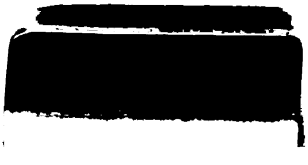

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THE WORKS

OF

JOHN KNOX;

COLLECTED AND EDITED

BY DAVID LAING.

VOLUME SECOND.

EDINBURGH:

PRINTED FOR THE BANNATYNE CLUB.

MDCCCXLVIII.

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"Ad Scotos transeuntibus primus occurrit Magnus ille JOANNES CNOXUS; quem si Scotorum in vero Dei cultu instaurando, velut Apostolum quendam dixero, dixisse me quod res est existimabo."—

Theod. Beza.

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THE present Volume completes THE HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION IN SCOTLAND, and includes Book Fifth, which was published under Knox's name in 1644, but of which no manuscript copy has been discovered. Separate title pages are given, along with a Glossary and Index, as the History forms a distinct portion of the Reformer's Works; and these two volumes will probably be in the hands of many Members of the WODROW SOCIETY who may not be inclined to procure the remaining three, or more probably, four volumes of the series, in the event of some arrangement being made by which their publication, as proposed, shall ultimately be secured.

D. L.

EDINBURGH, *May* 1848.

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THE THIRD BOOKE OF THE PROGRESSE OF TREW RELIGIOUN WITHIN THE REALME OF SCOTLAND.

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After this our dolorous departing from Edinburgh,[1] the furye and the raige of the Frenche increassed; for then durst neither man nor woman that professed Christ Jesus within that toune be seyn. The housses of the most honest men war gevin by the Quene to Frenchemen for a parte of thair reward. The Erle Bothwell, by sound of trumpett, proclaimed the Erle of Arrane traytour,[2] with other dispytefull wourdes: whiche all was done for the pleasure and by the suggestioun of the Quene Regent,[3] who then thought the battell was won without farther resistance. Great practising sche maid for obteaneing of the Castell of Edinburgh. The Frenche maid thair faggottis, with other preparationis, to assault the said Castell either by force, or ellis by treassone. But God wrought so potentlie with the Capitane, the Lord Erskin,[4] at

NOTA.—HEBBURN AGAINST THE ERLE OF ARRANE BEING INNOCENT.

[1] As related in vol. i. page 462, the Lords of the Congregation, after the unfortunate skirmish at Restalrig, on the 6th November 1559, retreated to Linlithgow that night, leaving their artillery on the streets of Edinburgh. See also Diurnal of Occurrents, pp. 55, 271; and Sadler's State Papers, vol. i. p. 554. Sadler describes the Protestants as retiring from Edinburgh, "bytuene one and two a clocke in the mornyng;" and adds, "And the Quene Dowager and her French be now in Edynburgh in gret tryumphe, the most parte of the substanciall men of the same being fled out of the towne, with their hole families."

[2] In a letter to Sadler, dated Stirling, 11th November 1559, Thomas Randall says, "Upon Thursdaye last (9th November) the Erle of Arraine received a cartell of defiance from the Erle of Bothwell, requyering of him the combate; the copie whereof, and aunswer to the same, I will bring with me." (State Papers, vol. i. p. 565.)

[3] The Earl of Bothwell had previously joined himself to the party of the Queen Regent. According to the Treasurer's Account, on the 29th October 1558, a messenger was sent with "clois writtingis of the Quene to the Erle Bothwell, Lieutennant." On the 12th January 1558-9, James Earl of Bothwell received £100, "be the Queen's precept, for keiping of the Castell of Armitage, from the 15th day of September to the 15th of Januar instant last bipast."

[4] John Lord Erskine, afterwards Earl of Mar: see vol. i. p. 416.

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that tyme, that neither the Quene by flatterye, nor the Frenche by treassoun prevailled. Advertisementis with all diligence past to the Duck of Gwise, who then was King of France (as concerneing power to command[1]), requiring him then to make expeditioun, yf he desyred the full conquest of Scotland. Who delayed no tyme, but with a new armye send away his brother, Marquis Dalbuf, and in his company the Martikis,[2] promissing, that he himself should follow. But the rychteouse God, who in mercy looketh upon the afflictioun of those that unfeanedlye sob unto him, fought for us by his awin out-stretched arme; for, upon one nycht, upon the coast of Holand, war drowned of thame aughttein ensenzeis, so that onlye rested the schip in the whiche war the two principallis foirsaid, with thair Ladyis; who, violentlie dreven back agane to Deape,[3] war compelled to confesse, That God fawght for the defence of Scotland.

THE DROWNYNG OF THE FRENCHE.

Frome England returned Robert Melven,[4] who past in cumpanye to London with the Secreatarie,[5] a lytill befoir Christen-

[1] That is, Francis the Second, the young King of France, was wholly governed by the Duke of Guyse, brother of the Queen Regent of Scotland.

[2] In MS. G, "Marquis D'Albufe, and his cumpanie the Maritickis." In the MS. of 1566, the name was originally written "Marquis D'Omall," but is corrected to "Dalbul," or "Dalbuf."—René de Loraine, Marquis of D'Albeuf, was the seventh son of Claude de Loraine, first Duke de Guyse. He was born in 1536, and died in 1566. (Anselme, Hist. Geneal., vol. iii. p. 492.) He was General of the French galleys.

[3] The town of Dieppe, in France.—On the 11th January 1559-60, Queen Elizabeth wrote to the Duke of Norfolk: "Our shipps have bene stayed with contrary wynds, and so be the French also;" and referring to what Knox has stated, it is added, "We be advertised that Martiges is dryven by wether into Denmark; and one thousand Frenchmen lost by tempest in Zeland; so as it shuld seme that God is pleased the French purposes should not so speedely be accomplished, as their meaning is."—(Burghley State Papers, by Haynes, p. 223.)

[4] Robert Melville was the second son of Sir John Melville of Raith (whose death is recorded by Knox, vol. i. p. 284.)

[5] William Maitland of Lethington, younger, was appointed by the Queen Regent, Secretary of State, 4th December 1558. (Reg. Secr. Sigilli.) He had previously been employed in her affairs. In September 1555, the Treasurer paid to William Maithand, "be the Quenis grace precept, for his pensioun of this instant zeir," £150. On the 11th February 1557-8, when sent in embassy to London, he received from the Treasurer

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messe,[6] and brought unto us certane Articles to be ansuered, as by the contract that after was made, more planely shall appeir. Whairupon the Nobilitie convened at Striveling, and returned ansuer with diligence. Whairof the Frenche advertisshed, thei marched to Lynlythqw, spoiled the Duckis house, and waisted his landis of Kynneill;[7] and thairefter came to Striveling,[8] whair thei remaned certane dayis: (the Duck, the Erles of Ergyle and Glencarne, with thair freindis, passed to Glaskow; the Erle of Arrane, and Lord James, past to Sanctandrois; for charge was gevin to the haill Nobilitie, Protestantis, to keap thair awin bodyis, till that God should send thame farther supporte.) The Frenche took purpose first to assault Fyffe; for at it was thair great indignatioun. Thair purpose was, to have tacken and fortifyed the Toune and Abbay, with the Castell of Sanctandrois; and so thei cam to Culross, after to Dumfermeling, and then to Bruntyland, whair thei began to forte; but desisted

600 crowns of the Sun, extending to £765; and on the 30th March 1558-9, he received a similar sum, when "passand of Edinburgh to London and France, on the Quenis grace affairis." He joined the Protestants in October 1559.

[6] Maitland was accompanied by Thomas Randall, under the assumed name of Barnabie, and they were expected at Newcastle on the 21st November. (Sadler's State Papers, vol. i. p. 592.) Some of Maitland's letters at this time, also the "Instructions for the Lorde of Lidington, how to conceyve and directe the sute and complaynte of us the Nobles, Gentlemen, and Burgesses of Scotland, in this our distresse, to the Quenis Majestie of England," dated 24th November, are preserved by Sadler. (Ib. pp. 604, 628, 686, 716.)

[7] Kinneill House, in the parish of that name, now conjoined with Borrowstounness, is the property, and was occasionally used as the family residence of the Dukes of Hamilton.—The Treasurer, in October 1553, paid, "Be my Lord Gouernouris commande, to the masonis in Kynnele, in drinksyluer, *at the laying of the ground-stane of the Palice of Kynnele.*" The house has a beautiful exposure on the south side of the Frith of Forth, near where the old Roman Wall terminated.

[8] In the MS. of 1566, and Vautr. edit., "Stirveling."—It may be remarked that several leaves of the MS. in this place form one of those quires or sets which appear to have been rewritten, about 1570, with very little attention to minute accuracy. Occasional corrections, chiefly in orthography, have therefore been made on the authority of the Glasgow MS., but few of such importance as to require special notice.

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thairfra, and marched to Kynghorne, upoun the occasioun as followeth.

When certane knowledge came to the Erle of Arrane, and to Lord James, that the Frenche war departed from Striveling, thei departed also from Sanctandrois, and begane to assemble thair forces at Cowper, and send thair men of warr to Kinghorne;[1] unto whome thair resorted diverse of the coast syd, of mynd to resist rather at the begynnyng, than when thei had destroyed a parte of thair townes. But the Lordis had gevin ane expresse commandiment, that thei should hasard nothing whill that thei thameselfis war present. And for that purpose was send unto thame the Lord Ruthven, a man of great experience, and inferiour to few in stowtnes. In his cumpany was the Erle of Sudderland,[2] send from the Erle of Huntley, as he alledged, to conforte the Lordis in thair afflictioun; butt otheris whispered, that his principall commissioun was unto the Quene Regent. Howsoever it was, he was hurte in the arme by the schote of ane haquebute; for the men of warr, and the rascall multitude, perceaving certane boatis of Frenchemen landing, whiche cam from Leyth, purposed to stoppe thair landing; and so, nott considering the ennemeis that approched from Bruntyland, unadvisedlie thei russhed doune to the Petticurr, (so is that bray be-west Kynghorne[3]

THE ERLE OF SUDDERLANDE SCHOTE.

[1] On the 8th of January 1559-60. (Sadler's State Papers, vol. i. p. 684.)

[2] John, tenth Earl of Sutherland. The Earl of Arran, and Lord James Stewart, in a letter to Sadler, dated Dysart, 19th January, make mention of the Earl of Huntly having sent "in commission to us, his cousen the Erle of Sutherland, to offer unto us adjunction in our common actioun in his name, and all his assistance; and, at the first skirmishe, hazarding himself too farre, was shott in the left arme, and hurt very evill; for which cause he is departed home, and shall cause the Erle Huntley performe his promesse." (Vol. i. p. 691.) "The Lorde of Southerland, sithens he was hurte, is becom a greate enemye of the Franches." (Letter to Sadler, 4th February 1559-60. Ib. p. 702.) His wound did not prove fatal, but he died from the effects of poison, in 1567, in the forty-second year of his age.

[3] In MS. G, "that Bey betuix Kinghorne."—The places here mentioned are all well known, stretching along the coast of Fife, on the north side of the Frith of Forth, to the west of Kirkaldy.

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called,) and at the sea-coast began the skarmissing, butt never took head to the ennemye that approached by land, till that the horsemen charged thame upon thair backis, and the hole bandis cam directlie in thare faces; and so war thei compelled to geve backis, with the loss of sex or sevin of thair men, and with the takein of some, amangis whome war twa that professed Christ Jesus, one named Paule Lambert,[1] a Ducheman, and a Frenche boy, fervent in religioun, and cleane of lyef, whome, in despyte, thei hanged ower the steaple.[2] Thou shall revenge, O Lord, in thy appointed tyme! The caus that in so great a danger thair was so small a losse, nixt unto the mercyfull providence of God, was the suddane cuming of the Lord Ruthven; for evin as our men had gevin backis, he and his cumpany came to the head of the bray, and did not onlie stay the Frenche footemen, but also some of ours brack upoun thair horsemen, and so repulsed thame that thei did no farther hurte to oure footemen. In that rencontare was the Erle of Sudderland foirsaid schote in the arme, and was caryed back to Cowper. The Frenche took Kinghorne, whair they lay, and wasted the countrey about, alsweall Papistis as Protestantis; yea, even those that war confidderat with thame, suche as Seafield, Weames, Balmowto, Balwearry, and otheris,[3] ennemyes to God and traytouris to thair countrey. Of those (we say) thei spaired not the scheipe, the oxen, the kyne, and horse; and some say that thair wyffis and doughtaris gatt favouris of the Frenche soldiouris. And so did God recompense the Papistis in thair awin bosomes, for, besydis the defoulling of thair housses, as said is, tuo of thame resavit more damage then did all the gentilmen that professed the Evangell within

[1] In MS. 1566, "Paule Lambett."

[2] In MS. G, "over the stipell of Kingborne."

[3] The persons here referred to, with other gentlemen of Fife, are afterwards noticed by Knox, as having been apprehended by the Earl of Arran and Lord James Stewart for the assistance they had rendered to the French. Seafield and Balmuto are in the parish of Kinghorn; Wemyss in the parish of that name; and Balweary in that of Abbotshall.

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THE CASTEIN DOUN OF THE HOUSE OF THE GRANGE.

Fyff, the Laird of Grange onlye excepted, whose [house[1]] of the Grange the Frenche owerthrew by gun pouder.

The Quene Regent, proude of this victorie, burst furth in hir blasphemous rayling, and said, "Whair is now Johne Knox his God? My God is now stronger than his, yea even in Fyff." Sche posted to hir freindis in France news[2] that thousandis of the heretickis war slaine, and the rest war fled; and thairfoir requyred, that some Nobleman of hir freindis wald cum and tak the glorie of that victorye. Upon that informatioun was the Martikkis, with tuo schippis, and sum Captanis and horse, directed to cum to Scotlande; but litill to thair awin advantage, as we sall after heare.

The Lordis of the Congregatioun, offended at the folisheness of the rascall multitude, called to thameselfis the men of warr, and remaned certane dayes at Cowper; unto whome repaired Johne Knox, and, in our greatest disperatioun, preached unto us a most comfortable sermon. His text was, "The danger in whiche the disciplis of Christ Jesus stude quhen thei wer in the mydest of the sea, and Jesus was upon the mountaine." His exhortatioun was, "That we sould not faint, but that we sould still row aganis these contrarius blastis, till that Jesus Christ sould come; for (said he,) I am as assuredlie persuaded that God sall delyver us frome the extreme trowbill, as that I am assured that this is the Evangell of Jesus Christ whiche I preche unto [you] this day. 'The fourth watche is nocht yet come;' abyde a lytill: the boit salbe saved, and Peter, whiche hes left the boit, sall not droune. I am assured, albeit I cannot assure[3] you, be reason of this present rage; God grant that ye may acknawlege his hand, after that your eyes hes seine his delyverance."

JOAN. 6.

In that sermon he comforted manye. And yit he offended

[1] Omitted in the MS.—The House of Grange is about a mile to the north-east of Kinghorn, and in that parish.

[2] In MS. 1566, "of new."

[3] In MS. G, "affirme."

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the Erle of Arrane; for, in his discourse upoun the manifald assaultis that the Churche of God had sustained, he brocht for exampille the multitude of strangeris that persewed Jehosaphat after that he had reformed religioun. He entreted the fear of the pepill, yea, and of the King himself att the first; but after, he affirmed, that Jehosaphat was stout, and to declair his courage in his God, he conforted his pepile and his souldiouris; he come fourth in the mydest of thame; he spak lovinglie unto thame. He keipit not himself (said he) inclosed in his chalmer, but frequented the multitude, and rejoised thame with his presence and godlie comforte. These, and the lyik sentences, took the said Erle to be spoken in reproache of him, because he keipit himself more close and solitary then many men wald half wisshed.

After these thingis, determinatioun was tacken that the Erle of Arrane, and Lord James, with the men of warr, and sum company of horsemen, sould goe to Dyserte, and thair lye to wait upoun the Frenche, that they distroyed not the seacost, as thei intendit utterlie to have doun. The said Erle, and Lord James, did as thei war appointed, albeit thair company was very small; and yet thei did so valiantlie, that it passed all credabilitie:[1] for twentie and ane dayis thei lay in thair clothes; thair buttis never come of: thei had skarmissing almost everie day; yea, some dayis, from morne to evin.[2] The Frenche war foure thousand souldiouris,[3] besyde thair favoreris and factioun of the countrey. The Lordis war never togidder fyve hundreth horsmen, with a hundreth souldiouris; and yitt thai held the Frenche so busye, that for everie horse thai slew to the Congregatioun, thai lost foure Frenche souldiouris.

[1] Several joint letters written by the Earl of Arran and Lord James Stewart, between the end of November 1559, and February following, communicating intelligence of their proceedings in Fife, are preserved among Sir Ralph Sadler's State Papers, (vol. i. pp. 620, *et seqq.*)

[2] In MS. 1566, "inevin."

[3] Bishop Lesley estimates their number at about 2000.—(Hist. p. 281.)

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Willyeaume Kirkaldie of Grange, the day efter that his housse was cassein doun, send in his defiance to Monsieur D'Osell, and unto the rest, declaring, that to that hour had he used the Frenche favourablie: He had saved thair lyves, when that he mycht have suffered thair throttis to have been cuttit; bot seing thai haid usit him with that rigor, let thame not luik for that favour in tymes to cum. And unto Monsieur D'Osell he said, "He knew that he wald not gett him in the skirmissing, becauis he knew he was bot a cowart; bot it mycht be that he sould quyte him a commoun ather in Scotland, or ellis in France." The said Willyeaume Kirkaldie, and the Maister off Lyndsay, eschaped mony dangeris. The Maister had his hors slaine under him: the said Willyeaume was almost betrayed in his hous at Hawyairdis.[1] But yet thei never seased, bot nycht and day thai waitted upon the Frenche. Thai laid thameselves in a secreit place, with sum gentilmen befoir the day, to await upoun the Frenche, quho usit commonlie to isch in companyis, to seik thair pray; and so cam fourth ane Capitane Battu,[2] with his hundreth, and begane to spoilzie; quhom the said Maister, now Lord of Lyndsay,[3] and the said Wilyeaume, suffered, without declaratioun of thameselfis, or of thair cumpany, till that thai had thame more than a myle fra Kinghorne, and then begane the horsmen to brek; whiche perceved, the Frenche altogither drew to a place callit Glenniss[4] House, and maid for debait:

[1] Or, Hallyards, in the parish of Auchtertool. It afterwards came into the possession of the Family of Skene.

[2] In Vautr. edit., &c., "Battu," and "Le Battu." Elsewhere he is called Labast, Labatt; by Pitscottie "Labattie."

[3] Patrick, Master of Lyndesay, succeeded to the title as sixth Lord Lyndesay of Byris, on the death of his father, in 1563.

[4] In Vautr. edit. "Glennish House." There is a place still named Gleniston, near Loch Gelly, a few miles from Kinghorn, which belonged in the 14th and 15th century, to Glen of Balmuto; the property, by marriage, afterwards came into the family of Boswell. There was also Glammis Tower, or Castle, an old stronghold which stood upon the rising ground that overlooks the town of Kinghorn. (New Stat. Account, Fife, p. 804.)

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sum tuik the housse, and utheris deffended the close and yaird. The hasard appereth verry unliklie, for oure men had na thing bot speris, and war compellit to lycht upoun thair feit. The other war within dykis; and everie man had culverinis: the schote was feirfull to mony, and dyverse war hourt, amongis quhome war Robert Hamiltoun,[1] and David Kirkaldie, brother to the said Laird, quho both war supposed to have bein slaine. The said Laird perceving men to faynt, and begyne to recule, said, "Fy, lett us never leive efter this day, that we sall recule for Frenche schybaldis;" and so the Maister of Lyndsay and he burst in at the yett, and so utheris followed. The Maister struik with his speir at La Battu, and glansing upoun his harness, for feirceness stamered almost upoun his kneis. But recovering suddendlie, he fessned his speir, and bare the Capitaine bakward, who, becauis he wald not be takein, was slaine, and fyftie of his cumpanie with hym. Those that war into the house, with sum utheris, war saved, and [sent] to Dundye to be kept. This mischance to the Frenche men maid thame to be more circumspect in scatring abrod into the countrie; and so the poore creaturis gat sum releive. To fourness thame[2] of victuelis, was appointed Capitane Cullen,[3] with tuo schippis, quho traveled betuix the

THE SLAUGHTER OF A FRENCHE CAPITANE, WITH HIS BAND.

[1] This was probably Robert Hamilton whose name occurs in the Treasurer's Accounts in the years 1561 and 1562, as Master of the Artillery.

[2] In MS. G, "to furneis the Frenche;" Vautr. edit. has, "to furnish them."

[3] The Queen Regent, in 1558, had made Captain James Cullen one of the keepers of the town of Perth. As noticed, in the following page, on the 24th January 1559-60, he and Captain Farny, "being in ane pink, were taken; and also ane uther schip callit the Hoy, quhilkis were to pas in Fyff, with munitioun to furneis the Frenche Campe." (Diurnal of Occurrents, pp. 55, 272.) In January 1559-60, letters had been sent "to caus all maner of provision, sic as breid, drink, flesche, fische, and utheris necessaris, to follow the Frenche army in Fyffe." (Treasurer's Accounts.) Payments to Captain James Cullen, then in the Queen's service, occur in the Treasurer's Accounts, June and September 1566. His ultimate fate is recorded in the Diurnal of Occurrents, and in Richard Bannatyne's Memorials: having been taken prisoner in the Canongate on the 14th June 1571, he was tried at Leith, and beheaded on the 17th July, at the instigation, it is said, of the Earl of Morton.

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south schoire and Kinghorne, for that purpois. For his waiges he spoilzied Kinghorne, Kirkaldie, and so muche of Dyserte as he mycht. For remedy quhairof war appointit tuo schippis from Dundye: Andro Sandis, a stout and fervent man in the cause of religioun, was the principall. This same tyme arrived the Martekis,[1] quho, without delay, landit himself, his cofferis, and the principall gentilmen that were with him at Leith,[2] leiving the rest in the schippis till better oportunitie. But the said Andro, and his companioun, streicking saill and making as thai wald cast anker hard besyde thame, burded thame both, and carried thame to Dundye. In thame war gotten sum horse, and muche harness, with sum uther triffilis; but of money we hard nocht. Heareat the Frenche offended, avowed the distructioun of Sanctandrois and Dundye; and so, upoun

[1] Count Stephen de Martigues. In a letter from Sir N. Throkmorton to Queen Elizabeth, 7th October 1559, in reference to the levying of troops to be sent from France to Scotland, he says, "for the transporting whereof, it is said, one Monsieur Martigues is appointed chief conducteur; who is a Gentleman of the Kingis chamber, of the state of a Conte, in good estimacioun, and heretier to the Duke de Temps: and there be ships already in order at Calais, and other parts upon this side." (Forbes's State Papers, vol. i. p. 248.) In another letter, it is said, "The Marques D'Albeuf and Martigues are appointed to take shipping at Calice, the last of this monethe, November," (Ib. p. 257;) and letters of a subsequent date contain other allusions to their progress. See *supra*, page 4, note 3. In a letter to Cecil, written from Dover, 24th January 1559-60, Throkmorton, reports the information he had then received, "That Martigues hath been all this his missinge tyme in the North Isles of Orkeney; and that he is now salfflie arryved in Scotlande, with his viii enseignes of footemen, and well landed them all," with the exception of one of the ships which was driven away by the violence of the weather, before the men were put ashore, and was supposed to be lost. (Ib. p. 307.) He also mentions the capture, at night, of one of the ships, after all the stuff had been taken out of it. On the 22d February he informs the High Admiral of England, that the Marquis D'Elbeuf, "new soddenly, upon the newes of the late overthrow of fyve ensigns of their foote in Scotland, not far from Inskieth, and a good personage lost, (referring to La Battu,) which are lately brought hither, as I wrote to you before, he is now hastened away." (Ib. p. 333.) Bishop Lesley calls him "Monsieur Martigo, ane valyant and curageous Capitane," and says, that upon his arrival at Leith, in the month of November, "with ane thousand guid souldiouris, he was appointed crownell of the hoill Frenche army." (Hist. p. 280.)

[2] Martigues landed at Leith on the 11th January 1559-60, (Diurnal of Occurrents, pp. 55, 272.)

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a Mononday in the morning, the xxiij. day of Januare,[1] thai marchit frome Dyserte, and passed the water of Levein;[2] ever keaping the sea-cost, be reassoun of thaire schippis and victuallis, as said is. About tuelf houris thai espyed schippis, (quhiche war seine that morning by us that war upoun the land, but war not knawin.) Monsieur D'Osell affirmed thame to be Frenche schippis, and so the souldiouris triumphit, schot thair volie for salutatioun, and marchit fordward till Kincraige,[3] fearing no resistance.

But schorte efter, the Ingliche schippis mett with Capitain Culein, and seased him and his schippis,[4] quhiche maid thame a litill to muse. But suddentlie come Maister Alexander Wood, who had bein upoun the Admirall,[5] and assured Monsieur D'Osell, that thai wer Inglissmen, and that thai war the foir-ryderis of a gretter number that followed, who war send for the supporte of the Congregatioun. Thair mycht have bein seine the ryveing of a baird, and mycht have bein hard suche dispyte, as cruell men use to spew furth quhile as God[6] brydellis thair furie. Weariness and the nycht constrained thame to luge thair. Thai sowped skaralie,[7] becaus thair schippis war takein, in the quhilk was thair victuellis and ordinance, quhiche thai intendit to have placed in Sanct-

[1] Monday was the 22d of January.

[2] The Water of Leven is a small river which comes from the celebrated Loch of that name, in Kinross-shire, and flows into the sea at the town of Leven on the Frith of Forth.

[3] Kincraig is in the parish of Kilconquhar, and the headland under the name of Kincraig Hill, rises to the height of about 200 feet above the level of the sea, with a small bay between Earlsferry point.

[4] See note 3, page 11.

[5] Mr. Winter, Vice-Admiral of the English fleet, which arrived at this time in the Frith of Forth, in the view of aiding the Protestants against the French auxiliaries. In the Appendix to Keith's History, (vol. i. p. 408,) are inserted the "Instructions given by the Queen's Majesty, to William Winter, Esq., Master of the Ordnance of her Majesty's Admiralty, sent at this present to the seas with fourteen armed ships to sail to Scotland," from a MS. in the Cottonian Library, written in the hand of Secretary Cecil, and dated 16th December 1559.

[6] In Vautr. edit. "when God"

[7] In Vautr. edit. "they supped scarsly." MS. G. reads, "they sleiped scarsly."

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androis. Thai thameselvis durst nocht stray abrod to seake; and the Laird of Weymmes cariage, whiche lykwyis was cumming with fournissing unto thame, was stayit. And thairfoir, bytymes in the mornyng, thai retired towardis Kinghorne, and maid more expeditioun in one day in returning, then thai did in two in marching fordward.

The storme, whiche had continuit neire the space of a moneth, brak in the verry tyme of thair reteiring, quhairby mony thocht thei sould have bein stayit, till that reasonabill cumpanie mycht have bein assemblit to have fouchtein thame; and for that purpois did Wilyeaume Kirkcaldy cut the Brig of Toullibody.[1] But the Frenche, expert aneuch in suche factis, tuik doun the roofe of a parish kirk, and maid a brig over the same watter,[2] called Dovane; and so thai eschapit, and come to Striveling, and syne to Leith. Yit in thair retourning thai lost dyverse; amongis quhome thair was one quhois miserable end we man rehers. As the Frenche spoilyied the countrye in thair retourning, one capitaine or soldiour, we cannot tell, bot he had a reid cloik and a gilt morrion,[3] entered upoun a poore woman, that dwelt in the Whytsyd, and began to

[1] The village of Tullibody, in the parish of Alloa, and county of Clackmannan. Tullibody House, the seat of Lord Abercromby, is situated near the banks of the Forth. The Church, which was partially demolished by the French in January 1559-60, is a building of great antiquity. In the course of the last century, it was new roofed and repaired, to serve as the burial-place of the family, and has occasionally been used as a preaching station. The destruction of the Church of Tullibody is mentioned in the several histories of the time. Although the French were enabled to "make ane sure passage, baith for horsemen and footemen," to cross the water, and came to Stirling on the 28th of that month, Pitscottie relates, that they had to remain "all that night in Fotherik Muire, without either meat or drink, and many of them were slaine or they could get the bridge prepaired."

[2] In MS. G, "the said water;" in Vautr. edit. "the same water." Evidently the Black Devon, a small river which rises in the western part of Fife, and falls into the Forth below the town of Clackmannan; and, therefore, to be distinguished from the Devon itself, which has its source on the northern declivity of the Ochil Hills, and after passing through Glen Devon, celebrated for its romantic scenery, falls into the Frith of Forth about two miles above Alloa.

[3] In MS. 1566, "morrow."

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spoyle. The poore woman offered unto him suche breid as sche had reddy prepared. But he, in no wayis thairwith content, wald have the meill and a lytill salt beiff whiche the poore woman had to susteine hir awin lyfe, and the lyves of hir poore chylderein; neather could tearis, nor [pitifull] wourdis,[1] mittigat the merciles man, but he wald have quhatsoever he mycht carie. The poore woman perceving him so bent, and that he stoupped doun in hir tub, for the taking foorth of suche stufe as was within it, first cowped up his heillis, so that his heid went doun; and thairefter, outher[2] by hirself, or if ony uther cumpanie come to help hir, but thair he endit his unhappie lyfe; God so punissing his crewell hairt, quho could nocht spair a misserable woman in that extremetie. "Let all suche soldiouris receve suche rewaird, O Lord, seing that thou art the revenger of the oppressed."

And now, because that frome this tyme forward, frequent mentioun will be maid of the comfortable support that we, in oure greattest extremetie receved, by Goddis providence, frome oure nychtbouris of Ingland, we think it expedient simply to declair by quhat instrumentis that mater was first moved, and by quhat meanis it come to passe, that the Quene and Counsell of Ingland schew thameselves sa favorable unto us.

As Jhonne Knox had foirwairned us, by his letteris frome Geneva, of all dangeris that he foirsaw [to] ensew on our enterpryse; so quhen he come to Deip, myndfull of the same, and revolveing with himself quhat remedy God wald pleis to offere, he tuike the boldnes to wreit to Sir Williame Cycill, Secretarie of Ingland, with quhome the said Jhonne had bein

[1] Both MS. G, and Vautr. edit. have, "nor pitifull words."

[2] In MS. 1566, "houyer:" MS. G has "quhidder;" and Vautr. "whither."

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befoire familiarlie acquented, intending thairby[1] to renew acquentence, and so to oppen farther of his mynd.[2] The tennour of his first Letter followis:—

"The Spreit of Jugement, Wisdome, and Sanctificatioun, I wishe unto you, by Jesus Chryst.

JHONE KNOX FIRST LETTER TO SIR WILLIAME CECYLL.

"As I have no plaisour with long wretting to trouble you, Rycht Honorable, quhois mynd I knaw to be occupyed with most grave maters,[3] so mynd I nott greattlie to lawboure by long preface to conciliat your favouris, quhilk I suppoise I have allreddy, (howsomer rumouris bruit the contrarie,) as it becummeth one member of Chrystis body to have of ane uther. The contentis, thairfoire, of these my presentis sal be absolved in tuo pointis. In the former, I purpois to discharge, in breve wordis, my conscience towardis you: and in the uther, somquhat must I speik in my awin defence, and in defence of that poore floke, of lait assembled in the most godlie Reformed Churche and citie of the warld, Geneva. To you, Sir, I say, that as frome God ye have receavit lyfe, wisdome, honoris, and this present estait, in the quhilk now ye stand, so aucht you whollie[4] to employ the same to the advancement of his glorie, who onlie is the author of lyef, the fountaine of wisdome, and quho most assuredlie doeth, and will honour and glorifie these, that, with sempill hairtis, do glorifie him; quhiche, allace, in tymes past ye have nott doun; bot bein overcum with comoun iniquitie, ye have followed the warld in the way of perditioun. For to the suppressing of Christis trew Evangell,

[1] In MS. 1566, "in sending."

[2] In Vautrollier's editions, and in the later MSS. (A., E., I., L 2, &c.) the whole of this paragraph is omitted, and also the following Letter from Knox to Cecil, written from Dieppe in April 1559. The free strain of the letter was not calculated to conciliate the favour of the English statesman; and we need not be surprised to find Cecil, in a letter dated "from the Court," on the last of October, saying to Sadler, "*Of all others Knoxes name*, if it be not Goodman's, *is most odious here*; and therefore I wish no mentioun of hym hither."—(State Papers, vol. i. p. 582.)

[3] In MS. 1566, "grevous matter."

[4] In MS. 1566, "holylie."

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to the erecting of idolatrie, and to the schedding of the blood of Goddis most deare childrein have you, by silence, consented and subscryvit. This youre most horrible defectioun frome the treuth knawin, and anis professed, hath God to this day mercifullie spared; yea, to manis judgement, he hath utterlie forgottin and pardoned the same. He hath not intreated you as he hath done utheris, (of lyke knawlege,) quhome in his anger, (bot yet most justlie, according to thair desertis,) he did schoirtlie stryk efter thair defectioun. But you (gyltie in the same offenses) he hath fostered and preserved, as it wer in his awin bosome, during the tyme of that most miserable thraldome of that professed ennemie of God, mischeivous Marie: and now hath he sett you at such liberty, as the furie of Goddis ennemeis can nott hurt you, except that willinglie aganis his honour, ye tak pleisour to conspyre with thame. As the benefeit quhiche ye hath received is greit, so most Goddis justice requyre of you a thankfull hairt; for seing that his mercie hath spared you, being trator to his Majestie; seing farder, that amanges youre ennemeis he hath preserved you; and, last, seing, although wourthie[1] of hell, he hath promoted you to honoris and dignitie,[2] of you must he requyre (becauis he is just) earnest repentence for your former defectioun, a hairt myndfull of his mercifull providence, and a will so reddy to advance his glorie, that evidentlie it may appeire, that in

[1] In MS. 1566, &c., "that you, wourthie of."

[2] Sir William Cecil, the eminent statesman, had been Secretary of State in the reign of Edward VI. Under Queen Mary, he acted with so much caution, although known to be a Protestant, that he remained unmolested, professing, among other reasons, "that he thought himself bound to serve God first, and next the Queen; but if her service should put him out of God's service, he hoped her Majesty would give him leave to chuse an everlasting rather than a momentary service." From the strain of Knox's letter to him, it might be inferred he had complied more ostensibly with the Romish party; but immediately upon Queen Elizabeth's accession to the throne, Cecil became a Privy Councillor, and was reinstated in his office of Secretary. He was afterwards raised to the peerage as Lord Burghley, and was appointed Lord High Treasurer. He died in 1598.

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vaine ye have nott receved these graces of God; to performance quhairof, of necessitie it is, that carnall wisdome and wardly policie, (to the which both, ye are bruitted too muche inclyned,) gif place to Goddis simple and naked treuth. Verry love compellit me to say, that except the Spreit of God purge youre hairt frome that vennum, which your eis have seine to have bein distructioun till utheris, that ye sall nott lang escaip the rewaird of dissembleris. Call to mynd quhatt your earis heard proclamed in the chapell[1] of Sanct James, quhen this verse of the first Psalme was entreated, "Not so, O wicked, nott so; bot as the dust which the wind tossed," etc. And consider, that now ye travaill in the same way which then thai did occupy; plainlie to speak, now are ye in that estait and creddit, in the whiche ye sall ather confort the sorrowfull and afflicted for rychteousness saik, or ellis ye sall molest and oppugne the Spreit of God speaking in his messingeris. The confortares of the afflicted for godlines have promise of confort in thair greatest necessiteis; but the trubleris of Goddis servandis, (how contemned that ever[2] thai appeir befoire the warld,) are threatned to leive thair names in execratioun to the posteriteis following. The examples of the one and of the uther are nott onlye evident in Scriptures, bot also have bein laitlie manifested in England. And this is the conclusioun of that, whiche to youre self, I say, Except that in the cause of Chrystis Evangell ye be found semple, sincear, fervent, and unfeaned, ye sall taist of the same copp, whiche politick headis have drunkein in befoire you.

"The uther poynt concerning my self, and that poore flocke now dispersed, and (as I heir say) rudelie intreated, is this: By dyverse messingeris I have requeisted suche previleges as Turkis comounlie do grant to men of everie natioun; to wit,

[1] In MS. G, "what you hard proclamed in the chapell."—This probably refers to a discourse by Knox himself, in 1558, when preaching as one of the King's chaplains, before Edward the Sixth.

[2] In MS. 1566, "how contemp that iver."

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that fredome sould be granted unto me peceablie to travell throucht England,[1] to the end that with greater expeditioun I mycht repair towardis my awin countrie, quhilk now beginneth to thrist for Chrystis treuth. This requeist I thocht sa reassonable, that almost I had entered the realme without licence demandit; and yeit I understand that it had bein so rejected, that the solistaris thairof did hardlie eschaip empresement.[2] And some of that flocke I heir to be so extremelie handled, that those that most cruellie have shed the blood of Goddis most deare childrein, find this day amangis you greattar favouris then thei do. Allace, this appereth muche to repugne to Christiane cheritie; for quhatsoevir hath bein my offence, this I feare nott to affirme in thair causses, that if ony whiche have suffered exyle in these most dolorus dayis of persecutioun, deserve prais and commendatioun, for peace, concorde, sober and quiet liveing, it is thei. And as for me, how criminall that ever I be in Goddis presence, for the multitude of my synnes; yet befoire his justice-seat I have a testimonie of guid conscience, that sence my first acquentance with England, willinglie I never offended persone within it, (except in oppin chayre to reprove that whiche God condem-

[1] This desire of Knox, repeated so frequently in subsequent letters, to be allowed to visit England, was ungraciously refused, or allowed for many months to pass unnoticed. On the 9th of July, after Knox had reached Scotland, but still expressing the same anxious desire to see his brethren in the North of England, Cecil wrote to Sir Nicholas Throkmorton: "*Knoxe desyreth to come hyther:* if he might come secretly, I wold allow it; otherwise not." On the 13th of June, Throkmorton, in a letter to Queen Elizabeth, had mentioned that Knox's wife and his mother-in-law were then in Paris, intending to return through England, and that he had promised letters in their favour to Secretary Cecil; and he entreated her Majesty to overlook "his former faultes." On the 19th of July, after stating "of what importance the successe of thinges touching religion in Scotland is for us," Throkmorton strongly urges upon Cecil the expediency "that Knokes have liberty to repair into England, how short soever his abode be there." (Forbes's State Papers, vol. i. pp. 129, 155, 167.) From Cecil's own letter, on the 28th of July, (see page 84,) it appears that he had requested Knox to meet him at Stamford; but the course of events, as related at page 82, prevented his travelling beyond Berwick.

[2] In MS. G. "imprisonment."

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neth) can be judged offense. But I have, (say you,) wreittin a treassonable [booke] aganis the Regiment and Impyre of Women: If that be my offense, the poore flocke is innocent, (except suche as this day do fastest cry treasoun:) For, Sir, in Goddis presence I wreitt, with none in that cumpany did I consult befoire the finisheing of the same; and, thairfoire, in Chrystis name, I requyre that the blame may ly upoun me allone. The wreitting of that Booke I will nott deny, but to prove it treassonable I think it salbe hard. For, Sir, no more do I doubt of the treuth of my principall propositioun, then that I doubt that this was the voce of God whiche first did pronunce this penaltie aganis woman, "In doloure sall thou beare thy chyldrein." It is bruitted, that my Booke is or salbe writtin against. Yf so be, Sir, I greatlie feare that flattereris sall rather hurte nor mend the mater, which thei wald seame to mainteine; for, except that my error be plainlie schawin and confuted be better authoritie then by suche lawis as frome yeir to yeir may and do change, I dar nott promitt silence in so wechtie a besines, leist that in so doing, I sall appear to betray the verretie whiche is not subjected to the mutabilitie of tyme. And if ony think me ather ennemye to the Persone or yet to the Regiment of her quhome God hath now promoted, thei are utterlie deceived of me. For the miraculouse wark of God, conforting his afflicted by ane infirme veschell, I do acknawlege, and the power of his most potent hand (raiseing up quhome best pleiseit his mercie to suppresse such as fecht aganis his glorie) I will obey, albeit that boyth nature and Goddis most perfyt ordinance repugne to suche regiment. Moir plainlie to speik, yf Quene Elizabeth sall confesse, that the extraordinarie dispensatioun of Goddis great mercie macketh that lauchfull unto her, whiche boyth nature and Goddis law do deny to all women, then sall non in England be more willing to mainteine her lauchfull authoritie then I salbe: But yf (Goddis wonderouse werk sett asyd) scho ground (as

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God forbid) the justnes of her title upoun consuetude, lawis, or ordinances of men; then I am assured, that as suche foolishe presumpcioun doeth heyghlie offend Goddis supreame majesty, so do I greatlie feare that her ingratitude sall nocht lang lack punishement. And this in the name of the eternall God, and of his sone Jesus Chryst, (befoire quhome boyth you and I sall stand, to mak accomptes of all counsall we geve,) I requyre you to signifie unto Her Grace in my name; adding, that onlie humilitie and dejectioun of herself before God salbe the firmitie and stabilitie of her throne, quhilk I knaw sall be assulted mo wayis then one. Yf this ye conceill[1] frome Her Grace, I will mak it patent to the warld that thus far I have communicated with you, haveing also farther to speik, yf my weik judgement may be hearde. Allace, Sir, is my offense (althocht in that tyme, and in that mater, I had writtin ten bookis) so haineuse that I can nott have licence, by preacheing of Christ Jesus, to refreshe thoise thrustye saulles whiche long have laicked the watter of lyffe. No man will I presentlie accuse; butt I greatlie fear, that the leprouse have no plaisour to behald thair faces in the cleir glasse. Lett none[2] be affrayed that I requyre to frequent the Courte, ather yet of any continuance to remaine in England; but onlye thristis in passing furthe to my awin native countrie to communicat with you and sum uther, suche thingis as willinglie I list nott to committ to paper, neither yet to the knawledge and creddit of many; and then, in the Northe pairtes, to offer Goddis favouris to suche as I suppoise do murne for thair defectioun. And this I trust salbe no less profitable to Her Grace, and to all godlie within England, then it sould be pleiseing to me in the flesche.

THE WARST IS NOTT YITT COME.

"This is the thrid tyme that I have beggit licence to visite the hungrie and thristie amangs you, whiche, yf now be denyed, as befoire God I have a testimonie, that so muche I seik nott

[1] In the MS. of 1566, "thei counsall." [2] In MS. G, "Lat no man."

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myself, as the advancement of Chrystis Evangell, and the conforte of suche as quhome I knaw afflicted; so sall the godlie understand that England, in refuseing me, refuseth a friend, how small that ever the power be. The mychtie Spreit of the Lord Jesus muve youre hairte deaplie to consider youre dewtie unto God, and the estait of that Realme in whiche, by his appointement, ye now serve. From Deape, the [22d[1]] of Aprile 1559.

(*Sic subscribitur,*)

"Youris to command in godlines,

"Jhone Knox."

To this letter was no answer maid; for schorte thairefter the said Jhone Knox maid forduard to Scotland by sea, where he landed the thrid day of Maij;[2] and had suche successe as in the Secound Booke is declaired. The said Jhone being in Sanctandrois efter Cuper Mure,[3] entred in deipe discourse with the Laird of Grange: the dangeris war evident, butt the supporte was nott easie to be seine. Efter many wordis, Jhone Knox burstit furth as followis: "Yff England wald foirsie thair awin comoditie, yea, yf thai did consider the danger quhairin thei thameselfis stand, thai wald nott suffer us to perishe in this quarrell; for France hath decreit no less the conquest of England then of Scotland." After long reassoning, it was concluded betuix thame two, that supporte sould be cravit of England; and for that purpois, the said Laird of Grange first wreit to Sir Harie Percie,[4] and efter raid frome Edinburgh and spak with him; to quhome he maid so plaine

[1] This date is supplied from the original, in the Harl. MSS. (British Muscum) No. 7004. In the MSS. of Knox's History, it is dated the 10th of April.

[2] There is a slight discrepancy in the date of Knox's arrival in Scotland. Here it is the 8d of May 1559, but at page 318 of vol. i., the 2d of that month is the day specified.

[3] In June: see vol. i. p. 325.

[4] See *infra*, note 1, page 33.—Letters from Kirkaldy of Grange to Sir Henry Percy, between the 28d June and 1st July 1559, are preserved in the State Paper Office.

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demonstratioun of the danger appeiring to England, that he tooke upoun him to wreit to the Secretarie Cycill; quho with expeditioun returned answer bak agane, geving him to understand, thatt oure interpryse altogitther myslyked nott the Counsall, albeit that thei desyrit farther resolutioun of the principall Lordis. Whiche thing understand, it was concluded by some[1] to wreitt unto him plainlie oure hoill purpois. The tennor of oure letter was this:—

THE FIRST LETTER TO [SIR] WILLYAUME CYCILL, FRA THE LORDIS OF THE CONGREGATIOUN.

"THE contentis of a letter direct by you (rycht worschipfull) to Sir Harie Percie, was notifeid unto us by Mr. Kircaldie of Grange, this Sonday the [16th[2]] of Julij, by the whiche we perceave, that the said Grange, of zeill and faithfull hairt whiche he bereth to the furtherance of this our great, and, befoire the warld, dangerous interpryse, hath travelled with you as with ane unfeaned favorer of Chrystis trew religioun, and of the libertie of our countrye, for knawlege of your myndis towardis us, incais that we be assaulted by ony forayne invasioun, or greater power then we be weill able to resist. Youre confortable answer to this questioun we have considered, to our joy and conforte, as also youre motiouns, and quhatt ye demand; to witt, What we, the Protestantis within this realme, do purpois? To quhatt end we meane to directe oure actiouns? How we will, and how we be[3] able to accompleis the same? What doubtis we have of ony adversare powar? And finallie, incais that supporte sould be send frome you, what maner of amytie mycht insew betuix these twa realmes? To the whiche in breve we

[1] The words, "by some," are omitted in MS. G.

[2] In Vautr. edit. "the 26th of Julie;" MS. G. has "the 25th." In the MS. 1566, it might either be 25 or 28. The original letter reads distinctly, "this Sounday, the 15 of Julij;" but the 3d Sunday of July fell on the 16th; and it has been seen, that such mistakes on the part of Knox are not unusual.

[3] Vautr. edit. has, "how we be able:" MS. G, "how we sall be able."

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answer, That oure hoille and only purpois (as knaweth God) is to advance the glorye of Chryst Jesus, the trew preaching of his evangell[1] within this realme; to remove superstitioun, and all kynd of idolatrie;[2] to brydeill to our poweris the furie of those that heirtofoir have cruellie sched the bloode of our bretherein; and, to our utermest, to meanteine the libertie of this oure countrye frome the tirranie and thraldome of strangeris, as God sall assist us. How we [sall] be able to accompleiss these premisses, is to us unknawin; onlye oure hoip is guid that He that hes begune this guid wark in us, and hathe, by his power, to this hour confounded the faces of our adversaries, will performe the same to his glorie, whiche chieflie we seik in this oure interpryse. Because we suppoise, that neither oure present danger, neither yett the weirlyke preparatioun whiche France maketh aganis us, be hyd frome you nor frome the Counsall, we omitt that pairt. As tuicheing the assurance of a perpetuall amity to stand betuix these twa Realmes; as no earthlie [thing] of us is more desyred, so crave we of God to mak us instrumentis by whiche this unnaturall debaite, whiche long hath continued betuix us, may anis be composed, to the prais of Goddis name, and to the confort of the faithfull in boyth realmes. And gif youre wisdomes can foirsie and devyse the meanes and assurances, how the same may be brocht to passe; perswade youreselfis, not onlye of oure consent and assistance, but also of oure constancie, as men may promeise, to oure lyves end; yea, and farther, of a charge and commandement by us to be left to oure posteritie, that the amity betuix [us], in God contracted and begun, may be by thame kept inviolat for ever. And for the revolting frome you to France, whiche yee seeme to fear and suspect, at thair pleisour, we utterlie abhor that infidelitie; for now doeth the voyce[3] of God continualie sound in our earis, 'That suche as profaine the terrible

LETT THE ENNEMYE SAY, GIF THAIR HOPE BE NOTT FRUSTRAT.

[1] In MS. G, "his holie evangell;" in Vautr. edit. "his gospell."

[2] In MS. G, "externall idolatrie."

[3] In MS. 1566, "woice."

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and reverent name of God, sall nott eschaip veangence.' Oure confederacie, amitie, and leigue, sall nott be lyke the pactions maid by wardlie men for wardlie proffeit; but as we require it for Goddis caus, so will we incall his name for the observatioun of the same. Moirover, gif we sould laike any thing to temporall commoditie, yitt sould we never have occasioun to returne to thame; ffor we now perceave and feill the wecht of thair yoke, and intend (by Goddis grace) to cutt away suche instrumentis[1] as by quhome this realme wes befoire abused. Trew it is, that as yeit we have maid no mentioun of ony change in Authoritie, neither yeit were we myndit to [do] any suche thing, till extreme necessitie compelled us thairto: but seing it is now more than evident, that France, and the Quene Regent heir, with hir preistis, pretend to nothing bot the suppressing of Chrystis Evangell, the ruyne of us, and the subversioun of [this] poore realme; committing oure innocencie to God, and unto the judgment of all godlie and naturall men, we are determined to seik the nixt remedie, in whiche we hairtlie requyre youre counsaill and assistance. And this far we have interprysit, to mak you participant of oure purpois; becauis in the said letteris you requyred of the [said] Mr. Kirkcaldie sum farther assurance then his awin woord of wreitting, whiche we dout nott bot ye sall schoirtlie receave frome mo then frome us. We dar nott haistellie mak the whole assemblie, neither of noblis, neither of barronis, prevy in this cause, for dangeris that may insew by policie and craft of the adversaries; youre Wisdomes, we doubt not, will communicat these onlye, with suche as ye knaw favoraris of such ane godlie conjunctioun. It should much help in oure opinioun, gif the preacharis boyth in persuasioun and in publict prayeris, (as ouris do heire,) wald commend the same unto the peopill. And thus, efter oure humill commendatiounis to the Quenis Majestie, (quhois reigne we desyre to be prosperous and long,

[1] In the original letter, the words, "the papisticall clergye," are added in the margin.

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to the glorie of God, and conforte of his Churche,) we hairtlie committ you to the protectioun of the Omnipotent. Fra Edinburgh, the [19th[1]] of Julij 1559."

With this oure letter,[2] Jhonne Knox wreat two, one to the said Secratarie, and ane uther to the Quenis Majestie hirself, in tennour as efter followis:

Jhone Knox[3] secound Letter to Mr. Cycill, for deliverance of ane uther to the Quein of England.

"With my humill commendatiounis. Pleise you, Sir, to delyver this other letter inclosit to the Quenis Grace. It containeth in few and in semple wourdis my confessioun, quhat I think of hir Authoritie, how it is just, and quhat may mak it odious in Goddis presence. I heir that thair is ane Confutatioun sett furth in prent aganis 'The First Blast.'[4] God grant that the wreitter have no more socht the favoris of this present estait, no less the glorie of God, and the stable commoditie of his countrey, then did he quho enterprysed in that 'Blast' to utter his conscience. When I sall have tyme, (whiche now is sumquhatt precious unto me,) to peruse that werk, I will communicat my judgement with you.

[1] In all the copies of Knox's History, this letter is dated the 17th of July; the original has the 19th.

[2] The original of this letter, in the hand-writing of Knox, is preserved in the State Paper Office. It is signed by the Earls of Argyle and Glencairn, the Prior of St. Andrews, and Lords Ruthven, Boyd, and Ochiltree. The original draft of Cecil's answer, in the same collection, is dated 28th July 1559. (See Tytler's Hist. of Scotland, vol. vi. pp. 122, 124.)

[3] This second letter to Cecil, and the following one to Queen Elizabeth, are omitted in Vautrollier's edition and the later MSS. It is highly probable that these letters were purposely suppressed while that edition was at press, in order to avoid giving offence to Queen Elizabeth.—As already mentioned, the originals of several of Knox's Letters of this period, are still preserved, and copies of them will be inserted in a subsequent volume.

[4] Alluding to the publication by John Aylmer, afterwards Bishop of London, which will be more particularly noticed in a subsequent volume, entitled, "An Harborowe for faithfull and trewe subjectes, against the late blowne Blaste concerninge the Government of Wemen," &c. Anno 1559. 4to.

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"The tyme is now, Sir, that all that either thrist Chryst Jesus to reigne in this yle, or yett the hairtes of the inhabitantes of the same to be joyned togidder in love unfained, aucht rather to studie how the same mycht be brocht to passe, then vanelie to travaill for the mantenance of that, quhairof we have allreddy seine the danger, and felt the smarte. Gif the most pairt of women be wicked, and suche as willinglie we wald nott reigne over us; and gif the most godlie, and suche as have rare graces be yett mortall, we aucht to tak heid, least in establissing one judged godlie and profitable to hir countrey, we mak ane entres and tytill to mony; off quhome not only sall the treuth be impugned, bot also sall the countrey be brocht in bondage. God give you, and utheris favoraris of your countrey, eyis to foirsee, and wisdome to avoyd the dangeris appeareing.

"By dyverse [letteris], I have requyred licence to have visited the North pairtis of England; but as yitt I have ressaved no favorabill answer.[1] The longer, Sir, that it be delayed, the less conforte sall the faithfull thair receive, the weaker sall the Quenis Grace be. Gif I war nott to hir Grace ane unfeaned friend, I wald not instantlie begg suche libertie, whiche to me I knaw sall neither be proffitable nor pleising in the flesche. The estait of thingis here comoun, I dout nott ye knaw. Some thingis I have, (as oft I have wreitten,) whiche gladlie I wald communicat, quhilk I mynd nott to committ unto paper and ynk: find, thairfoir, the meanis that I may speik suche one as ye will credit in all thingis. The grace of the Lord Jesus rest with you.

"I hairtlie beseik you to have my service humblie commended to the Quenis Grace; adding, that quhosoever maketh me odious to hir Grace, seiketh somequhatt besydis the glorie of God, and hir Grace's prosperitie; and thairfoir can nott be assured and unfayned freindis. From, &c."

[1] See *supra*, page 19, note 1.

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The letter sent be the said Jhonne, to the Quenis Majestie of England, being inclosed in the foirsaid Mr. Cycillis letter.

"To the verteous and godlie Elizabeth, by the grace of God Quein of England, &c., Jhonne Knox desyreth the perpetuall conforte of the Holy Spreit.

"As youre Grace's displeisoure aganis me, most injustlie conceaved, hath bein, and is to my wretched hearte a burdene greavouse, and almost intollerable; so is the testimony of ane cleir conscience to me ane stay and uphald, that in disperatioun I synk nott, how vehement that ever the tentatiouns appeir. For, in Goddis presence, my conscience beareth me record, that maliciously, nor of purpoise, I never offended youre Grace, nor youre realme; and, thairfoir, howsoever I be judged of man, I am assured to be absolved of him quho only knaweth the secreitis of hairtis. I can not deny the wreiting of a booke aganis the usurped Authoritie, and injust Regement of Women;[1] neither [yit] am I myndit to retract or call back any principall point, or propositioun of the same, till treuth and verritie do farder appeir. But quhy, that either youre Grace, either yitt ony suche as unfeanedlie favore the libertie of England, be offendit at the authore of suche ane warke, I can perceave no just occasioun. For, first, my booke tueched nott youre Grace's persoune [in speciall,] neither yitt is it prejudiciall till any libertie of the realme, gif the tyme of my wretting be indifferentlie considdered. How could I be ennemy to youre Grace's persone, for delyverance quhairof I did more studie, and interpryse farther, then ony of these that now accuise me? And, as concerning youre Regiment, how could or can I invy that whiche most I have thristit, and for the quhilk (as oblivioun will suffer) I render thankis unfeandlie unto God? That is, 'That he hath pleised him, of his eternall goodness, to exalt your head, (which some tymes was in

[1] Referring to his "First Blast of the Trumpet," &c., published at Geneva, in 1558.

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danger,) to the manifestatioun of his glorie, and extirpatioun of idolatrie.' And as for my offense, quhilk I have committed against England, either in wreitting that, or of any uther werk, I will nott refuise that moderat and indifferent man judge and discerne betwix me and those that accuise [me]: to witt, quhither of the parties do maist hurt to the libertie of England, I that affirme, 'That no woman may be exalted above any[1] realme, to mak the libertie of the same thrall to ane strange, proude, and cruell natioun;' or, they that approve quhatsoever plaeseth Princes for the tyme. Gif I war alsweill disposed to accuse, as some of thame (till thair awin schame) have declaired thame selfis, I no thing doubt, bot that in few wourdis I sould lett reassonable men understand, that some that this day lawlie crouche to your Grace, and laubor to mak me odiuss in your eyes, did, in your adversitie, neather schaw thame selfis faithfull freindis to your Grace, neather so loveing and carefull over thair awin native countrey, as thei wald be estemed. But omitting the accusatioun of utheris, for my awin purgatioun, and your Grace's satisfactioun, I say, that nothing in my booke contained, is, nor can be prejudiciall to your Grace's just regiment, providit that ye be nott found ungrate unto God: Ungrate ye sallbe provein in presence of his throne, (howsoever that flattereris justifie your factioun,) gif ye transferr the glorye of that honor, in quhilk ye now stand, to any uther thing, then to the dispensatioun of his mercie, which only maketh that lauchfull to your Grace, quhilk nature and law denyeth to all woman. Neither wald I that your Grace should feare that this your humiliatioun before [God] sould, in ony caise, infirme or weaken your Grace's just and lauchfull authoritie befoire men. Nay, Madame, such unfeaned confessioun of Goddis benifits receaved shalbe the establissement of the same, nott only to youre self, but also to youre seid and posteritie; whair, contrariwyse, a proude con-

[1] In MS. G, "over any."

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ceat and elevatioun of youre self, salbe the occasioun, that youre reigne salbe unstable, troublesome, and schorte. God is witnesse, that unfeanedlie I boyth love and reverence youre Grace; yea, I pray, that youre reigne may be long, prosperouse, and quyet; and that, for the quyetnes which Christis membres, befoire persecuted, have receaved under you.

"Bot yett, gif I should flatter youre Grace, I war no freind, bot ane deceavable traitor. And thairfoire of conscience, I am compelled to say, that neather the consent of people, the process of tyme, nor multitude of men, can establische a law which God sall approve; bot quhatsoever he approveth by his eternall wourd, that shalbe approved, and quhatsoever he condempneth salbe condempned, thocht all men in earth wald hasard the justificatioun of the same. And, thairfoire, Madame, the only way to reteane and kept those benefites of God, aboundantlie poured now of laitt dayis upoun you, and upoun youre realme, is unfeanedlie to rander unto God, to his mercie, and undeserved grace, the [whole] glorie of this youre exaltatioun. Forgett youre birth, and all tytill which thairupoun doeth hing; and considder deiplie, how for feir of your lyef, ye did declyne from God, and bow till idollatrie. Lett it not appeire ane small offence in your eyes, that ye have declyned from Christ Jesus in the day of his batteill. Neither yett wald I, that ye sould esteme that mercie to be vulgare and commoun which ye have received; to witt, that God hath covered your former offense, hathe preserved you quhen ye war most unthankfull; and in the end, hath exalted and raiseit you up, nott only from the dust, bot also from the portis of deith, to reule above his people, for the confort of his Kirk. It apperteneth to you, thairfoire, to ground the justice of your Authoritie, nott upoun that law, which from year to year doeth change, but upoun the eternall providence of Him, who, contrair to nature, and without your deserving, hath thus exalted your head. Gif thus, in Goddis presence, ye humill

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your self, as in my heart I glorifie God for that rest granted to his afflicted flocke within Ingland, under you a weik instrument; so will I with toung and penn justifie your Authoritie and Regiment, as the Holy Ghost hath justified[1] the same in Debora, that blissed mother in Israell. Bot gif the premisses (as God forbeid) neglected, ye sall begin to bragg of your birth, and to builde your Authoritie and Regiment upoun your awin law, flatter you quho so list, your felicitie salbe schorte. Interpreit my rude wordis in the best pairte, as written by him who is no ennemye to your Grace.

"By dyverse letteris I have requyred license to veseit your Realme, nott to seik my self, neither yett my awin ease nor commoditie; which, gif ye now refuise and deny, I most remit my caus to God; adding this for conclusioun, that commonlie it is seine, 'That such as refuise the counsaill of the faithfull, (appeir it never so scharpe,) ar compelled to follow the deceat of flattereris to thair awin perditioun.' The mychtie Spreit of the Lord Jesus move your hairt to understand quhat is said; give unto you the discretioun of spreittis, and so rewll you in all your actions and interpryses, that in you God may be glorified, his Kirk edified, and ye your self as ane lyvlie member of the same, may be an example of vertew and godlie lyffe till all utheris. So be it. Of Edinburgh, the [20th[2]] day of Julij 1559."

These letters war directed by Alexander Quhytlaw,[3] a man

[1] In the MS. of 1566, "institued."

[2] MS. G. makes it the 28th; but the date of the original letter, as Mr. Tytler has noticed, is the 20th of July. (Hist. vol. vi. p. 122.)

[3] See a brief notice of Whytelaw, in vol. i. p. 393. Throkmorton, in a letter dated at Paris, 21st June 1559, says, "One Sanders Whitlo, a Scottishman, who was heretofore pensioner in England, in King Edward's tyme," and "being a very honest, sober, and godly man, and the most truely affectionat to England of any Scottishman I know here, hath been with me, and given me diverse advertisements of things which be trew;" and he recommends that he should receive the same pension he had enjoyed, after his lands in Scotland had been forfeited by the Earl of Huntley. (Forbes's State Papers, vol. i. p. 137.) On the 28th June, he was the bearer of a

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that oft hath hazarded him self, and all that he had, for the cause of God, and for his freindis being in danger for the same cause.

Within a day or twa efter the departing of the said Alexander, thair come a lettre from Sir Harye Percye to Jhone Knox, requyring him to meitt him at Annŷk,[4] the threid of August, for such effairis as he wald nott wreit, nor yitt communicat with any but with the said Jhone him self. While he was preparing him self for the journay, (for Secretary Cycill had appointed to have mett him at Stampfourd,)[5] the Frenche men furiouslie come furth of Dumbar, of purpose to have surprised the Lordis being in Edinburgh, as in the Secound Booke befoir is declared: Which stayit the journay of the said Jhonne, till that God had delyvered the innocentis from that great danger; and then was he, having in his company,[6] Maister Robert Hamyltoun,[7] minister of the Evangell of Jesus Christ, directed from the Lordis, with full commissioun and instructiouns to expone thair hole cause and estait quhairin thei stoode.

Thair passage was from Petinweame,[8] by sea. Thei arryvit at Holy-Iland; and being advertissed that Sir Harye Percie was absent from [the North], thei addressed thame selfis to Sir James Croftis, then Capitane of Berwik, and Wardein of the East Marches of England. Thei schew unto him thair creddit and commissioun. He receaved thame gentlie, and comforted

letter from Throkmorton to Secretary Cecil.—(Ib. p. 147.) A postscript to the letter adds, "This bearer is greatly estemyd of John Knokes, and he doth also favour him above other: nevertheles, he is sory for his boke rashly writen."

[4] In MS. G, "Anwich," the town of Alnwick, in the county of Northumberland, 34 miles from Newcastle.

[5] Stamford, an ancient borough town in the county of Lincoln. The Castle, of which scarcely any vestiges are now visible, was granted by Queen Elizabeth to Sir William Cecil.

[6] In Vautr. edit. "then was he hated of his companie."

[7] Mr. Robert Hamilton was educated at St. Andrews. As witness of a deed, dated 1558, he is styled Rector of Torrens.—(Lyon's St. Andrews, vol. ii. p. 262.) He afterwards became Minister of St. Andrews.

[8] Pittenweem, a royal burgh and seaport on the east-coast of Fife.

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thame with his faithfull counsall, which was: "That thei sould travaill no farther,[1] neather yitt sould thei be seine in publiet, and that for dyverse considerationns. First, The Quene Regent had her espyellis in England. Secoundarlie, The Quene and the Counsall that favored our actioun, wald that all thingis should be secreat so long as thei mycht. And last, (said he,) I think it nott expedient, that in such raritie of preachearis, ye two be ony long tyme absent from the Lordis. And thairfoire, (said he,) ye shall do best to committ to wreating your hoile mynd and creddit, and I shall promeise to you, upoun my honour, to haif answer at you, and at the Lordis againe, befoire that ye your selfis can be at Londoun. And quhaire that your letteris can nott expresse all thingis so fully as your presence could, I sall supplie the same, not only by my penne, but also by my awin presence, to suche as will informe the Counsall sufficientlie of all thingis." SIR JAMES CROFTIS COUNSALE.

The said Jhone and Maister Robert followed his counsall,[2]

[1] As this portion of the History supplies a defect in the previous Book, where the application made by the Protestants for aid from England is scarcely alluded to; and as there is an apparent confusion in some of the dates, owing to the letters being partially or inaccurately copied, a few words of explanation may here be added. Knox's conversation with Kirkaldy of Grange, (see page 21,) took place at St. Andrews, after Cupar Muir, before the end of June 1559; and letters from Kirkaldy, to Cecil and Percy, on the 23d and 25th of that month, and on the 1st of July, are still preserved. Knox himself wrote to Cecil, on the 28th June. The result of their correspondence was, that Whytelaw, who had then returned from France, and having passed through England, had brought letters from Sir William Cecil, was sent back on the 20th of July, as the bearer of the letters from the Lords of the Congregation, and from Knox, to Cecil and Queen Elizabeth, which are printed in pages 22 to 30. After Whytelaw's departure, Knox received a letter from Sir Henry Percy, wishing that they should meet at Alnwick. His journey thither was delayed, in consequence of the Queen and the French troops having advanced from Dunbar, on Monday the 23d of July, and the Congregation having retired from Edinburgh on the 24th; but Knox, after a short delay, passed through Fife to Pittenweem, and crossed the Firth to Holy Island. Having acceded to the suggestions of Sir James Crofts, instead of proceeding farther, he remained at Berwick until Whytelaw came with Cecil's letter, on the 2d or 3d of August: (see page 35, note 1.)

[2] The Articles and Instructions, written by Knox, and left with Crofts to be transmitted to the English Privy Council, are dated 31st July 1559. (See Tytler's History of Scotland, vol. vi. p. 128.)

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for it was faithfull, and proceidit of luif at that tyme. Thei taried with him verry secretly, within the Castell of Berwick, two dayis. In the which tyme, returned Alexander Quhytlaw foirsaid, with answer to the Lordis, and to Jhone Knox;[1] the tennour of whose letter was this:—

MAISTER CYCILLIS LETTER TO JHONE KNOX.

"MAISTER KNOX,

"*Non est masculus neque foemina, omnes enim, ut ait Paulus, unum sumus in Christo Jesu. Benedictus vir qui confidit in Domino; et erit Dominus fiducia ejus.*[2]

"I have resavit your letteris, at the same tyme that I have thocht to have sein your self about Stampfurd. Quhat is now hitherto the caus of your [lett], I knaw nott. I forbeir to descend to the bottome of thingis, untill I may conferr with such one as ye ar; and, thairfoire, gif your chance shalbe heirefter to cum hither, I wishe you furnissed with good credite, and power to mak good resolutioun. Althocht my answer to the Lordis of Congregatioun be some quhat obscure, yitt upoun farther understanding ye sall find the matter plaine. I neid wishe to you[3] no more prudence then Goddis grace, quhairof God send you plentie. And so I end. From Oxford, the 28th of Julij 1559.

(*Sic subscribitur,*)

Youris as ane member of the same body in Christ,

"W. CECILL."[4]

Albeit the said Jhone ressaved this letter at Berwyk, yett wald he answer no thing till that he had spokein the Lordis; quhome he fand in Striveling, and unto quhome he delyvered

[1] MS. G. makes it, "Maister Knox."

[2] That is, "There is neither male nor female, for as saith Paul, they are all one in Christ Jesus. (Galat. iii. 28.) Blessed is the man who trusteth in the Lord; and the Lord will be his confidence."

[3] In MS. 1566, "need you writ."

[4] In MS. 1566, "M. Cecill;" and this mistake is followed in all the copies.

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the answer send from the Counsall of England; (for Alexander Quhytlaw tuik seakness betwix Berwyk and Edinburgh, and was troubled be the Lord Seatoun, as in the formar booke is declaired.[1]) The answer send by Maister Cycill, was so generall, that many amanges us war dispaired of ony comforte to come from that countrey; and thairfoire war determined that thei wald requeast no farder. Jhone Knox laboured in the contraire;[2] but he could prevaill no farther, but that he should have licence and libertie to writt as he thocht best. And so tuik he upoun him to answer for all, in forme as follows:—

Answer to Mr. Cycillis Letter.[3]

"Two causes impeded me, Richt Worschipfull, to visite you at any pairt of England. Formar, no significatioun of your mynd and plaisour was maid unto me, for only did Sir Harye

[1] Dr. M'Crie says, Knox, "at this time, prudently returned by sea to Fife:" the above statement, I think, clearly shows, he must have returned by land. He set out from Berwick, in company with Whytelaw, on the 8d of August, but the latter *being detained on the road* by sickness, Knox proceeded, without delay, and reached Stirling on or before the 6th of August, on which day he addressed letters to Sir James Crofts: see Tytler's Hist. vol. vi. pp. 127, 130. Soon afterwards, Whytelaw having recovered, and set out on his journey, along with William Knox, *when between Preston and Edinburgh*, they were pursued by Lord Seaton, and narrowly escaped: see vol. i. p. 393.

[2] The result of Knox's previous communications was very important, having led to the resolution of the English Council to support the Protestants in Scotland in their contest with the Queen Regent, but with so much secrecy as might not infringe the treaty of peace between the two kingdoms. For this purpose a commission was granted on the 8th of August to Sir Ralph Sadler, in conjunction with the Earl of Northumberland and Sir James Crofts, to reside at Berwick, ostensibly to settle some Border disputes, and to strengthen the fortifications of that city; and the sum of £3000 was placed at Sadler's disposal. A similar sum was paid to him on the 5th of October; and a third payment in November. It was part of this money that was sent to Scotland with Balnaves, and with Cockburn of Ormiston. (See Letter of Queen Elizabeth to Sadler, in Sir H. Ellis's Original Letters, 3d Series, vol. iii. p. 332.)—Sadler's Correspondence, extending from August 1559 to April 1560, (included in his "State Papers and Letters," Edinb. 1809, 2 vols. 4to,) furnish copious and most important materials for illustrating the negotiations and proceedings at this time.

[3] In MS. G. and Vautr. edit., "to Maister Cicillis writing."

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Percye[1] will me to cum and speak him, which, convenientlie at that tyme I could nott do, be reasone that the Frenche men, (which was the Secound cause of my stay,) did then most furiouslie persew us, whill our company was dispersed; and then durst I nott be absent for dyverse inconvenientis. Neather did I think my presence greatlie necessarie with you, considdering that the mater, which I desyred maist, was opened and proponed. To the quhilk I wald have wished that a more plaine and especiall answer should have bein maid. For, albeit Mr. Quhitlaw, by his credite, Mr. Kirkcaldie, by his letter, and I, boyth by letteris, and by that which I had ressaved from Sir James Croftis, did persuade your goode mindis; yitt could not the Counsall be uthairwayis persuaded, but that this alteratioun in France had altered your former purpois. It is nott unknawin what favor we three do beare to England; and, thairfoir, I wishe, that rather your pen then our credite, or ony thing writtin to ony of us, should assuire the Lordis and otheris, of your goode myndis, (who ar bot now in nomber fyve hundreth). Onless that money be fournissed without delay to pay the soldiouris with, for thair servise bypast, and to reteane ane uther thousand footmen, with three hundreth horsmen, till some stay be had in this danger, these gentilmen will be compelled to leave the feildis. I am assured, as fleshe may be of fleshe, that some of thame will tak a verry harde lyve befoir that ever they compone eather with the Quene Regent, eather yitt with France; but this I dar nott promeise of all, onless in you they see a

[1] "Sir Henry Percy, second son of Sir Thomas Percy, who was executed in 1537, on account of Aske's rebellion, and brother of Thomas seventh Earl of Northumberland. Having remained attached to the Queen, and even taken arms against the insurgents, in the great northern rebellion, headed by his brother and Westmoreland, he escaped one great peril, and succeeded to the family titles and domains upon his brother's execution, in 1572. But having engaged in Lord Paget's enterprise for setting Queen Mary at liberty, and being imprisoned, he shot himself through the heart to prevent the attainder and forfeiture which must have attended a conviction for treason."—(Note by Sir Walter Scott, in Sadler's State Papers, vol. i. p. 409.)

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greatter fordwardness. To support us will appeir excessive, and to break promeisse with France, will appeir dangeruss. But the loss of expensses, in my opinioun, aucht nott to be esteamit from the first payment; neather yitt the danger from the first appearance. France is most fervent to conqueise us, and avoweth, that against us thei will spend thair Croune, (so did my awin earis heare Buttencourt brag[1]). But, most assuredlie I knaw, that onless by us thei thocht to mak ane enteress to you, that thei wald nott bye oure povertie at that price. Thei labour to corrupt some of oure great men by money, (and some of oure nomber ar poore, as befoire I wraitt, and can nott serve without supporte); some thei threattin; and against utheris thei have raised up ane partie in thair awin countrey. In this meane tyme, gif ye lye by as neutrallis, quhat wilbe the end, ye may easellie conjecture. And, thairfoire, Sir, in the bowellis of Christ Jesus, I requyre you to mak plaine answer; What the gentillmen heir may lippin to, and quhatt the Quenis Majestie will do, may without long delay be put in executioun. Rest in Christ Jesus. Off Sanct Johnstoun, the &c. day of, &c."[2]

[1] In Vautr. edit. this name occurs as two words, "Butteau Court;" in MS. G, "Buttincourt." The person referred to, the Sieur de Béthencourt, is already mentioned in a note to vol. i. p. 384. Sir N. Throkmorton, in his correspondence from Paris, notices that on "the 11th of this present, (*i. e.* the month of June) there arrived here in post out of Scotlande, *one Butomcourt, a Frenchman, Maister d'hostel* to the Quene Dowagier there, &c." (Forbes's State Papers, vol. i. p. 130.) On the 21st June, he is called "Betoncourt, the Scotishe Quenis Master d'hostel," (ib. p. 141); again, on the 29th July, "Butomcourt, which I thinke passed through to England, had in charge to will the Quene Dowagier of Scotland *to conforme herself to the Scotts proceedings in religion, and to dissemble with them;* supposing that to be the best meane to worke theyr purposes." (Ib. p. 188.) And on the 8th August, he further says, there was "sent by Botuncourt, at his last dispetche, diverse blankes to the Quene Dowager, signed by the French King and Queen." (Ib. 193.) His arrival in Scotland, with these letters, is noticed by Knox: see vol. i. p. 384.

[2] This date is left blank in the various copies of Knox's History. But the above is neither a full or accurate copy of the letter, of which Mr. Tytler has given an extract from the original in the State Paper Office.—(Hist. vol. vi. pp. 136, 386.) It is dated not from St. Johnstone (or Perth,) but from "St. Andrews, 15th August 1559;" and will afterwards be given entire.

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Answere with great expeditioun was returned to this letter, desyring some men of credite to be sent frome the Lordis to Berwyk,[1] for the receaving of money for the first supporte, with promeise, that gif the Lordis of the Congregatioun meant no utherwyse then befoire thei had writtin, and gif thei wald enter in league with honest conditionis, thei sould neather lack men nor money to thair just caus. Upoun this answer, was directed from the Lordis to Berwik, Maister Henrye Balnaves, a man [of] goode credit in boyth the realmes, who suddenlie returned with such a somme of money as served all the publict effaris till November nixt; when Jhonne Cokburne of Ormistoun send[2] for the second supporte, and receaving the same, unhappelie fell in to handis of the Erlle Bothwell, was wounded, tane, and spoilzed of a great somme.[3] Upoun whiche mischance followed all the rest of oure troubles befoire rehersed.

In the Secound Booke preceading, we have declaired how Secretarye Lethingtoun[4] was directed to England: but one thing we have befoire past by. In that, oure greatest dejectioun, this ordour was tackin, That the Duike his Grace, the Erlle of Glencarne, Lord Boyd, Lord Uchiltrie, and thair freindis, should remain togither at Glaskow, for conforte of the countrey, and for geving of answeris, as occasioun should requyre; and that the Erlle of Arrane, the Lord James, the Erlle of Rothess, the Maister of Lyndsay, and thair adherantes,

[1] In Sadler's State Papers, (vol. i. p. 401), there is a letter, dated 20th August 1559, addressed by Sir James Crofts to Knox, mentioning that Sadler and himself were desirous "to have som conference eyther with Mr. Henry Balnaves, or som other discrete and trusty man, for the better expedicion of this grete and weightie busyness, which you have in hande;" and suggesting, that he should come by sea to Holy Island, and afterwards to be conveyed in secret manner to Berwick. On the same day, Sadler and Crofts wrote to Cecil, representing that some aid should be granted, along with the sum of 2000 or 3000 crowns, to relieve the Protestant party in Scotland in their present necessities: see page 85, note 2.

[2] In MS. G, "being sent;" in Vautr. edit., "sent."

[3] The sum of £1000 sterling, on the last of October: see note in vol. i. p. 455.

[4] William Maitland, see *supra*, p. 4, note 2.

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should continew togither within Fyffe, for the same causses, that advertissementis mycht go frome the one to the other, as neid requyred. In the negotiatioun of the Secretary Lethingtoun with the Quene and Counsall of England, (in whiche he travailed with no less wisdome and faithfulnes then happy successe,) mony thingis occurred that requyred the resolutioun of the hole Lordis,[1] amanges which thair was one quhairof befoir no mentioun is maid.

Efter that the Quene and Counsall of England had concluded to send thair army into Scotland, for expelling of the Frenche, the Duke of Northfolk was sent to Berwyk,[2] with full instructionis, power, and commissioun, to do in all thingis concerning the present effaris of Scotland, as mycht the Quene and Counsellis in thair awin personis[3] do. Heirupoun the said Duke requyred sicke a pairt of the Lordis of Scotland, as had power and commissioun from the whole, to meet him at suche day and place as pleised thame to appoint. This advertissement came first to Glaskow, by the meanis of the Maister of Maxwell. Quhilk redd and considdered by the Lordis, conclusioun was takin, that thei wald meitt at Carleill;[4] and that was the procurement of the said Maister of Maxwell, for his ease. Heirupoune war letteris direct fra the Lordis, lyeing in Glaskow, to Lord James, requyring him, with all possible expeditioun, to repair towardis thame for the purpois foirsaid. Which letteris redd and advised upoun, commandment was gevin to Jhone Knox to mak the answer: For so it was ap-

[1] In MS. 1566, "holye;" in MS. G, "haill."

[2] The Queen's letter to Sadler, intimating the appointment of the Duke of Norfolk as Lord Lieutenant in the Northern Counties, is dated the last of December 1559. He arrived at Newcastle on the 6th or 7th of January. The whole of his correspondence with the Privy Council of England, while he exercised that office, has been printed in Haynes's Collection of Original State Papers, from the Cecil or Burghley Papers. (Lond. 1740, folio.) Sir Ralph Sadler has also preserved several other letters of a less public nature: see note by Sir Walter Scott, in Sadler, vol. i. p. 718.

[3] In MS. G, "thair awin proper persons."

[4] The town of Carlisle.

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pointed at the devisioun of the Lordis, that he should answer for the pairte of thoise that war in Fyffe; and Maister Henrye Balnaves for the pairte of thame that abaide at Glaskow. The said Jhone answered as followis:—

"To the Lord Duke his Grace, and the Lordis at Glaskow.

"After humill commendatioun of my service. Albeit I have writtin ofter then anes to Mr. Henrye Balnaves, what thingis have myslyked me in youre slaw proceideings, alsweill in supporting youre brethrein, quho many dayes have susteined extreame danger in these pairtes, as in making provisioun how the ennemye mycht have bein annoyed,[1] quho lay in few nomber nye to youre quarteris in Striveling; and in making lykewayis provisioun, how the expectatioun of your freindis, quho long have awaited for youre answer, mycht have bein satisfied;—Albeit, (I say,) that of thoise thingis I have befoire complained, yet of verry conscience, I am compelled to signifie unto youre Honoris, that onless of these, and other inormiteis, I sall espye some redress, I am assured that the end shalbe suche as godlie men shall murne, that ane good cause shall perishe for lack of wisdome and diligence. In my last letteris to Mr. Henrye Balnaves, I declared, that youre especiall freindis in England wounder that no gritter expeditioun is maid, the weycht of the mater being considdered. Gif the falt be in the Lord Duke, and his freindis, I wrait also, that the greatest loss should be his and thairs in the end. And now, I can nott cease, boyth to wonder and lament, that youre hoile Counsall was so destitute of wisdome and discretioun as to charge this poore man, the Priour,[2] to come to you to Glaskow, and thairefter to go to Carleill, for suche effearis as ar to be entreated. Was thair none amangis you, quho did foirsee

[1] In the MS. of 1566, "anoyned;" MS. G. has "anoyit."

[2] Lord James Stewart, Prior of St. Andrews: see vol. i. p. 249, note 5.

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quhat inconvenientis mycht insew his absence frome these partis? I cease to speake of the dangeris in the ennemy. Youre freindis have lyen in the Frith now xv. dayis bypast, (what was thair formar travaill is nott unknawin); thei have never receaved conforte of any man (him only excepted), more then thei had lyen upoun the coast of thair mortall ennemye. Do ye nott considder, that suche a companye sall neide conforte and provisioun from tyme to tyme? Remove him, and quho abydeth that cairfullie will travaill in that or any uther wechty materis in these pairtis? Did ye nott farther considder, that he had begune to meddle with the gentilmen[1] who had declaired thameselfis unfreindis heirtofoir; and also that ordour wald have bein tackin for suche as haif bein neutrall: now, be reassoun of his absence, the one shall escaip without admonitioun, and the other shalbe at thair formare libertie? I am assured that the ennemye sall nott sleip, neather in that nor in uther effairis, to undermynd you and your hoile caus; and especiallie to hurte this pairt of the countrey to revenge thair formare foly. Gif none of these formar causses should have moved you to have considered that such a journay (at suche a tyme,) wes nott meet for him, neather yit for thame that must accompany him; yit discreit men wald have considdered, that the men that have lyen in thair jackes, and travailled thair horse continuallie the space of a moneth, requyreth some longer rest, boyth to thame selfis, but especiallie to thair horsses, (befoire thei had bein charged to suche a journey,) then yitt they have had. The Priour may, for satisfactioun of your unreasonable myndis, interpryse the purposse; but I am assured, he shall nott be able to have sex honnest men in all Fyiff to accompany him: And how that eather standis with youre Honoris, or with his safetie, juge ye youre selfis. But yitt, wonder it is, that ye did nott considder, to quhatt paine and fascherie shall ye putt youre freindis of

[1] See notes to pages 7 and 43-4.

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England, especiallie the Duke of Northfolke, and his Counsall, whome ye shall caus travaile the most wearesoum and fasschous gaitt that is in England. In my opinioun, quhosoever gaif you that counsall eather laicked rycht judgement in thingis to be done, or ellis had too much respect to his awin ease, and too small regaird to the travaill and danger of thair bretherein. A comoun cause requireth a comoun concurrance, and that everie man beare his burdein proportionablie. But prudent and indifferent men espy the contrair in this caus, especiallie of lait dayis; for the weakest ar maist greavouslie charged, and to quhome the mater maist belongeth, and to quhome justlie greatest burthein is dew, ar exempted in a maner boyth from travaill and expensses. To speik the mater plainlie, wyse men do wonder what my Lordis Dukis freindis do meane, that thei ar so slaike and backward in this caus: In uther actionis, thei have bein judged stout and fordward; and in this, whiche is the greatest that ever he or thei had in hand, thei appeir destitut bayth of grace and of courage. I am nott ignorant, that thei that are most inward of his counsall ar ennemyes to God, and thairfoire can nott bot be ennemyes to his cause. But wounder it is, that he and his uther freindis should nott considder, that the tinsale of this godlie interpryse, shalbe the routing of thame and thair posteritie frome this realme. Considdering, my Lordis, that by Goddis providence ye ar joyned with the Dukis Grace in this comoun cause, admonishe him plainlie of the danger to cum: will him to beware of the counsale of those that ar plainlie infected with superstitioun, with pryde, and with vennome of particulare proffeit; whiche gif he do not at your admonitioun, he shall smarte, befoir he beware: and gif ye cease to putt him in mynd of his deutie, it may be that, for youre silence, ye shall drynk some portioun of the plague with him. Tak my plaine speking, as proceeding from him that is nott youre ennemye, being also unceartaine when I shall

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have occasioun to writt heareafter. God, the Father of oure Lord Jesus Christ, assist you with the spreit of wisdome and fortitude, that to his glorie, and to youre Lordschipis and oure commoun conforte, ye may performe that thing, which godlie wes ones begun. Amen. From Sanctandrois, the vj. of Februare, in haist, 1559.[1]

(*Sic subscribitur*,)

"Your Lordschipis to command in godliness,

"J. K."

Upoun the receatt of this letter, and consultatioun had thairapoun, new conclusioun was tackin: to witt, that thei wald viseit the said Duke of Northfolke at Berwyke,[2] quhair he was.

Thus far have we digressed fra the style of the Historie, to lett the posteritie that shall follow understand, by quhat instrumentis God wrocht the familiaritie and freindschipe, that after we fand in Ingland. Now we returne to oure formare Historie.

The pairtis of Fyiff sett at fredome frome the bondage of those bloodie wormes, solempned thankis war gevin, in Sanctandrois, unto God for his mychtie delyverance. Schorte after the Erlle of Arrane and Lord James, apprehended the Lardis of Wemes, Seafeald, Balgonye, and Durye,[3] and utheris, that

[1] That is 1559-60. In MS. G. and Vautr. edit. this letter is dated "the 6th of Februare in haist." In the former it is signed, "Your Grace's, &c.—Johne Knox." The MS. 1566, makes it "the 5th of Februarie, in Christ."

[2] Thomas Randall wrote to Sadler from Glasgow, on the 10th February 1559-60, mentioning that the Lords of the Congregation had come to that town to consult; and that Lord James, Lord Ruthven, the Master of Maxwell, Wishart of Pittarrow, and Henry Balnaves, had been appointed by the whole Council to meet with the Duke of Norfolk at Berwick, on the 28d of that month. (State Papers, vol. i. p. 704.)

[3] In MS. G, "Balgone, Durie;" in MS. 1566, "Bawgane, Druye."—Supra page 7, Knox alluding to the ravages committed by the French on the coast of Fife, in the beginning of 1560, says, they did not spare even their own friends, the Lairds of Seafield, Wemyss,

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assisted the Frenche; but thei war sett schoirtlie at fredome, upoun suche conditionis as thei mynded never to keape: for sick men have neather fayeth nor honnestie. Mr. James Balfoure,[4] who was the greatest practiser, and had drawn the band of the Balfouris, eschaiped. The Ingliss schippis daylie multiplied, till that thei war able to keape the whole Firth: whairatt the Frenche and Quene Regent, enraged, begane to executt their tirranye upoun the pairtes of Lowthiane that lay neye to Edinburgh. Lett Mr. David Borthwick[5] witnesse quhat favoris[6] his wyffe and place of Adenstoun[7] fand of the Frenche, for all the service that he had maid to the Quene Regent.

Balmuto, and Balweary. In reference to the statement in the text, Sir Ralph Sadler, in a letter dated 4th February 1559-60, says, "In Fife, all suche gentlemen as were of any power or creditt, that tooke ony parte with the Franches, as the Lorde of Wymes, the Lorde Bawerye, Syfeld, Bagonye, and other, have promised their fidelitie, and given pledgis never to stand against the Congregation. This hath bene the Lord James's action since the Franches cam their way." (State Papers, vol. i. p. 701.)

The persons mentioned by Knox, (using *Lord* for *Laird*,) I suppose, were, (1) Sir John Wemyss of Wemyss, the ancestor of Lord Wemyss; (2) George Moutray of Seafield, the ruins of whose castle or tower stands close upon the sea, to the west of Kinghorn; (3) Andrew or Robert Lundie or Lundin of Balgonie, in the parish of Markinch, a property that gives a second title of the Earl of Leven and Melville; and (4) David Durie of Durie, in the parish of Scoonie. This property was afterwards acquired by the father of the eminent lawyer, Sir John Gibson of Durie.

[4] Afterwards Sir James Balfour of Pittendreich: see notes, vol. i. pp. 202, 285.

[5] Mr. David Borthwick of Lochill was appointed Lord Advocate, and one of the Judges in the Court of Session, on 20th October 1573. He was educated at St. Andrews. His name occurs among the Determinants, in St. Leonard's College, in 1525. He probably spent some time on the Continent; and passed Advocate, 1st March 1549. He was twice married; Marion Blyth, his first wife, died 24th March 1570, (Register of Confirmed Testaments.) His second wife, Margaret Guthrie, having survived him, married Mr. John Lindesay, second son of Sir David Lindesay of Edzell, and Parson of Menmuir. According to Scot of Scotstarvet, Borthwick had acquired "many lands in Lothian and Fife, as Balnacreiff, Admiston, Balcarras, and others; but having infeft his son, Sir James, therein in his own time, he rested never till he had sold all." Borthwick died in January 1581.

[6] In the MS. 1566, incorrectly written "Borwick," and "that favoris."

[7] In MS. G, "Audistoun." The property of Addiston is in the parish of Ratho. It now belongs to the Earl of Morton; but the old house, situated on an elevated terrace, was pulled down a few years ago.

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In the middest of Februarie war directed to England, frome the Dukis Grace and the Congregatioun, the Lord James, Lord Ruthven, the Maister of Maxweill, the Maister of Lyndsay, Maister Henrye Balnaves, and the Laird of Pittarrow; who, with thair honnest cumpanyeis and commissioun, departed by sea, all, except the Maister of Maxwell, to Berwick, whair thair mett thame the Duke of Northfolke, lievetennent to the Quenis Majestie of England, and with him a great company of the gentillmen of the north, with some also of the south, having full power to contract with the nobillitie of Scotland, as that thei did, upoun suche conditionis as in the same Contract are specified. And becaus we have hard the malicious tounges of wicked men mak false reporte of that our fact, we have faithfullie and trewlie inserted in this oure Historie the said Contract, alsweill thatt whiche was maid at Leyth, during the seige, as that whiche first was maid at Berwick, that the memorie thereof may byde to our posteritie; to the end that thei may judge with indifference, whither that we have doun ony thing prejudiciall to our comoun wealth, or yitt contrarius unto that debtfull obedience whiche trew subjects aw to thair supperiouris whose authoritie aucht to deffend and mainteine the libertie and fredome of the Realmes committed to thair charge; and nott to oppress and betray the same to strangearis. The tennour of oure Contract followis:—

The Contract at Berwick.

"James Duke of Chastelarault, Erlle of Arrane, Lord Hamyltoun, second persone of the realme of Scotland, and appearand [air] to the Croune, the Counsalle, Nobilitie, and principall Estaittis of the same: To all and sindrie, whais knawlege thir presentis shall come, greitting. We have weill considerat, and be fullie persuaded in what danger, desolatioun, and miserie, the lang enmytie with the kingdome of Ingland, hath brocht oure Countrey heirtofoir: how wechtie and florish-

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ing it shall become, gif those two kingdomes, as thei be joyned in one Iland by creatioun of the warld, so may be knytt in a constant and assured friendschip: These considerationis, groundit upoun a most infallible treuth, aucht no less to have moved our progenitouris and foirfatheris then us: but the present danger hanging over oure heades, by the injust dealing of those of whome we have alwayis best deserved, hathe caused us to wey thame more earnestlie then thei did. The misbehaveour of the Frenche ministeris[1] heere hathe of laitt zeris beine so greatt; the oppressioun and crueltie of the soldiouris, the tyranny and ambitioun of thair supperiouris and rewlleris so greavouse to the people; the viollent subversioun of our libertie, and conqueast of the land, whair at thei have by maist craftie and subtile meanes continuallie preassit,[2] so intollerable to us all, that at last, when we could nott obteane the redresse by humill suitis and earnest supplicationis presented to the Quene Dowager, who bayth for deuties saik and place scho did occupy, aucht to have bene most cairfull of oure estait; we have bene by verry necessitie, constrained nott only to assay our awin forces, but also to imploir the Quenis Majestie of England aide and supporte, quhilk hir Majestie hes maist gentillie granted upoun certaine covenantes, specified in ane Treaty, past at Berwick, betuix the Duck of Northfolk his good Grace, Lievtennent for hir Majestie, on that ane pairte, and ceartaine our Commissioneris, on that uther parte: Whairof the tennour followeth:—

"At Berwick, the twentie sevin day of Februare, the year of our Lord God J^m V^c fyftie and nyne yeris. It is appointed and finallie contracted betwix the noble and mychtie Prince, Thomas Duke of Northfolke, Erlle Marschell of England, and lievtennent to the Quenis most excellent Majestie of the said realme, in the name and behalf of hir Hienes, on the one

[1] In Vautr. edit., "Frenche monsters." [2] In MS. 1566, "pressed."

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pairte, and the rycht honorable Lord James Stewart,[1] Patrik Lord Ruthven, Sir Jhone Maxweill of Terreglis knycht, William Maitland of Lethingtoun younger, Jhone Wischarte of Pittarrow, and Maister Henry Balnaves of Halhill, in the name and behalf of the noble and mychtie Prince, James Duke of Chasteaularault, second persone of the realme of Scotland, and the remanent Lordis[2] of his parte, joyned with him in this cause, for the mainteanance and defence of the ancient rychtes and liberteis of thair countrey, on the other parte, in Forme as heireafter followeth: That is to say, That the Quenis Majestie, having sufficientlie understanded, alsweill by information sent from the Nobilitie of Scotland, as by the [manifest] proceadings of the Frenche, that thei intend to conqueir the realme of Scotland, suppress the liberties thairof, and unite the same unto the Croune of France perpetuallie, contrarie to the Lawis of the same Realme, and to the pactis, aithes, and promisses of France; and being thairto most humblie and earnestlie requyred by the said Nobilitie, for and in name of the hole Realme, shall accept[3] the said Realme of Scotland, the said Duke of Chasteaularault being declared by Act of Parliament in Scotland to be heyre appearand to the Croun thairof, and the Nobilitie and Subjectis thairof, unto her Majesties protection and meantenance, onlie for preservatioun of the same in thair auld fredomes and liberties, and frome conquest during the tyme that the mariage shall continue betwix the Queen of Scottis and the Frenche King, and ane yeare efter: and for expelling out of the samin realme of suche as presentlie and appearandlie goeth about to practise the said conqueist; hir Majestie shall with all speid send unto Scotland a convenient aide of men of warr,

[1] Knox's amanuensis here introduces, as a parenthetical explanation, "now Erle of Murray," a clear proof of this portion of the MS. having been transcribed before 1570. These words, also copied in MS. G, are omitted in Vautr. edit.

[2] In Rymer, &c., "the remanent of the rest of the Lordis."

[3] In MS. 1566, "except."

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on horse and foote, to joyne with the poware of Scottis men, with artelzearie, munitioun, and all uther instrumentes of warr meitt for the purpoise, alsweill by sea as by land, nott onlye to expell the present poware of Frenche within that realme, oppressing the same, bot also to stopp, als far as convenientlie may be, all greater forces of Frenche to enter thairin for the lyke purpose; and shall continue hir Majesties aide to the said realme, Nobilitie, and Subjectis of the same, unto the tyme the Frenche (being ennemyes to the said realme) be utterlie expelled hence; And shall never transact, compone, nor aggrie with the Frenche, nor conclude any leigue with thame, except the Scottis and the Frenche shalbe aggreit, that the Realme of Scotland may be left in dew fredome by the Frenche; Nor shall leave the maintenance of the said Nobilitie and Subjectis, quhairby thei mycht fall as ane pray unto thair ennemeis handis, alse lang as thei shall acknowlege their Soveraine Lady and Quene, and shall indure thameselfis to mainteine the libertie of thair country, and the estait of the Croun of Scotland: And if in caise any fortis or strenthis within the realme be wonne out of the handis of the Frenche at this present, or at any tyme heareafter, by hir Majesties aide, the same shalbe immediatlie demolished by the Scottis men, or delyvered to the said Duck and his partie foirsaid, at thair optioun and choise; neather shall the power of England fortifie within the ground of Scotland, being out of the boundis of England, but be the advyse of the said Duck, Nobilitie, and Estaites of Scotland.

"For the quhilkis causses, and in respect of hir Majesties most gentle clemencie and liberalle supporte, the said Duck, and all the Nobillitie, alsweill suche as be now joyned, as suche as shall heireafter joyne with him for defence of the libertie of that Realme, shall, to the utermaist of thair powar, aide and supporte hir Majestie's arme aganis the Frenche, and thair partaikaris, with horse men, and foote

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men, and with victuallis, by land and by sea, and with all maner of uther ayde to the best of thair powar, and so shall continue during the tyme that hir Majesties armye shall remaine in Scotland.

Item, Thei shalbe ennemyes to all such Scottis men and Frenche, as shall in anywyse shaw thame selfis ennemyes to the realme of Ingland, for the aiding and supporting the said Duck and Nobilitie, to the delyverie of the Realme of Scotland frome conqueist.

Item, Thei shall never assent nor permitt, that the Realme of Scotland shalbe conquered, or utherwyse knett to the Croun of France, then it is at this present only by mariage of the Quene thair Soveraine to the Frenche King, and by the lawes and liberties of the Realme, as it aucht to be.

Item, In caise the Frenche men shall, at any tyme heirafter, invaid, or caus to be invaded, the realme of England thei shall fournishe the nomber of twa thousand horsmen and twa thousand[1] footmen, at the least, or suche parte of ather of thame, at the choise of the Quenes Majestie of England; and shall conduct the same to pas frome the Bordaris of Scotland nixt Ingland, upon hir Majesties charges, to anie pairte upoune the realme of England, for the defence of the same. And in caise the invasioun be upon the northe partes of England, on the northe parte of the water of Tyne, to wardis Scotland, or against Berwick, on the north syd of the water of Tweid, thei shall convent and gather thair haill forces upon thair awin charges, and shall joyne with the Ingliss poware, and shall contenew in goode and earnest prosecutioun of the quarrell of England, during the space of thretty dayis, or so muche langer as thei ware accustumed to tarye in the feildis for defence of Scotland, at the commandiment of thair Soverane, at any tyme bypast.

And also, the Erlle of Argyle, Lord Justice of Scotland, being

[1] In MS. 1560, "ane thousand;" MS. G. has "200 horsemen and 1000 foot."

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presentlie joyned with the said Duck, shall employe his force and good will, whair he shalbe requyred by the Quenes Majestie, to reduce the north pairtis of Ireland to the perfyte obedience of England, conforme to ane mutualle and reciproque contract, to be maid betwix hir Majesties lieutenent or depute of Ireland being for the tyme, and the said Erlle; quhairin shalbe conteaned what he shall do for his parte, and quhatt the said lieutennent, or depute, shall do for his supporte, in caise he shall have to do with James Mackonnell,[1] or ony utheris of the Iyles of Scotland, or realme of Ireland; for performance and sure keaping whairof, thei shall for thair pairte enter to the foirsaid Duck of Northfolk the plaiges presentlie named by him, befoire the entrie of hir Majesties armye in Scottis ground, to remaine in England for the space of six monethis, and to be exchanged upoun delyverance of new hostages, of lyke or als goode conditioun as the formare; or being the lauchfulle sones, bretheren, or heires of ony of the Erlles or Baronis of Parliament, that have, or hereinafter schaw thame selfis, and persist open ennemyes to the Frenche in this quarrell; and so forth, from sex monethis to sex monethis, or foure monethis to foure monethis, as shall best pleis the partie of Scotland; and the tyme of continuance of the hostages salbe during the marriage of the Quene of Scottis to the Frenche King, and ane yeare efter the dissolutioun of the

[1] In the Cotton. MS., "Monneil." Sadler (State Papers, vol. i. pp. 431, 517) calls him, "James M'Donell," and "Macconnell," and says, 8th Sept. 1559, that the Queen Regent had endeavoured to stir him, "and others of the Scottish Irishrie, against the Erle of Argyle," to prevent Argyle from rendering aid to his associates, the Lords of the Congregation.

In a Report on the state of the West Isles of Scotland drawn up by the Dean of Limerick, in 1595 or 1596, James M'Connell is specially mentioned as having been "holden in great jealousie by the house of Argyle." It is further added, that "Anne Cambell, halfe syster to the aforesayde Erle, the wife to the Sherif of Bute, by whome she was hardlie entreated; . . . by reason of her hard usadge jorneyinge towards Argeile, she was intercepted by the said James, and marryed; by whome she had five sonnes and a daughter." (Miscellany of the Maitland Club, vol. iv. p. 44.) As James Stewart, Sheriff of Bute, had lawful issue by a second marriage, he probably had obtained a divorce from his first wife.

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said marriage, untill farder ordour may be had betwix boyth the realmes for peace and concorde.

And, farder more, the said Duck, and all the Nobilitie, being Erlles and Barronis of Parliament, joyned with him, shall subscryve and seall these Articles and comptis within the space of xx or threttie dayis, at the uttermost, nixt following the day of the delyverance of the said hostages; and shall also procure and persuad all utheris of the Nobilitie that shall joyne thame selfis heirefter with the said Duck, for the causses above specified, lykwyis to subscryve and seall these articles at any tyme efter the space of twentie dayis efter thair conjunctioun, upoun requisitioun maid to thame on the partie of the Quenes Majestie of England.

And, finallie, the said Duck, and the Nobilitie joyned with him, certainlie perceaving, that the Quenis Majestie of England is thairunto moved onlie upoun respect of princelie honour and nychtbourehead, for the defence of the fredome of Scotland from conqueist, and not of any uther sinister intent, doeth by these presentis testifie and declair, that [neither] thai, nor any of thame, meane by this compt to wythdraw ony dew obedience to thair Soveraine Lady the Quene, nor in any lefull thing to withstand the Frenche King, hir husband and head, that during the marriage shall nott tend to the subversioun and oppressioun of the just and ancient liberties of the said kingdome of Scotland; for preservatioun whairof, boyth for thair Soveranis honour, and for the continuance of the kingdome in ancient estait, thei acknowlege thameselfis bound to spend thair guidis, landis, and lyves. And for performance of this present Contract for the part of England, the Quenes Majestie shall confirme the same, and all clauses thairinto contained, by hir letteris patentis, under the Great Seall of England, to be delyvered to the Nobilitie of Scotland, upon the entress of the pledges afoirsaid within the ground of England.

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[In witnes wheirof, the Commissionaris for the Ducke of Chasteaularault and Nobilitie of Scotland befoir named, haif subscryved these presentis, and thereunto affixed their sealles, the day, zeare, and place afoirsaidis:—

James Stewart.
Patrick L. Ruthwen.
Johne Maxwell.
W. Maitland.
Jhone Wyshart.
Henricus Balnaves.]

In witnes quhairof, the said Duck his Grace of Northfolke,[1] hath subscryved these presentis, and thairinto affixit his seall, the day, yeare, and place foirsaid.

[Tho. Norffolk.]

Whiche Contract we find honest, reassonable, and that our saidis Commissioneris thair hathe consideratlie respected to

[1] Knox has here inserted the Articles of the Convention at Berwick, 27th February 1559-60, as confirmed by the Duke of Chattelherault, at Leith, 10th May 1560, "after the incoming of the English armies," (Calderwood's Hist. vol. i. p. 578.) In this confirmation the signatures of the Scotish Commissioners to the Articles are omitted, as the copy it embodied was that exchanged with the said Commissioners, and attested by Thomas Duke of Norfolk, Earl Marischal of England, as Commissioner from Queen Elizabeth. The original Articles, with the signatures of the Scotish Commissioners, as given in the text above, along with the clause enclosed within brackets, are inserted in Rymer's Fœdera, etc., vol. xv. p. 569; edit. 1740, vol. vi. par. iv. p. 95, under this title, "Conventiones Scotorum contra Reginam Unionem Franciæ et Scotiæ designantem, et pro Defensione contra Francos." A copy of these Articles, from a minute endorsed by Secretary Cecil, and printed among the Burghley State Papers, p. 253, omits the testing clause altogether. In the same volume, there is a letter from the Duke of Norfolk to the Privy Council, last of February, stating,—"that these three daies have we been in conference and consultation with the Lords of Scotland, upon this great and weighty matter." Copies of this Convention are also preserved among the Cotton. MSS. Calig. B. ix. fol. 34, and B. x. fol. 60. The Commission, dated 29th March 1560, added to one of these MSS., has the following marginal note by Sir Robert Cotton:—"It seems by the Commission given by the Queen for confirmation of these Articles, dated in the month of March following, that this treaty was concluded before the Queen would openly profess herself a party, which is to be noted."

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the comoun wealth of this realme, of us, and our posteritie; and thairfoire do ratifie, allow, confirme, and approve the same, with all clauses and articles thairin contained, by thir presentis.

In witnes heirof, to the same subscryved with our handis, our seallis of armes, in sick caises accustomed, are appended. At the camp foiranent Leyth, the tent day of May, the year of God J^{m} V^{c} and thriescoir yearis.

(*Follow the Subscriptionis.*[1])

THE SUBSCRIPTIONIS.

THE DUCK OF CHASTEAULARAULT.	ERLE OF ARGYLE.
EARLE OF ARRANE.	LORD BORTHWICK.
EARLE OF HUNTLIE.	LORD JAMES STEWARTE.
EARLE OF GLENCARNE.	LORD OF SANCT JHONE.
EARLE OF MORTOUN.	ALEXANDER GORDOUN.
EARLE OF ROTHESS.	LORD JHONE OF ABERBROTHOK.[2]
EARLE OF MOUNTEITH.	LORD BOYDE.
LORD OGULVIE.	LORD SOMMERVAILL.
LORD OCHILTRIE.	ABBOT OF KINLOSS.
LORD ROBERT STEWARTE.	ABBOT OF CULROSS.
GAWIN HAMYLTOUN OF KILWYNING.[3]	JAMES STEWART OF SANCT COLMES INCHE.[4]

THE INSTRUCTIONIS GEVIN, SUBSCRYVIT TO THE SAID COMMISSIONARIS [THAT WENT TO BERWICK, AR THIR AS][5] FOLLOW:—

AND for the first, Gif it shalbe askyt of yow be the said Duck of Northfolk his Grace, and otheris, [by] the Quenes Ma-

[1] These Subscriptions obviously exhibit the names and not the actual signatures of the Subscribers.

[2] Lord John Hamilton, Commendator of Aberbrothock.

[3] Commendator of Kilwinning.

[4] Commendator of the Monastery of Inchcolm, or St. Colme's Inch.

[5] The words enclosed in brackets, are supplied from MS. G.

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jesties appointment, appointed Commissionaris, gif our pledges be in reddines? Ye shall answer, that thei ar, and in Sanctandrois, the xxiiij of this instant, and shalbe reddy to delyver in hostages for securitie of our promisses, and part of contract, thei offering and macking securitie for thair part by the Quenes Majesties subscriptioun and great sealle, and delyvering the same unto you; provyding that thei chuse and mack thair electioun of the pledges as is convenient.

Secoundlie, Gif the saidis Commissionaris shall demand of yow, what interpryse the armye of England shall tak upoun hand at thair first incumminges? Ye shall answer, in generall the expulsioun of the Frenches soldiouris furth of this realme: and first and in specialle furth of the toun of Leyth, seing thair great forces ar thair.

3. *Item*, Gif it shalbe askit of yow, at what place our freindis and bretherin of England shalbe mett, and what day, what nomber, and what Nobill men in cumpany? Ye shall referr all those thingis to thair electioun and choise.

4. *Item*, Gif it shalbe askit of yow how the armyes shalbe fournissed with victuallis, and especiallie the horse men? Ye shall answer, that with thair advyses ane sufficient order shalbe tackin thairin.

5. *Item*, Gif it be requyred, how the munitioun shalbe carryed, and oxen furnissed to that effect? Ye shall answer, as we have gevin in commissioun to Lethingtoun, quhilk we ratifie.

6. *Item*, Gif it beis asked, wha shalbe Lievtennent to the armie of Scotland? Ye shall answer, my Lord Duckes Grace.

7. *Item*, Gif it shalbe inquyred, what nomber our haill armye extendis to? Ye shall answer, thai will, God-willing, be fyve thousand men.

8. *Item*, Gif it shalbe askit, what maner of way Leyth shalbe assaulted? Ye shall desyre all preparationis to be in reddenes, and the advyse to be taine after the placing of the armyes and view of the strenth schoirtlie.

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9. *Item*, Gif it shalbe askit of the Castell of Edinburgh, gif thei will stand freindis or nott? Ye shall declair our diligence maid, and to be maid schoirtlie heirinto; but for the present can assure thame of nothing.

10. *Item*, Gif it beis askit, in caise the Castell be unfriend, whair the armye shalbe placed? Ye shall ansueir, for the first in Musselburgh and Tranent, and thei partis, till the battery, and all preparationis be in reddenes.

11. *Item*, In caise it beis inquyred of all bye-lyeris, and in speciall of my Lord Huntlie, in the North? Ye shall ansueir in generall, ane goode hope is had of the maist pairt thairof; and tuiching my Lord of Huntlie in speciale, ye shall schaw how he hes send writtingis to my Lord of Arrane, with ane servand in creddite, to assure him of his assistance; and for that caus hes desyred letteris of suspensioun of the Quene Dowageris commissioun, to be send to him, to be usit by him in thei partis, and utheris letteris to arreist the Clergies rentis and her's[1] boyth in thei partis, with proclamationis to cause all men to be in reddines to pass forwardis, for maintening of the religioun and expulsioun of strangeris. My Lord hes writtein to him, that he may come to him in proper persone, whairof the answer is nott returned as yitt.

12. *Item*, Gif it shalbe askit, the place and maner of meiting of oure folkis, or of us and thame, in caise Striveling be kept? We referr the ansueir heirof to youre discretionis.

13. *Item*, Gif it shalbe askit that thair layed money shall have passage for thair viveris? Ye shall reasoun the commoditie and incommoditie thairof with the Counsale.[2]

14. *Item*, Gif it shalbe askit, what pioneris shalbe had? Ye shall answer, the nomber being expressed, and money be in reddenes to seld[3] thame, thei shall have sufficientlie.

[1] In MS. 1566, "hires;" MS. G, "hyres."

[2] In Vautr. edit. "the Comishall."

[3] In MS. G, "to pay;" in Vautr. edit. "to sell," and in both copies, "have sufficiencie," at the end of the sentence.

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15. *Item*, Gif thei shall desyre that we declair our cause unto the Princes of Alamagne, and the King of Denmarke, desyring thair assistance? Ye shall answere, that we think the same good, and shall speedelie tak ordour thairwith.

16. *Item*, Gif it shalbe askit of yow to confirme for us, and in oure name, the thingis past and granted be oure formare Commissionare the young Laird of Lethingtoun? Ye shall in all poyntis for us, and in oure name, confirme the same, sa far as it shall mak either for the weill and conjunctioun of the twa realmes, or this present cause, or yitt for the securitie of oure pairt for fulfilling of the samein: and also, ye shall accept thair offeris, tending to the same fyne, and sic securitie on that parte, as ye may purchese, and especiallie sic as we heirtofoir exprimit. Gevin at Glaskow, the tent of Februar 1559.

Item, We gif and grantis you full power to augment, or diminische thir saidis heidis and Articles, as ye think the weall of the cause sall requyre in all pointis.

Johnne of Menteith.[1]	James Hamyltoun.
Andro of Rothess.	Alex^r. Gordoun.
R. Boyd.	Ar^d. Ergyle.
Williame Murray *of Tullibardin.*	Glencarne.
Johnne Erskin *of Dun.*	Vchiltre.
	James Haliburtoun.

Schort efter this Contract, war oure pledgeis delyverit to Maister Winter, Admirall of the Navye, that came to Scotland, a man of great honestie, sua far as ever we could espy of him, quha war saiflie convoyit to New Castell. And sua the Ingliss

[1] The names of these Commissioners are mostly well known:—John Earl of Menteith, Andrew Earl of Rothes, Robert Lord Boyd, Sir William Murray of Tullibardine, John Erskine of Dun, James Hamilton Earl of Arran, Alexander Gordon, Bishop of Galloway, and Commendator of Inchaffray, Archibald Earl of Argyle, Alexander Earl of Glencairn, An lrew Lord Ochiltre, and James Halyburton, Provost of Dundee.

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army began to assembill towardis the Bordour; quhairof the Frensche and Quene Regent assurit, thay began to distroy quhat thay could in the tounis and cuntrey about; for the haill victuallis they careit to Leith; the mylnes thay brak; the scheip, oxin, and kyne, yea, the horse of poore lauboraris, thay maid all to serve thair tyrannye. And, fynallie, they left na thyng quhilk the verray ennemeis could have devisit, except that thay demolischit not gentilmenis housses, and brunt not the toune of Edinburgh: in quhilk poynt, God brydillit thair furye, to lett his afflictit understand that he tuik cair for thame.

THE CREWELL FACT OF MARTYCKIS.

Befoir the cuming of the land armye, the Frensche past to Glasgu, and distroyit the cuntrey thair about. Quhat tyrannye the Martyckis[1] usit upone ane poore Scottis suldiour, it is feirfull to heir, and yitt his fact may not be omittit. Silver wald thay gif nane to the poore men, and sua war thay slow to depairt of the toun; for albeit the drum struik, the enseingze could not be gottin. Thair was ane poore craftis man, quha haid bocht for his victuallis ane gray laif, and was eitting ane morsell of it, and was putting the rest of it in his bosome. The tyranne cam to him, and with the poore catyveis awin quhynger first straik him in the breist, and after cast it at him, and sua the poore man, stagring and falling, the mercyless tyranne ran him through with his rapper, and thairefter commandit him to be hingit ower the stair. Lord, thow wilt yitt luik, and recompense sick tyrrannye; how contemptable that ever the persoun was!

The secunde of Aprile, the yeir of God, J^{m} V^{c} and threscoir yeiris, the army be land enterit in Scotland, the conducting quhairof was commitit to the Lord Gray,[2] quha haid in his company the Lord Scrope, Sir James Croftis, Sir Hary Peircey,

[1] *See supra*, page 12, note 1.

[2] William Lord Gray de Wilton, "a gallant warrior," who distinguished himself on several occasions, and who, in 1559, was appointed Warden of the Middle and Eastern Marches.

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Sir Francis Laike, with mony uthir capitaneis and gentilmen having charge, sum of futmen, sum of horsmen. The armye be land was esteimit to ten thowsand men. The Quene Regent past to the Castell of Edinburgh,[1] and sum utheris of hir factioun.[2] At Prestoun met thame the Duckes Grace, the Erle of Argyle, (Huntlie came not till that the seige was confirmit,) Lord James, the Erlles of Glencairne and Menteith, Lordis Ruthwen, Boyd, Ochiltre, with all the Protestantis gentilmen of the West Fyffe, Anguss, and Mearneis. Swa that for few dayis the armye was greit.

Efter the deliberatioun of twa dayis had at Enneresk,[3] the haill camp marchit fordwart with ordinance, and all preparatioun necessar for the seige, and came to Restalrig upoun the Palme Sunday Evin.[4] The Frensche haid put tham-

[1] In a letter to Sadler, Randall writes on the 25th January 1559-60,—"It is thought that the Quene Douagier shalbe received very shortlie into the Castell of Edinburgh, for any travaile that can be to the contrarie, with her onlie howsholde servaunts and gentlewoomen." Two months later, on the 28th March 1560, he says, "It hath been longe in doubte whether the Quene Douagier woolde either to the Castell of Edinburgh or to Lythe; it is saide, that it is now resolved, that it will to the Castell this daye."—(State Papers, vol. i. pp. 696, 712.) That the Queen had the purpose of entering the Castle at the time first specified, is evident from an incidental notice in the Treasurer's Accounts of his having paid £8 on the 26th January 1559-60, "to Maister Johne Balfour, for transporting of the Quenis Grace cofferis fra the Abbay of Halierudhous to the Castell of Edinburgh." On the same day, a messenger was sent "with clois writtingis of the Quenis Grace to Monsr. Dosell;" and two days later 17s. was paid "to ane boy passand of Edinburgh, with clois writtingis of the Quenis Grace to Monsr. Labroce, rynnand all the nycht." On the last of January, the Queen herself received the sum of £250. The actual date when the Queen passed from Holyrood House to the Castle, was the 1st of April. (Diurnal of Occurrents, pp. 56, 274.)

[2] The chief persons who remained in the Castle of Edinburgh with the Queen Regent, were John Hamilton, Archbishop of St. Andrews, William Earl Marischal, William Chisholm, Bishop of Dunblane, Robert Crichton, Bishop of Dunkeld, Abraham Crichton, Provost of the Church of Douglass, and James Makgill, Clerk-Register.—(Lesley's History, p. 284; Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 274; Holinshed's Chronicles, &c.)

[3] In MS. G, "Inneresk;" in Vautr. edit., "Enresk." The village of Inveresk may be said to form part of Musselburgh, and is situated on the east side of the River Esk, near its confluence with the Frith of Forth, about six miles from Edinburgh.

[4] Saturday, the 6th of April, was the eve of Palm Sunday.

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selfis in battell array upoun the Linkis without Leith, and had send furth thair skyrmissaris; quha begynning befoir ten houris, contyneuit skyrmissing till efter foure houris at efter none, quhan thair was gevin upone thame ane charge be sum horsmen of Scotland, and sum of Yngland. Bot because the principall Capitane of the horsmen of Yngland was not present, the haill troupis durst not charge; and swa was not the owerthraw and slawchter of the Frensche sa greit as it anis appeirit to haif bene; for the greit battell was anis at the trote; bot quhen thay persevit that the greit force of the horsemen stuid still, and chargeit not, thay returnit and gaif sum rescourse to thair fallowis that fled; and swa thair fell onlie in that defait about three hundreth Frenschmen. God wald nocht gif the victorie swa suddanlie, leist that man sould glorye in his awin strenth. The small victorie that was gottin, putt baith the Yngliss and Scottis in ower greit securitie, as the ischew declairit. The Frensche inclosit within the toun, the Yngliss armye began to plant thair palyeanis[1] betwix Leith and Restalrig.[2] The ordinance of the toun, and especiallie that quhilk lay upoun Sanct Anthonies Stepill[3] did

[1] In MS. G, and Vautr. edit., "pavilliones."

[2] The village of Restalrig lies about a-mile to the south-east of Leith.

[3] The building thus converted by the French troops into a place of defence, was the Hospital or Preceptory of St. Anthony, founded by Robert Logan of Restalrig, in 1435. It stood near the Kirkgate Street, at the south-west corner of what is still called St. Anthony's Wynd; and is said to have been the only establishment in Scotland belonging to the Canons of St. Anthony. During the siege in May 1560, the building was probably nearly all demolished. On the 17th of that month, the English troops having raised earthen mounds for their great ordinance, "beganne to shoote at Sanct Anthonyes steeple in Leith, upon the which steeple the Frenche had monted som artillerie, which was very noisome to the campe; bot within a few hours after, the said steeple was broken and shott doune; likewise they shott doune some part of the east end of the kirk of Leith." (Historie of the Estate of Scotland, in the Wodrow Miscellany, vol. i. p. 84.) Another old authority states,—"Upon the 20th day [of April] the principell blokhous within Leith, callit St Anthonies Kirk, was dung doun with cannones, and also the High Street where the viveris (provisions) lay, and many uther houssis upon the east syd of the toun."—(Lindesay of Pitscottie's Chronicles.)

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thame greit annoyance: aganist quhilk place war bent aucht cannounis, quhilkis schott sa continewallie, and sua just, that within few dayis, that Stepill was condemnit, and all the ordinance that was on it dismontit, quhilk maid the Ynglismen sum quhat mair negligent than it became guid men of war to have bene; for persaiving that the Frensche maid na persute without thair wallis, they tuik oppinioun that they wald never ishe mair, and that maid sum of the Capitanis for pastyme, go to the toun:[1] the soldiouris, for thair ease, did lay thair armour besyde thame, and, as men without daingear, fell to the dice and cairtis. And sua, upoun the Pasche Mononday,[2] at the verray hour of noon, the Frenche ischeit baith on horse and fute, and with greit violence, enterit in to the Yngliss trynscheis, slew and putt to flycht all that was fund thairin. The watche was negligentlie keipit, and so was the succourse slow, and lang in cuming; for the Frenche, befoir that any resistance was made unto thame, approcheit hard to the greit ordinance. Bot than the horsmen troupit togidder, and the futemen gat thameselffis in array, and sua repulsit the Frenche back agane to the toun. Bot the slauchter was greit: sum sayis it doubill exceidit that quhilk the Frenche resavit the fyrst day. And this was the frute of thair securitie and oures, quhilk efter was remeidit; for the Ynglismen maist wyslie considdering thame selfis not abill to beseige the toun round about, devysit to mak montis at dyverse quarteris of it, in the quhilk thay and thair ordinance lay in as gude strenth as thay did within the toun. The common soldiouris keipit the trynscheis, and had the said montis for thair saifgaird and refuge, in case of any greiter persute than thay war abill to sustene. The patience and stowt curage of the Englismen, bot principallie of the horsmen, is worthy of all prayse: for, quhair was it ever hard that aucht thousand

[1] MS. G. has "go upe to the toun of Edinburgh."

[2] Easter Monday fell on the 15th of April.

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(thay never exceidit that number that lay in camp) sould beseige four thousand of the maist despairit throt-cuttaris that were to be found in Europe, and lye sua neir unto thame in daylie skyrmissing, the space of thre monethis and mair. The horsmen nycht and day keipit watche, and did sa valiantlie behaif thameselffis, that the Frenche gatt na advantage fra that day back to the day of the assault, quhairof we shall schortlie heir.

In this meanetyme was this uther Band made of all the Nobilitie, Barronis, and Gentilmen, professing Chryst Jesus in Scotland, and of dyveris utheris that joynit with us, for expelling of the Frenche armey; amangis quham, the Erle of Huntlie was principall. The Band followis:—

[Ane Contract of the Lords and Barons, to defend the Liberty of the Evangell of Christ.][1]

At Edinburgh, the xxvij day of Aprile, the yeir of God ane thousand fyve hundreth threescoir yeiris: We, quhais namis ar underwrittin, haif promittit and oblist oure selffis faithfullie, in the presens of oure God, and be thir presentis promittis, that we altogidder in generall, and every ane of us in speciall, be him selff, with oure bodeis, guidis, freyndis, and all that we may do, sall sett fordwart the Reformatioun of Religioun, according to Goddes word; and procure, be all meanis possibill, that the treuth of Goddes

[1] In the MS. copies of Knox, this Band of Association by the Lords and Barons of Scotland, for setting forward the Reformation, is simply entitled, "The Last Band at Leyth." It was printed "from the Original" at Hamilton Palace, by Bishop Burnet, in his History of the Reformation, vol. iii. p. 287. It was probably not very accurately transcribed, but some slight corrections from that work have been adopted. It was reprinted in the Appendix to Crawfurd's Officers of State, p. 444; and in Keith's History, vol. i. p. 273. In all these copies, as well as in Knox, the names of the Lords and Barons who subscribed the Band are omitted. A contemporary copy in the British Museum, among the Harleian MSS. (No. 289. fol. 70.) has enabled me to supply this important omission.

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word may haif free passage within this Realme, with due administratioun of the sacramentis, and all thingis depending upoun the said word: And siclik, deiplie weying with oure selfis the misbehavour of the Frenche Ministeris heir; the intollerabill oppressiouns commitit be the Frenche men of weir upon the poore subjectis of this Realme, by meyntenance of the Quene Dowager, under cullour and pretence of authoritie; the tyrannye of thair Capitanis and leadaris; and manifest danger of conqueist, in quhilk this countrey presentlie standis, be reasoun of dyverse fortificatiouns upoune the sea-coast; and uther novelties of lait attemptit be thame; promittis, that We sall, als weill every ane with uther, as altogidder, with the Quene of Englandis armie, presentlie cumit in for oure delyverance, effectuallie concur and joyne togidder, taiking anefald plane pairt,[1] for expulsioun of the said strangeris, oppressouris of oure libertie, furth of this Realme, and recovery of oure ancient fredomis and liberteis; to the end, that in tyme cuming, we may, under the obedience of the Kyng and Quene our Soveranis, be onlie rewllit be the lawis and customeis of the cuntrey, and borne men of the land: And that never ane of us sall haif pryvey intelligence be writting, message, or communicatioun with ony of oure saidis ennemeis or adversareis in this cause, bot be the advise of the rest (at least of fyve) of the Counsale. Attour, that we sall tender the commun cause, as gif it war the cause of everie ane of us in particular; and that the causses of everie ane of us now joinit togidder, being leifull and honest, sall be all oure causses in generall: And he that is ennemy to the causses foirsaid, sall be ennemy to us all: in sa far, that quhatsoever persone will planelie resist thir oure godlie interpryseis, and will not concur as

[1] In MS. G, "taking and hald plain parte;" Vautr. edit. has "take and holde ane playne parte." In Burnet, "taking one fold and plain part of the expulsion."

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ane guid and trew member of this Common weill, we sall fortifie the auctoritie of the Counsale, to reduce thame to thair dewitie. Lyke as we sall fortifie the auctoritie foir-said of the Counsale, in all thyngis tending to the furtherance of the saidis causses: And gif ony particular debait, quarrell, or contraversie, sall arryse, for quhatsoever cause, bygane, present, or to cum, betwix ony of us, (as God forbid,) in that caise, we shall submit our selfis and oure saidis questionis, to the decisioun of the Counsale, or to arbitratouris to be namit[2] be thame. And providing alwayis, that this be not prejudiciall to the ordinarie jurisdictioun of Judgeis, but that men may persew thair actiouns by ordour of law civilie or criminallie, befor the Judges Ordinaris[3] gif thai please.

NOTA.—HEIRUPONE CAME THE PERSUTE.[1]

[In wytnes of the quhilk we have subscrivit this present Band with our hands, day, zeir, and place above wryttine.

JAMES.
JAMES HAMMYLTON.
HUNTLEY.
AR^D. ARGILL.
GLENCARN.
ROTHES.
MORTOUN.
A. GORDOUN.
JAMES JOHNSON, *Apparand of Elphistoun.*
PATRYK DOWGLASS.
ROBERT CAMPBELL.
ANDREW JHONSON.
ROBYN CAR.
JAMES STEWART.
JHON MONTEY^T.
RUTHWEN.
R. BOYD.
OGYLWYE.
VCHILTREE.
JHON MAXVEL.
PATRYK LYNDSAY.
JHON MAISTER PHORBES.
LORD SOMERWELL.
JAMES HALYBURTOUN.
ALEX^R. DUNBAR *of Cumnok.*
GRAYTLY.
W^M. DOUGLAS *of Whyttingeym.*
GEORGE HWME *of Spott.*

[1] In Vautr. edit. "Now hereupon," &c.
[2] In MS. G, "to be maid."
[3] In Knox these four words are omitted.

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JHON GORDOUN, *of Finlatter.*
ALEX^R. SETON, *Younger of Meldrum.*
HENRY GRAHAME, *Youngar of Morphy.*
ALEX^R. GORDOUN *of Abyrzelde.*
DRUMLAYNRYK.
FAUNHAUS.[1]
CRAYNSTON *of that Ilk.*
WEDDERBURN.
ALEX^R. HUME.
JHONSON.
GEORGE NYSBYT, *with my hand at the pen.*
CUNNYNGHAYMHYD.
LESLYE *of Bowquhane.*
JHON INNES *of that Ilk.*
ARTHUR PHORBES.
W^M. LESLEY *Youngar of Wardes.*
JHON WISHART.
DRUMLOYGHIE.

CESFUIRD.
HUNDHILL.
MARK KAR.]

THE DOCHTER WILL NOT TAK EXAMPILL BY THE MOTHER.

This Contract and Band came not onlie to the eiris, bot alssua to the sycht of the Quene Dowager; quhairat sche stormit nott a little, and said, "The maledictioun of God I gif unto thame that counsaleit me to persecute the prechearis, and to refuise the petitiouns of the best pairt of the trew subjects of this realme. It was said to me, That the Yngliss army could not ly in Scotland ten dayis; bot now thay [have] lyin near ane moneth, and ar mair lyk to remane than the first day thay came." Thay that gaif sick informatioun to the Quene, spak as wardlie wyise men, and as thingis appeirit to have bene; for the cuntrey being almaist in all the partis thairof waistit, the victuallis nixt adjacent to Leith either brocht in to thair provisioun, or ellis destroyit; the mylnis and uther placeis, as befoir is said, being cassin doun, it appeirit that the camp could not have bene furnissit (except it haid bene by thair awin schippis, and as that could nocht have bene of ony

[1] I suspect some of these names may have been mistaken; such as "Graytly," and "Faunhaus," which an examination of the original might correct.

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lang continewance, sua sould it have bene nathing confortable:) Bot God confoundit all warldlie wisdome, and maid his awin benedictioun als evidentlie to appeir as gif in ane maner he had fed the army from above. For all kind of victuallis thair was mair aboundante, and of mair easie priceis, in the camp all the tyme that it lay, efter that aucht dayis war past, than either thay haid bene in Edinburgh any of the twa yeires of befoir, or yit hes bene in that toun to this day. THE 20 OF MAIJ, ANNO The pepill of Scotland sa mekill abhorrit the tyrrannye of the 1566.[1] Frenche, that thay wald have gevin the substance that thay had, to have bene ridd of that chargeable burding, quhilk oure synnis had provockit God to lay upoun us, in geving us in the handis of ane woman, quhom our Nobilitie in thair fulischnes sauld unto strangearis, and with hir the libertie of the Realme. "God, for his greit mercies saik, preserve us yitt from farther bondage, in the quhilk we ar lyke to fall, gif he provyde not remedy; for oure Nobilitie will yett remane blynd still, and will follow hir affectiouns, cum efter quhat sua may." Bot to returne to oure Historie.

The campe abounding in all necessarie provisioun, ordour was taikin for confirmatioun of the Seige;[2] and sa the trynches war drawin als neir the toun, as thay gudlie mycht. The greitt campe removit fra Restalrig to the west syde of the Watter of Leith; and sa war the cannounis plantit for the batterie, and did schute at the south-west wall. But be reas-

[1] In all the other copies this marginal note forms part of the text. It is in the same hand with the MS.: see note 1, page 68.

[2] In Holinshed's Chronicles is contained a minute account of the Siege of Leith, in May 1560. Thomas Churchyard, the English Poet, who was present among the troops commanded by Lord Gray de Wilton, published in "The First Part of Churchyarde's Chippes," (a kind of Poetical Miscellany,) "The Siege of Leith," written in stanzas of seven lines. It was first printed at London in 1565; again in 1575, and 1578. This poem referred to, is included in the volume of "Churchyard's Chips concerning Scotland," edited by George Chalmers, Lond. 1817, 8vo.

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sone all was eird, the brek[1] was nott maid sa greit upoun the day bot that it was sufficientlie repairit upoun the nycht. Quhairof the Inglismen begynning to weary, determinit to gyve the brusche and assault; as that thay did upoun the sevint day of Maij, beginning befoir the day-licht, and continuing till it was neir sevin houris. And albeit that the Ingliss and Scottis, with greit slauchter of the suldiouris of baith, were repulsit, yitt was thair never ane scharpar assault gevin of so few handis; for thay exceidit not ane thousand men that assaultit the haill twa quarteris of the toun, and yitt thay dampnit the haill blok-housses; yea, thay anis pat the Frenche clene of thair wallis, and were upoun baith the west and eist blokhousses. Bot thay wantit baking; for thair ledderis wantit sax quarteris of the just hicht; and sua quhill the former wer compellit to fecht upoun the tope of [the] wall, thair fellowis could nott win to support thame, and sa war thay be multitude dung back agane, quhen it was anis thocht the Toune was win.

THE ASSAULT OF LEITH, THE 7 OF MAIJ 1560.

Sir James Croftis[2] was blamit of mony for not doing his dewitie that day; for he was appoyntit, with ane sufficient nomber of the maist abill men, to haif assaultit the north-west quarter upoun the sey-syde, quhair, at ane low-water (as at the tyme of the assault) [the passage] was easy:[3] bot neather he nor his approchit to thair quarter appoyntit. He had befoir, at thair first cuming in, spokin with the

[1] In MS. G, "Bot be ressoun the wall was eirthe, the breiche," &c.; Vautr. edit. has, as in the text, "But by reason all was earth, the breache," &c.

[2] As mentioned by Knox, *supra*, page 31, Sir James Crofte was captain of the Town and Castle of Berwick, and warden of East Marches. "He had," says Sir Walter Scott, "a good military reputation; having governed Ireland, and defended Haddington (in 1547) against the French and the Scotch. He was attainted by Queen Mary, but restored by Queen Elizabeth, and made Governor of Berwick; an office which he enjoyed at the date of these letters." (State Papers, vol. i. p. 387.) But Crofts, for his conduct at this time, was impeached by the Duke of Norfolk, and removed from his office as Governor, which was conferred on Lord Gray. He afterwards became Comptroller of the Household, and died in 1595.

[3] In MS. 1566, "of the assault it was easy."

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Quene Regent[1] at the foir blok-house of the Castell of Edinburgh. Quhidder sche had enchantit him we knew nott, but by suspitioun of that day, in the quhilk he desaivit the expectation of many, and, sa far as man could judge, was the caus of that greit repulse; for sum ascribit the schortnes of the ledderis to him: bot that omittit, quhilk mycht have proceidit of negligence, his absens frome the persute of his quarter, was the cause that sick Frenche as war appointit thair to defend, seing na persewar, came to the releif of thair fellowis, and sa the twa joyning togidder, with greit slauchter gaif the repulse to oure company. The Frenche menis harlotis, of quhom the maist pairt war Scottis hureis, did na less creweltie than did the souldiaris; for besydis that thay chargeit thair peceis, and ministrit unto thame uther weaponis, sum continewallie cast staneis, sum careit chymnayis of burnyng fyre, sum brocht tymmer and uther impedimentis of wecht, quhilk with great violence thay threw over the wall upoun oure men, bot especiallie quhen thay began to turne backis. Now, albeit in all this we acknawlège the secreit wark of God, quha by sick meanis wald beat doun alsweill the pryde of Ingland as of Scotland, yitt neather aucht the febilnes nor falsett of man to be excusit, neather yitt the cruelty of the adversareis be conceilit. The Quene Regent satt all the tyme of the assault (quhilk was baith terribill and lang) upon the foir-wall of the Castell of Edinburgh; and quhen sche perceivit the overthraw of us, and that the ensenyeis of the Frenche war agane displayit upoun the wallis, sche gaif ane gawfe of lauchter, and said, "Now will I go to

[1] The interview of Crofts with the Queen Regent that Knox alludes to, took place on the 6th April 1560, during the skirmish at Restalrig. "In this meantyme (says Bishop Lesley) the Lord Gray, and Sir George Hawart, and Sir James Croftis to the Castell of Edinburgh, to speik with the Quein to this effect (viz. the cause of the coming of the army, &c.); quha had long conference with hir upoun the blok hous at the uter yeit of the saide Castell, the same day, during the tyme of the scarmishe," &c. (Hist. p. 283.) See also the Historie of the Estate of Scotland, in the Wodrow Miscellany, vol. i. p. 82.

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the Messe, and prayse God for that quhilk my eyes have sene!" And sa was Freir Black[1] reddy for that purpose, quhom sche hir self a little of befoir had deprehendit with his harlott in the chapell: But huredome and idolatrye aggre weill togidder, and that oure Courte can witnesse this day, 16 Maij 1566.[2]

THE INHUMANITIE OF THE MERCYLES FRENCHE.

The Frenche, prowd of the victorie, strypeit naikit all the slayne, and laid thair deid[3] carcassis befoir the hot sune alang thair wall, quhair thay sufferit thame to lye ma dayis nor ane: unto the quhilk, quhen the Quene Regent luikit, for myrth sche happit and said, "Yonder are the fairest tapestrie that ever I saw: I wald that the haill feyldis that is betwix this place and yon, war strowit with the same stuiffe." This fact was sene of all, and hir wordis war hard of sum, and mislykeit of many. Against the quhilk Johnne Knox spak oppinlie in pulpeit, and baldlie affirmeit, "That God sould reveange that contumelye done to his image, not onlie in the furiouse and godless souldiaris, bot evin in sick as rejoysit thairat." And the verray experience declairit, that he was nott deceavit; for within few dayis thair efter, (yea sum say that same day,) began hir bellie and lothsome leggis to swell, and sa continewit, till that God did execute his judgementis upoun hir, as efter we sall heir.

THE QUENE REGENTIS CREWELL HART.

The defait receavit, it was fully perswadit to the Queen Regent and hir factioun, that the Seige wald ryse, and that the Ingliss army wald depairt: and sua began the Papistis wondrouslie to brag; and yitt God did frustratt thair expectation; for the army concludit[4] to remane till new adverteisment came fra the Quene in Counsall.

The Duck of Northfolk, quha than lay at Berwick, commandit the Lord Gray to continew the seige, and promeisit "That he sould not laick men sa lang as ony war to be

[1] Some notices of this Frier Black will be given in the Appendix.

[2] This date, like that on the margin at page 65, is in the same hand with the MS., and serves to show that this portion of the volume was written or transcribed in May 1566. In MS. G. the date, by mistake, is May 1560.

[3] In MS. G, "dead" is omitted.

[4] In MS. G, "determined."

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had betwix Trent and Tweid, for sa far was he lieutennent." He farther promeisit his awin presens, in caise he sould be requyreit; and for assurance thairof, he send his awin palzeounis,[1] sic as seldome befoir had bene sene in Scotland, with his officiaris and provisioun. And with expeditioun war send twa thousand fresche men, quhairby the campe, greitlie confortit, began to forgett the former disconfiture, and to sustene the daylie skyrmissing as thay did befoir; in the quhilk the Frenche, efter the day of the assault, did ever resaif the hurt and the repulse, as the slauchter of many that came to the cockill-raik[2] did witnesse. The greatest damage that ather Ingliss or Scottis receavit efter that day, was the slauchter of twa gentilmen, the ane Master of Household to my Lord James, Robert Colvene of Cleysche,[3] ane man stowt, modest, and wise; quha was schot in the thigh with ane falcone or haquebute of crock, and depairtit the miserie of this lyfe within twa houris efter. The uther was Alexander Lockart, brother to the Laird of Barr,[4] quha raschelie discovering him selff in the trynschis, was schot in the heid, and immediatlie thairefter depairtit this lyff.

THE COMFORTABLE LETTER OF THE DUICK OF NORTHFOLK.

Quhill the seige thus continewit, ane suddane fyre chanceit in Leith, quhilk devourit many housses and mekill victuall; and sa began God to fecht for us, as the Lord Erskin in plane

[1] In MS. G, "paviliounes;" in Vautr. edit., "pallions."

[2] In MS. G, "the Cole-raik;" Vautr. edit. follows the text.

[3] Robert Colville of Cleish, has already been mentioned, in a Note to vol. i. p. 348. The property of Cleish, in the parish of that name, Kinross-shire, had belonged to William Meldrum of Cleish and Binns, whom Sir David Lyndesay has celebrated in his well-known poem, "The History of Squyer Meldrum." There is every reason to believe that this Robert Colville was the person who detected the imposture of the pretended miracle of restoring sight to a blind person at Loretto.—See Row's History, Wodrow Society edition, pp. 449-455. He was Master of the Household to Lord James Stewart, Prior of St. Andrews.

[4] This was probably Alexander Lockhart, styled Burgess of Ayr, who was convicted for an unlawful convocation of the lieges within the borough of Ayr, 19th January 1589-40. He had a charter of the lands of Quhitstanes, in that County, in 1547. His brother, John Lockhart of Bar, is elsewhere mentioned by Knox.

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wordis said to the Quene Regent: "Madam, (quod he,) I can se na mair, but seing that men may not expell injust possessouris furth of this land, God him self will do it; for yon fyre is nocht kindellit be man." Quhilk words offendit the Quene Regent not a littill; quhais seiknes daylie increassing, greit craft sche usit that Monsieur D'Osell mycht have bene permitit to have spokin with hir; belyke sche wald have biddin him fairweill (for auld familiaritie was greit); bot that denyit, sche wrait as it [had] bene to hir chyrurgian and apothecar, schawing hir seiknes, and requyreing sum droggis. The letter being presentit to the Lord Gray, he espyit the craft; for few lyneis being writtin above and sa mekill quhyte paper left, he said, "Drogis ar aboundand and freschear in Edinburgh than thay can be in Leith: thair lurkis heir sum uther misterie." And sa he began to try; and be halding the paper to the fyre, he persavit sum writting [to] appeir, and sa began he to reid. Bot quhat it was, na uther man can tell; for immediatelie he brunt the bill, and said to the messinger, "Albeit I have bene hir Secretary, yitt tell hir I sall keip hir counsall. But say to hir, Sik wairis will nocht sell till a new marcatt."

The answer receavit, sche was nathing content: and than travellit sche earnistlie that sche mycht speik with the Erlles Argyle, Glencairne, Merschell, and with the Lord James. Efter deliberatioun it was thocht expedient that they sould speik hir, bot nocht altogidder, leist that sum pairt of the Guysianis practise had lurkit under the cullour of [sik] freindscheip. Hir regrait was unto thame all, "That sche haid behavit hir self sa fulischlie, that sche had compellit thame to seik the support of otheris than of thair awin Soverane; and said, that sche soir repentit that ever it came to that extremitie. Bot sche was nocht the wyte, bot the wickit counsell of hir freyndis on the ane pairt, and the Erle of Huntley upoun the uther; for gif he had nocht bene, sche wald have fully aggreit with thame at thair communyng at Prestoun." Thay

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gave unto hir baith the counsale and the confort quhilk thai could in that extremitie, and willit her to send for sum godlie learnit man, of quhom sche mycht resaif instructioun; for these ignorant Papistis that war about hir, understude nathing of the mysterie of oure Redemptioun. Upoun thair motyve was Johnne Willock send for, with quhom sche talkit ane reassonabill space, and quha did planelie schaw unto hir, alsweill the vertew and strenth of the death of Jesus Christ, as the vanitie and abominatioun of that idole the Mess. Sche did oppinlie confesse "That thair was na salvatioun, bot in and by the death of Jesus Christ." Bot of the Mess we hard not hir confessioun. Sum said sche was annoyntit of the Papisticall maner, quhilk was ane sygne of small knawledge of the treuth, and of less repentance of hir former superstitioun. Yitt quhowsoever it was, Christ Jesus got na small victorie over sick an ennemy. For albeit before sche had avowit, that in dyspite of all Scotland, the preachearis of Jesus Christ sould ather die or be banischeid the realme; yitt was sche compellit not onlie to heir that Chryst Jesus was precheit, and all idolatrie oppinlie rebuikit, and in many placeis suppressit, bot alssua sche was constraineit to heir ane of the principall ministeris within the realme, and to approve the cheif heid of oure religioun, quhairin we dissent frome all Papistis and Papistrie. Schort thairefter sche fynischeit hir unhappy lyfe; unhappy, we say, to Scotland, fra the fyrst day sche enterit into it, unto the day sche depairtit this lyfe, quhilk was the nynt of June,[1] the zeir of God J^{m} V^{c} threscoir zeiris. "God, for his greit mercyis saik, red us frome the rest of the Guysiane blude. Amen, Amen." For of the tyrranie of the Guysiane blud in hir,[2] that for our

THE DEATH OF THE QUENE REGENT.

[1] Instead of the 9th of June, the Queen Regent died on the 10th of that month. Her body, by her own desire, was transported to France, after an interval of several months; and towards the close of this Third Book, Knox takes occasion to notice the delay of her funerals.—See note on the passage referred to.

[2] Mary of Lorraine was the daughter of Claude, Duke of Guyse.—See vol. i. p. 61, note 6.

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unthankfulness now reignis above us, we have had sufficient experience. Bot of any vertew that ever was espyit in Kyng James the Fyft (quhais dochter sche is callit) to this houre we have never sene any sparkle to appeir.

Upone the saxtene day of June, efter the death of the Quene Regent, came in Scotland[1] Monsieur Randan,[2] and with him the Bischop of Valance,[3] in commissioun fra France, to entreat of peace. Fra Ingland thair came Sir Williame Cicill,[4] chief Secretary, and Doctor Wottoun.[5] Thair negotiation was langsum; for baith Ingland and we feiring deceat, socht be all meanis that the contract sould be sure. And thay upoun the uther pairt, meanyng to gratifie sick as had send thame, (quha menit nathing bot mere falsett,) protractit tyme to the uttermost; yea, quhill thame of Leith war verray skairce of victualls, and thay of the Insche had perescheit, had not bene that by policy thay gatt ane schip with victuallis, and some munitioun, quhilk was upoun Mydsomer evin, quhairof thay maid no small tryumphe; quhilk alsua for ane seassone stayit

[1] The Articles agreed upon, at Berwick, 14th June 1560, are printed by Keith.

[2] Charles de la Rochefaucault, Seigneur de Randan. In the Latin treaty, he is designed "Dominus de Randan, Miles et Eques Auratus." In his passage through England, he had an interview with Queen Elizabeth, in May 1560. Throkmorton, in his letters 4th May, calls him "Monsieur de Randan, brother to the Comte Rochefaucault, and to the Abbot of Cormery," and says, "he is a faire spokesman, and a good courtesan, very well esteemed in this court, and of the faction of Guise." His journey was delayed for some days; and Cecil, on the 22d May, informs Throkmorton,—"Monsieur de Randan hath taken good leasure, and cam yesterdaye hyther to the Court, with the Embassador, and the Bishop of Vallence."—(Forbes's State Papers, vol. i. pp. 432, 433, 449, 460.)

[3] Monsieur John de Monluc, Bishop of Valence. On the 13th May 1560, Henry Killegrew, at Cecil's desire, informed Throkmorton, "Yt was lang ere the Bishope of Valence cold have save condyt of the Lords of Scotland, to repaire into the Quyne Doujar, by cause they did mistrust the sufficiencye of his authoritie; bot yet at length yt was granted. So as he went and spak with the Quyne in the Castell of Edenburgh," &c.—(Forbes's State Papers, vol. i. p. 456.)

[4] See *supra*, p. 17, note 2.

[5] In the copies of Knox, "Wittoun." Dr. Nicholas Wotton, was Dean of Canterbury and York. "He was much employed (says Sir Walter Scott) in foreign negotiations, during the Reigns of Henry VIII. and his successor, and died in 1566, after having served in nine embasies to the several States of Europe."—(Note in Sadler, vol. i. p. 395.)

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the Appoyntment. Yitt in the end peace was concludit, in forme as follows:—

THE ARTICLES TRANSACTIT AND AGGREIT BE THE REVEREND FATHER IN GOD, JOHNE BISCHOP OF VALANCE, AND MONSIEUR RANDAN, DEPUTTIS TO THE KING AND QUENE OF SCOTLAND, UPOUN THE MATTERIS PRESENTIT TO THAME, BE WAY OF PETITIOUN, FOR THE PAIRT OF THE NOBILITIE AND PEPILL OF SCOTLAND.[1]

In the first, Upoun the complaynt and petitioun of the said Nobilitie and pepill of this cuntrey, anent the number of men of weir sustenit be thair Majesties in thir pairtis in tyme of peace; It is humblie requeistit to the saidis Deputis, that thay wald provide oportune remedy thairupoun, to the solace and releif of the cuntrey. The saidis Deputis considerand the said desyre to be just, and conforme to reasone, concludit, concordit, and affirmit, That the Kyng and Quene sall procure na Frenche men of weir, nor na uther natioun to cum to thir pairtis in tyme cuming; bot gif strangearis wald pretend to enter in this realme with ane navy or army to occupy the same; in the quhilk caise provisioun sall be maid be thair Majesties, the judgement and counsale of the Estaitis of the realm be haid thairto: And that the Frenche men of weir, being now in the toun of Leith, sall be send to France the same

[1] The following Articles form only part of the last Convention or Treaty of Peace, which was signed at Edinburgh, on the 6th July 1560. It is printed at full length in Rymer's Fœdera. See also Keith's History, vol. i. pp. 298-306. It has not, therefore, been thought necessary to supply the variations or omissions in this document.

In Rymer's collection there will likewise be found, (1.) The Commission from Francis and Mary, King and Queen of France and Scotland, appointing Commissioners for a Treaty of Amity and Peace with England, dated 12th May 1560. (2.) The Convention (also in French) for the demolition of the Fortifications at Leith, 5th July 1560. (3.) The Treaty or Convention (in Latin) alluded to, as signed at Edinburgh, on the 6th July. The last two are signed,

J. MONLUC E. DE VALENCE. W. CECIL.
RANDAN. N. WOTTON.

(4.) Rymer also inserts the Ratification of this Treaty, by Queen Elizabeth, dated at Windsor, 20th September 1560.

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tyme that the navy and army of Inglissmen and Scottismen has scaillit and depairtit baith be sey and land; the quhilk sall be done in the best maner may be, as at mair lenth consideratioun sall be had thairupone. As to the bandis of Scottismen of war being at the said place, thay sall be brokin, and the men of war licentiat[1] to depairt. Mairover, as to the fortis of Dumbar and Insche Keyth,[2] thair sall remane in thame ane hundreth and twenty Frenche men of weir[3] allanerlie, quhilkis sall be pairtit and distributit in thir twa placeis; and thair sall remane na ma in Dumbar bot threscoir men of war, sua it be not affirmit be the Capitaneis chosin to that effect be baith the pairteis, that for the keiping of the same ane greitar number is not neidfull; alssua to depairt quhen the Estaitis of the realme can fynd ane guid and sure remedy, upoun the expensses maid in the saidis placeis, to keip the same fra perell of invasioun, or deprivatioun thairof fra thame that wald pretend to occupy the samyn, thay sall schaw the same to thair Majesties alse haistilie as may be done: and in the menetyme, the number of the said men of war sall not be augmentit. And in lyk maner it sall nocht be lefull to the said men of war to do ony injureis to ony personis, or yitt to menteyne or defend ony Scottismen, of what qualitie so ever thay be of, againis the will and authoritie of the magistratis of the realme, nor to resaif thame in the saidis placeis that the minister of justice may not putt handis in thame; nor yitt sall intromett with tham any maner of way, with the quarrellis and discordis of the Lordis, or uthir particular men of this realme; bot thay thame selffis sall be obligit, in caise of ony quarrell to be punischitt efter the lawis and consuetude[4] of this Realm, and to answer for thame selffis befoir the Judgeis Ordinaris of the same. Last of all, that fra this furth[5] thay be

[1] Vautr edit. "licensed."

[2] Vautr. edit. makes it, "Dunbar, and in such that."

[3] In MS. G, "of weir" is omitted.

[4] In MS. 1566, it is "constitutc;" in Vautr. edit. "constitutions."

[5] In Vautr. edit., "from henceforth;" in MS. G, "fra this tyme furth."

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not compellit to taik ony credeit, they sall be every moneth satisfeit of thair wageis; sua that twa Scottis Lordis chosin be the Counsale, may present it, at weappon-schawing and mustouris of the said men of weir; and alsua to viseit the saidis fortis to se gif the number of thame be eikit; and it sall not be lesum to the said men of war to tak ony victuallis for thair sustentatioun, to the munitioun of the saidis placeis, bot be payment of reddy money, numerat, and with the plesour of thame that delyveris the same to thame: And thairfoir, the saidis Lordis oblisses thame to gif thame sa mekill as is neidfull to thame, thay having to pay thairfoir.

Item, Upoun the petitioun presentit to the saidis Lordis Deputis, anent the demolitioun of the fortificationis, the saidis Deputis consentit, concordit, and affirmit, That the fortificatioun of Leith sall be demolischit, and that twa, thre, or four capitaneis sall be chosin be baith of the pairteis, to visite the Castell of Dumbar; and gif it beis fundin be thame, that the reparatioun, amplificatioun, and fortifeing[1] maid thairof now efter the peace, greittar nomber of men to the keiping thairof is requyreit, the reparatioun and fortificatioun thairof sall be demolischeit, sua sone as may be done, and sall remane onlie untuicheit, that thing quhilk may mak the said Castell mair sure, and leist dainger fra invasioun; provyding nocht the less that na grettar nomber of men thairin be requyreit for keiping of the same. Mairover, in tymeis cuming the Kyng and Quene sall mak na ma new fortis within this realme, and sall nocht augment thame that ar ellis maid, nor sall repair thame that are demolischeit, without counsal and consent of the Estaites; nor yitt sall transport to uthir partis ony artailyerie, munitioun of war, powder, or victuallis, bot sa mekill as may gayne for keiping of the saidis placeis be the space of sax monethis or ane yeir.

Item, Anent the petitioun maid anent the debtis contractit

[1] In MS. G, "fortificatioun."

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be the Frenche men of weir in this countrey, the saidis [Deputis] concordit, That the Kyng and Quene sall cause restoir all that quhilk happinis to be fund gevin and grantit to the Kyngis Lieutennent and his Capitaneis, and uthiris Officiaris, for the nureisment, sustentatioun, and menteinance of the said Frensche men, or that quhilk beis fundin aucht be the lieutennent for service of his Majestie, that may appeir be writt, or confessioun of parteis.

Item, Upoun the petitioun maid anent the Conventioun of Estaitis of this Realme, the saidis Deputis consentit, concordit, &c., That the Estaites of the Realme may convene and hald Parliament, the twenty day[1] of the moneth of Julij nixt to cum; upone the quhilk day the Parliament sall be contyneuit, as use is, unto the fyrst day of the moneth of August following. Provyding alwayis, that befoir or thay begin to treat ony thyng in the said Parliament, all tumult of weir be dischargeit and ceise, that they that are present may be free without feir of men of weir or uthiris; and that in the menetyme ane messinger be send be the saidis Deputis to the Kyng and Quene, to certifie thame of thay thyngis aggreit, treatit, and concordit, requeisting thair Majesteis humbillie to be contentit with the samyn: And the said Conventioun sall be alse lauchfull in all respectis, as the samyn had bene ordanit and done be expres commandyment of thair Majesteis; providing that na mater be treatit thairintill befoir the said fyrst day of August.

Item, Upoun the article presentit anent Weir and Peace, the saidis Deputis consentit, concordit, etc., That the Kyng and Quene neither mak peace nor weir in thir pairtis, bot be counsale, judgment, and consent of the Thre Estaitis, according to the ordinance and consuetudis of the countrey; and as was observit be thair predecessouris.

Item, Upoun the petitioun presentit to the saidis Deputis,

[1] See note *infra*, page 84.

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anent the governament and regiment of the Policey, thay have consentit, etc., That twenty-four worthy men of this realme be chosin be the Three Estaitis, of the quhilkis the Kyng and the Quene sall chuse sevin, and the Estaitis sevintene; quhilkis in thair Majesteis absens sall tak ordour, and mak an ordinarie counsall for administratioun foirsaid, sua that na man, of quhatsoever qualitie he be, sall have the power to ordour ony thing to be done touching the saidis busynes, without the mediatioun, authorities, and consent of thame: sua that the saidis counsallaris sall convene togidder alse oft as thay may, but thay sall convene na less nor sax[1] togidder; And quhen ony mater of importance occurris, thay sall be all callit to counsale, and tak ordour be thame, or the maist pairt of thame, gif neid beis. And gif it happinis ony of the said sevin chosin be the Kyng and Quene to deceis, thair Majesties sall choise ane uthir furth of the said nomber of xxiv. in place of him that deceassit; and gif ony of the saidis xvii. chosin be the Estaitis deis, the remanent foirchosen be thame sall name ane uther of the said nomber of twentie foure. Mairover, gif it beis thocht expedient be the saidis Estaitis, that uther twa be augmentit to the said nomber of twelf, than and in that caise, the Kyng and Quene sall choise ane, and the Estaitis ane uther. And sua was this Article aggreit under conditioun, that is to say, That the samyn be na prejudice in tyme cuming to the Kyng and Quene, and rychtis of the Croune: And the saidis Deputis offerrit thair laubouris to mak mediatioun to the Kyng and Quene, for menteining pensiouns and expensses of the said Counsellouris, and ordinar officiaris of the said counsall, to be providit of the rentis and proventis[2] of the Croun.

Item, Upoun the petitioun maid to the saidis Deputis anent the Officiaris of this realme, thay consentit and concordit, &c., That in tyme cuming the King and Quene sall not depute ony

[1] In MS. G, "no les than twelf." [2] In Vautr. edit., "rents and reuenewes."

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stranger in the administratioun of the civile and criminall Justice; and in lykwyise in the office of Chancellarie, Keipar of Seall, Thesaurer, Compttrollar, and uther lyk officeis, and sall not use thame, but sall be content with thair awin subjectis borne in this realme. Mairover, it sall not be lefull to put the office of Thesaurarie, Comptrollarie, in the handis of any kirk man, or utheris quhilkis ar not abill to exercise the saidis officeis; the quhilkis Thesaurer and Compttrollar sall be providit of sufficient commissioun to use the saidis officeis. Bot it sall not be lefull to thame to dispone or sell wairdis of mariageis, or uther casualiteis, or any uther thyngis quhatsumever thay be perteinyng to thair officeis, without counsall or consent of the said Counsale, to that effect that the Counsale may know that all thyngis be done to the proffitt of the Kyng and Quene; and yitt thay will not bynd, or astrict the Kyng and Quene be this article, that thay may not gif quhen thay think expedient.

Item, Thay concordit, That in the first conventioun of the Estaitis of this Realme, thair sall be constitut, ordanit, and establischeit ane law of oblivioun, quhilk efterward sall be confirmit be the Kyng and Queneis Majesties; be the quhilk all rememberance of beiring of armour, and utheris thyngis quhilk it hes bene done, sall be eirdit and forgett,[1] fra the saxt day of the moneth of Marche, in the yeir of God J^m V^c fyftie aucht yeiris: And be the samyn law, thay quhilkis hes contravenit the lawis of the realme, sall be exemit and fre of all payne contenit thairin, siclik as gif it never had bene contravenit; providing that the privilegis of the said law be not extendit to thame, quhilkis the Estaitis of the Realme sall judge[3] unworthie thairof.

Item, It is aggreit and concludit, That in the said Conventioun or Parliament, the Estaitis of the Realme, as use is,

[1] In MS. G, "sall be buryed, earthed, and forget;" in Vautr. edit., "shalbe buried and forgotten."

[2] That is, the year 1558-9.

[3] In MS. G, "sall think;" in Vautr. edit., "shall judge."

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and of the maner is requireit, sall be callit; in the quhilk all thay that hes usit to convene, and be present, may cum without all feir or force done, or to be done to thame be any persone, sua that the saidis sall oblisse thame, that quhair in tyme cuming ony seditioun, or conventioun of men of war sall happin to be, without command of the Counsall, being of the number of twelf, the realme and cuntrey sall repute the causseris thairof, and thame that conveneis as rebellis, and sall persew thame as siclyk, that thay may be punischeit be the lawis of the Realme, sua that the Kyng and Quene sall not be compellit in tyme cuming to send ony men of war, or strangeris in thir pairtis, for obtenying of dew obedience of thair subjectis.

Item, Thay offerit, concordit, and aggreit, That thair sall be generall peace and reconciliatioun amang all Lordis and subjectis of this Realme; so that thay that are callit of the Congregatioun, and thay quhilkis are not of the samyn, sall put na reproche to utheris of the thingis quhilk are done fra the said saxt day of Marche 1558 [-9.]

Item, Thay offerrit, concordit, and affirmit, That the King and Quene sall not persew, revenge, nor mak ony persecutioun of the thyngis that hes bene done, nor yitt sall thay suffer the samyn to be done be thair subjectis, Frenche men, bot sall have all thyngis in oblivioun, as the samyn had never bene done. And siclyk, the Lordis of this Realme of Scotland sall do of all busynes betwix thame and the Frenche men in thir pairtis. And gif, be sinister informatioun, or ony uther occasioun, thair Majesteis hes conceavit ony evill opinioun against thair subjectis, thay sall alluterlie forgett, and change the samyn; nor thay sall not depryve any of thame, nor denude any of thame, or of thair subjectis, of the officeis, beneficeis, or estaitis, quhilkis thay have bruikit in the said Realme befoir, be rassone of ony thyngis thay have middillit with, fra the said saxt day of Marche 1558 [-9.] And farther,

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sall mak na occasioun of deprivatioun, or deposing of thame be any uther cullour without caus; bot rather thay sall esteme and treit thame in tyme cuming as gude and obedient subjectis, providing that the saidis Lordis and uther subjectis, on thair pairtis, mak to thair Majesteis haill obedience, siclyk as utheris faithfull and naturall subjectis aucht to thair Soveraneis.

Item, It is concordit and aggreit, That it sall be lefull to nane of the Lordis of the Nobilitie of Scotland, or ony utheris, to mak convocatioun of men of weir, bot in the ordinarie causses approvit be the lawis and consuetude of the Realme; and that nane of thame sall cause ony men of weir, strangeris, to cum in thir pairtis, and mekill less sall attempt to do ony thyng against the Kyng and Quene, or aganeis the authoritie of the Counsall, and utheris Magistratis of the Realme; and thay quhilkis hes presentit the said petitioun sall be obleist thairunto. And in caise any of thame, or utheris, find occasioun to invaid, or tak armour aganist any man, as he pretendis, efter that he have communicatit the mater with the counsall of the Realme, he sall present his complaynt to thair Majesteis: and generallie, thay sall obliss thame, under the saidis paines, to do the thyngis quhilkis pertenis to guid and faithfull subjectis, for the quyetnes and tranquillitie of the Realme, and rychtis of thair Soveraneis.

Item, It is aggreit, &c., That gif ony Bischopis, Abbotis, or uther kyrk men sall playnt, or allege thame to have resavit any injureis, eyther in thair personeis or guidis, the playnt sall be sene and considderit be the Estaitis in the said Conventioun and Parliament; and thair sall be maid redress, as thay sall find according to reassone: And in the meinetyme, na man sall stopp thame, bot thay sall bruik thair guddis; nor sall do any skaith, injurie, or violence to thame: and gif ony dois contravene to this article, he sall be persewit be the Lordis as ane perturbar of ane guid communwelth.

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Item, It is concordit, &c., That the saidis Lordis sall obliss thame to observe, and cause be observit, all and sindrie pointis and articleis aggreit in this Treateis: and gif it happinis that any of thame, or ony uther, wald contravene the same, the remanent Lordis and residew of the haill pepill, sall be ennemeis to him, and sall persew him till he be chaistisit and puneisit according to his demereitis.

Item, It is concordit, &c., That all the haill Realme may know that the Kyng and Quene ar not willing to keip any remembrance of the trubillis and differencis bygane; and sa far as concernis the Nobilitie and utheris subjectis of the Realme, that thair Majesteis desyris to treit thame humanelie, and to be favourabill to thame; the saidis Deputis hes promeist and concordit that the Duck of Chastellarault, and all uthiris Nobillmen of Scotland, sall be remittit, and put again in all thair guddis and beneficeis, quhilkis thay haid and joysit in France, that thay may bruik and joyse the same in the samyn maner as thay did of befoir thay differenceis, the said saxt day of Marche, and yeir foirsaid, evin as the saidis contraverseis had never chanceit. And alssua, that all capitulatiouns and articleis aggreit upoun in tymeis bigane, and speciallie thay that war appointit in the Kyng and Queneis contract, sall be observit and keipit, alsweill for the pairt of thair Majesteis as for the pairt of the Nobilitie and pepill of Scotland. And as concerning David, sone to the said Duck of Chastellarault,[1] now being in Boys de Vincent, libertie sall be grantit to him to returne to Scotland, and to do as he pleise.

Mairover, quhen the saidis Deputis exponit, that sum tyme it mycht chance that the Kyng mycht mister of his greit gunis and artailyerie in France, the saidis Lordis having consideratioun thairof, concordit, That na uther artailyerie be translatit out of this Realme, bot thay quhilkis war send and brocht in fra the

[1] Lord David Hamilton, the third son of the Duke of Chatelherault: see note, vol. i. p. 388. He returned to Scotland in October 1560.

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day and deceise of Francis, King of France,[1] of guid memorie to thir pairtis; and that all uther artailyerie and munitioun be reponit in placeis quhair thay war takin furth, and speciallie [those] that hes the armeis[2] of Scotland sall be put in the placeis quhair thay war takin furth of; and their sall be Nobill men of Scotland [appointed] thairfoir, and twa for the pairt of the Kingis Majestie is to be deput, to recognosce the samyn befoir the schipping thairof.

And, mairover, that quhair for the pairt of the Nobilitie and pepill of Scotland, certane Articles concerning the Religioun[3] and uthiris pointis war presentit, quhilkis the saidis Deputis wald not tuyche, bot considering the wecht and importance of thame, remittit the samyn to be recognoscit and decidit be thair Majesties; the saidis Lordis and Nobilitie promeisit, that ane certane number of Nobill men sall be chosin in the nixt Convention and Parliament, to be sent to their Majesties, quhilkis sall expone to thair Hienes the thingis quhilkis sall be thocht neidfull for the estait of thair busyness, and for the foirmentionat and utheris articles and pointis undecidit with the saidis Deputis, to the effect that thay may knaw thair Majesties intention and benevolence upon the thingis quhilkis sall be exponit for the pairt of the country; the quhilkis alsua sall have with thame ane confirmatioun and ratificatioun be

[1] Francis the First, died 31st March 1547.

[2] In MS. G, "and in speciall that have the armes."

[3] In mentioning "the soum and effect" of this Treaty, in which, "as to the state of religione, the same was deferrit to ane new Treatie," Bishop Lesley subjoins the following explanation: "Heir is necessar to be rememberit, the caus quhy in this Treatye thair was nothing aggreit tueching Religione; becaus the Commissioners of Ingland wald haif wished the Congregatione of Scotland to haif ressavit the discipline and ceremonies conforme to the Order establishit laitly befoir in thair Parliament of Ingland, so that boith the Realmes micht haif ben uniforme in religione and ceremonies; bot the Ministers and Congregatione of Scotland, thinking thair awin profession eftir the order and discipline of Geneva, to be moir puir, as conteyning no uther ceremonies nor is exprcssely mentioned in the Scriptour, thairfore wald not ressave or admitt any uther; and the Commissioners for France walde not appreve nane of the twa; and thairfoir that mater was delayit."—(History, p. 292.)

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the Estaitis of the Realme of the Articleis quhilkis ar concordit and aggreit be the saidis Deputis, to quham alsua the same tyme, or of befoir, sall be gevin and delyverit ane lyk confirmatioun and ratificatioun maid be thair Majesties, sua being that the saidis Estaitis send thair ratificatioun foirsaid.

[In witness whereof, &c.]

THE PROCLAMATIOUN OF THE THYNGIS ABOVE WRITTIN, MAID THE AUCHT DAY OF JULIJ, THE YEIR OF GOD J^M V^C THRESCOIR YEIRIS.

TO THE LOVING OF THE MAIST PUISSANT LORD, AND CONFORT OF ALL CHRISTIANIS: The maist puissant Prince and Princess, and maist Christiane Kyng and Quene Francis and Marie, be the grace of God Kyng and Quene of France and Scotland, and the maist puissant Princess Elizabeth, be the samyn grace Quene of Ingland, Ireland, &c.: It is concordit, and reconciliatioun of peace and amitie maid, quhilk is to be observit inviolablie amangis thame, thair subjects, realmes, and countreys: Forsamekle in name of the said Prince and Princesses, it is commandit and straitlie chargeit, to all maner of personis under thair obedience, or being in thair service, fra this furth,[1] to desist fra all hostilitie, baith by sey and land, and to keip ane good peace the ane with the uther; and with charge to the brekaris under their greit parrell, &c.

Thir thingis transactit, and the peace proclamit, as said is, suddane provisioun was maid for the transporting of the Frensche to France, of whom the maist pairt were put into the Ingliss schippis, quha alsua careit with thame the haill spulzie of Leith; and that was the secund benefite quhilk thay resavit of thair lait promeisit libertie, the end quhairof is not

THE PROFFITT THAT LEYTH GAT OF THAIR PROMESIT LIBERTIE.

[1] In MS. G, "from this tyme furth;" in Vautr. edit., "from henceforth." In the Diurnal of Occurrents, "fra this day furth, to desist and ceis fra all."

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yitt cum. The Ingliss army be land depairtit the sextene day of Julij, the yeir of God J^m V^c threscoir yeiris. The maist pairt of oure Nobilitie, Protestantis, honorabillie convoyit thame (as in verray deid thay had weill deservit): Bot the Lord James wald nocht leave the Lord Gray, with the uther nobill men of Ingland, till that thay enterit in Berwick. Efter quhaise returnyng, the Counsall began to luik, alsweill upoun the effairis of the commonwelth, as upoun the matteris that mycht concerne the stabilitie of Religioun.

As befoir we have heard, the Parliament [was] concludit to begyn the xx. [10th] of July, and to be contynewit to the first of August nixt;[1] and thairfoir the Lordis maid the greater expeditioun, that all thyngis mycht be put in convenient ordour. Bot befoir all thyngis the Preachouris exhortit thame, (for than in Edinburgh war the maist pairt of the cheif Ministeris of the Realme) to be thankfull unto God, and nixt to provyde, that the ministeris mycht be distributeit as the necessitie of the countrey requyreit. Ane day was statute, quhen the haill Nobilitie, and the greitest pairt of the Congregatioun assembillit in Sanct Geilis Kirk in Edinburgh, quhair, efter the sermond maid for that purpoise, publick thankis war gevin unto God for his mercifull deliverance, in forme as followis:—

THANKIS GEVING FOR OUR DELYVERANCE, WITH PRAYERIS.

O Eternall and Everlasting God, Father of oure Lord Jesus Chryst, quha hes nocht onlie commandit us to pray, and promeisit to heir us, but alsua willis us to magnifie thy mer-

[1] The Treaty of Peace thus concluded and signed, peace was proclaimed, as above, on the 8th of July; and Parliament was assembled on the 10th of that month, to adjourn, as had been determined, until the first of August. The 10th of July occurs also in the Acts printed immediately after the Confession; but both here, and at page 76, Knox specifies the 20th of that month. The solemn public thanksgiving held in St. Giles's Church, on the 19th July, was undoubtedly conducted by Knox himself, although he withholds his own name, in the above narrative.

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cies, and to glorifie thy name quhen thou schawis thy self pitiefull and favorabill unto us, especiallie quhen thow delyveris us frome disperatt daingearis: ffor sa did thy servantis Abraham, David, Jehosaphatt, and Ezekias; yea, the haill pepill of Israell omittit nott the same, quhen thow by thy mychtie hand did confound thair ennemeis, and deliver thame frome feir and daingear of death intentit. We aucht not, nor can not forgett, O Lord, in how miserabill estait stude this poore countrey, and we the just inhabitants of the same, not many dayis past, quhen idolatrie was menteynit, quhen creuell straingearis did impyre, quhen virgennis war deflorit, matronis corruptit, mennis wyfeis violentlie and vylanouslie oppressit, the blud of innocentis sched without mercie; and finallie, quhen the unjust commandementis of proud tyrannis war obeyit as ane law. Out of thir miseries, O Lord, could nather our witt, policey, nor strength delyver us; yea did schaw unto us how vayne was the help of man, quhair thy blessing gevis not victorie. In thir our anguischeis, O Lord, we suitit[1] unto thee, we cryit for thy help, and we reclameit[2] thy name, as thy trubillit flock, persecutit for thy treuth saik. Mercifullie hes thow hard us, O Lord, mercifullie, we say, becaus that neither in us, neither yitt in our confederatis was thair any caus quhy thou souldest have gevin unto us sa joyfull and suddane a delyverance: for neither of us bayth ceassit to do wickitlie, evin in the myddis of oure greitest trubillis. And yitt hes thow lukit upoun us sa pitifullie as that we haid gevin unto thee maist perfyte obedience, for thou hes disapoyntit the counsals of the crafty, thow hes brydillit the rage of the crewell; and thow hes of thy mercie sett this oure perisching Realme at ane reasonabill libertie. Oh, gif us hartis (thou, Lord, that onlie gifis all guid gyft,) with reverence and feir, to meditat thy wondrouse warkis lait wrocht in oure eyes. Let

[1] In MS. G, and Vautr. edit., "we sobbed."

[2] In MS. G, "proclamed;" in Vautr. edit., "reclamed."

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not the remembrance of the same unthankfullie to slip frome oure wavering myndis. We grant and acknawlege, O Lord, that quhat soever we haif resavit sall fall in oblivioun with us, and so turne to oure condempnatioun, unless thou, by the power of thy Holie Spreit, keip and reteyne us in recent and perpetuall memorie of the same. We beseik thee thairfoir, O Father of mercyis, that as of thy undeservit grace thow hes partlie removit our darknes, suppressit idolatrie, and taikin frome above oure heidis the devouring sword of mercyless strangearis, that sa it wald pleise thee to proceid with us in this thy grace begune. And albeit that in us thair is nathing that may move thy Majestie to schaw us thy favour, O yit for Christ Jesus, thy onlie weilbelovit Sonis saik, quhais name we beir, and quhais doctrin we profess, we beseik thee never to suffer us to foirsaik or deny this thy veritie quhilk now we professe. Bot seing that thou hes mercifullie heard us, and hes caussit thy veritie to triumphe in us, sa we crave of thee continewance unto the end, that thy godlie name may be glorifeit in us thy creaturis. And seing that nathing is mair odiouse in thy presence, O Lord, than is ungratitud and violatioun of ane aith and convenant maid in thy name; and seing that thou hes maid our confederatis of Ingland the instrumentis by quhom we are now sett at this libertie, to quhom we in thy name have promeisit mutuall fayth agane; lett us never fall to that unkyndnes,[1] O Lord, that ather we declair oure selfis unthankfull unto thame, or prophanaris of thy holie name. Confound thow the counsalls of thame that go about to brek that maist godlie liegue contractit in thy name, and reteyne thou us sa firmlie togidder by the power of thy Holie Spreit, that Sathan have never power to sett us agane at variance nor discord. Geve us thy grace to leif in that Christiane cheritie quhilk thy Sone, our Lord Jesus, hes sa earnestlie commandit to all the memberis of his body; that uther natiouns, provockit

[1] In MS. G, "unthankfulness."

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be our example, may sett asyde all ungodlie weir, contentioun, and stryff, and studie to leif in tranquilitie and peace, as it becumis the scheip of thy pasture, and the pepill that daylie luikis for our finall delyverance, by the cuming agane of oure Lord Jesus; to whom with Thee, and the Holie Spreit, be all honour, glorie, and prayse, now and ever. AMEN.

Heirefter war the Commissionaris of Bruchis, with sum of the Nobilitie and Barronis, appoyntit to see the equall distributioun of Ministeris, to change and transport as the maist pairt sould think expedient. And sua was Johne Knox appointit to Edinburgh; Christopher Gudman, (quha the maist pairt of the trubillis had remanit in Ayre,) was appointit to Sanctandrois: Adame Heryot to Abirdene; Maister Johnne Row to Sanct Johnestoun; Paull Meffen, (to quhom was no infamie than knawin,) to Jedburgh; Williame Crystesoun to Dundie; and David Fergusoun to Dumfermling, and Maister David Lyndsay to Leith. Thair war nominat for Superintendantis, Maister Johnne Spottiswod for Lowtheane; Maister Johnne Wynrame for Fyff; Maister Johnne Willok for Glasgow; the Laird of Dun for Anguss and Mearnis; Maister Johnne Carswall for Ergyle and the Ilis.[1] Thir to be electit at the dayis appointit, unless that the countreyis quhairto thay war to be appointit could in the menetyme fynd out men mair abill and sufficient, or ellis schaw sick causses as mycht inhabill thame from that dignitie.

The Parliament[2] approaching, dew adverteisment was maid,

[1] The first appointment of Ministers and Superintendents to the chief towns and districts in Scotland, was made about the 20th of July 1560, or previously to the meeting of Parliament.

[2] In the Diurnal of Occurrents, it is stated, that "Upon the first day of August, the Parliament tuke begyning, and few or na Lordis came to the samyn, quhill the aucht day of the samyn moneth," (pp. 61, 278.) The names of the persons present at this memorable Parliament are preserved among the Cecil Papers, (MS. Cotton. Calig. ix. fol. 144.) Although printed both in the Acta Parl. Scot. vol. fi. p. 525, and in Keith's History, I shall insert the list in the Appendix.

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be the Counsall, to all sick as by law and ancient custome had or mycht clame to have vote thairin. The assembillie was great, nochtwithstanding that sum, alsweill of thame that be callit Spirituall as Temporall Lordis, contemptuouslie did absent thame selffis: And yit the cheif pillaris of the Papisticall Kirk gave thair presence, sick as the Bischoppis of Sanctandrois,[1] Dumblane,[2] and Dunkell,[3] with otheris of the inferiour sort, besydeis thame that had renunceit Papistrie, and oppinlie professit Jesus Chryst with us; sick as the Bischop of Galloway,[4] the Abbotis of Lendorse,[5] Culroiss,[6] Sanct Colmeis Insche,[7] Newbottill,[8] Halyrudhouse,[9] the Priour of Sanctandrois,[10] Coldinghame,[11] and Sanct-Marie Ile,[12] the Suppriour of Sanctandrois,[13] and dyverse otheris quham we observit not.

At the samyn tyme of Parliament, Johne Knox taught publicklie the propheit Haggeus. The doctrin was proper for the tyme; in applicatioun quhairof he was so speciall and so

[1] John Hamilton, Archbishop of St. Andrews.

[2] William Chisholm, Bishop of Dunblane, who succeeded his brother of the half-blood in 1527, and who survived till 1564. His nephew William Chisholm, was constituted his coadjutor and future successor in the See, by a brief from Pope Pius IV. dated 4 Non. Junij 1561. (Keith's Catal. p. 180.)

[3] Robert Crichton, Bishop of Dunkeld, who had previously been Provost of St. Giles's Church, Edinburgh.

[4] Alexander Gordon, titular Archbishop of Athens, and Bishop of Galloway: see a subsequent note.

[5] Probably John Lesley: see Abbots of Lindores, in the Appendix to this volume.

[6] William Colville, Commendator of Culross: see Appendix.

[7] James Stewart, of the family of Beath, Commendator of Inch-Colm, or St. Colme. He was afterwards knighted, and raised to the peerage.

[8] Mark Ker, Commendator of Newbattle, ancestor of the Earls of Lothian.

[9] Lord Robert Stewart, a natural son of King James the Fifth, Commendator of Holyrood House, afterwards titular Bishop of Caithness and Earl of Orkney: see a subsequent note.

[10] Lord James Stewart, Prior of St. Andrews, and afterwards Earl of Murray, and Regent of Scotland.

[11] Lord John Stewart, another natural son of King James the Fifth, was Prior of Coldingham. In Book Fourth, Knox mentions his death at Inverness.

[12] Robert Richardson, Prior of St. Mary's Isle, Kirkcudbright: see note to vol. i. p. 372. It is a mistake, however, in saying that he died in 1571; as will afterwards be explained.

[13] John Wynrame, Prior of Portmoak, and Sub-prior of St. Andrews: see vol. i. p. 150; and a subsequent note in the present volume.

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vehement, that sum (having greater respect to the warld than to Goddis glory,) feilling thair selffis prickit, said in mockage, "We mon now forget our selffis, and beir the barrow to buyld the housses of God."[1] God be mercifull to the speikar; for we feir that he shall have experience that the buylding of his awin house (the house of God being despisit) sall not be so prosperouse, and of sick firmitie, as we desyre it were. And albeit sum mockit, yitt utheris were godlie movit, quha did assembill thame selffis togidder to consult quhat thyngis were to be proponit to that present Parliament; and efter deliberatioun, was this subsequent Supplicatioun offerit:— WILLIAM MAITLAND'S MOCKAGE OF GOD.

THE BARRONIS, GENTILMEN, BURGESSES, AND UTHERIS, TREW SUBJECTIS OF THIS REALME, PROFESSING THE LORD JESUS CHRYST WITHIN THE SAMYN: TO THE NOBILITIE AND ESTAITIS OF PARLIAMENT, PRESENTLIE ASSEMBLIT WITHIN THE SAID REALME, DESYRE GRACE, MERCY, AND PEACE, FROME GOD THE FATHER OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRYST, WITH THE INCRESS OF HIS HOLY SPREIT:

PLEIS youre Honouris to reduce to remembrance, how dyverse and sundrie tymeis we (with sum of youre selffis) maist humbillie suitit at the feit of the lait Quene Regent fredome and libertie of conscience, with a godlie reformatioun of abuseis, quhilk by the malice of Sathane and negligence of men, are cropin in Religioun of God, and are menteynit by sick as tak upoun thame the name of Clergye. And albeit that oure godlie and maist reassonable suyte was then disdainfullie rejectit, quhairof na small trubillis have ensewit, as your Honouris weill knaw; yit seing that the same necessitie yit remaneis that then movit us, and, mairover, that God of his mercie has now put into your handis to tak sic ordour as

[1] William Maitland of Lethington, who made use of this expression, had been chosen Speaker in this Parliament, and had "opened the proceedings in an oration, of which Randolph has given us the principal heads."—(Tytler's Hist. vol. vi. p. 177.)

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God thairby may be glorifeit, this communwelth quietit, and the policie thairof establischeit: We can not cease to crave of youre handis the redress of sick enormiteis, as manifestlie are (and of lang tyme have bene) committit be the place-halderis of the Ministerie, and utheris of the Clergy within this Realm.

And *First*, Seing that God of his greit mercy by the lycht of his word, has manifestit to no small number of this Realme, that the doctrin of the Roman Kyrk, resaveit be the said Clergy, and menteynit throu thair tyrannie by fyre and sword, conteinit in the self many pestiferous errouris, quhilk can not but bring dampnatioun to the saullis of sick as thairwith sall be infectit; sick as are the doctrine of Transsubstantiatioun; of the Adoratioun of Chryst his body under the forme of breid, as thay term it; of the mereitis of Warkis, and Justificatioun that thay allege cumis thairby; togidder with the doctrin of the Papisticall Indulgencis, Purgatorie, Pilgrimage, and Praying to Sanctis depairtit; quhilk all either repugne to the plane Scripturis, or ellis have no ground of the doctrine of our Maister Jesus Christ, his Propheitis, nor Appostillis. We humbillie thairfoir crave of your Honouris, that sick doctrine and idolatrie as by Goddis word are condempnit, so may thay be abolischeit be Act of this present Parliament, and punischement appointit for the transgressouris.

Secundlie, Seing that the Sacramentis of Jesus Chryst are maist schamefullie abusit and prophanit by that Romane harlot and hir sworne vassallis; and alssua because that the treu disciplyne of the ancient Kirk is utterlie now amangis that sect extinguischeit: for quha within the Realme are mair corrupt of lyff and maneris than are thay that are callit the Clergye, living in huredome, adultery, defloring virgeinis, corrupting matronis, and doing all abominatioun, without feir of punischement; We humbillie thairfoir desyre youre Honouris to fynd remedy against the ane and the uther.

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Thirdlie, Because that Man of Syn often maist falslie clames to him self the titillis of "The Vicare of Chryst; the successour of Peter; the heid of the Kirk; that he can not err; that all power is grantit unto him," &c., by the quhilk usurpit authoratie, he taikis upoun him the distributioun and possessioun of the haill patrimony of the Kirk, quhairby the trew Ministeris of the word of God lang tyme hes bene altogidder neglectit, the godlie learning dispysit, the sculeis not providit, and the poore not onlie defraudit of thair portioun, but alsua tyrannouslie oppressit; We lykwise heirof desyre remedy.

And least that your Honouris sould dowt of any of thir premisses, we offer oure selfis evidentlie to prove, that in all the [rabill of the] Clergye thair is not ane lauchfull minister, gif Godis word, the practise of the Apostillis, and thair awin ancient Lawis, sall judge of lauchfull electioun. We farther offer oure selfis to prove thame all thevis and murtheraris, yea, rebellis and tratouris to the lauchfull authoritie of Empriouris, Kyngis, and Prenceis; and thairfor unworthy to be sufferrit in any Reformeit Commonwealth. Quhow malitiouslie thay have murtherit oure brethren, for na uther cause, bot for that thay offerrit to us the licht of Godis word, your Honouris can not be ignorant; and in quhat hasard thair tyrranie hes brocht this haill Realme, the ages efter will considder. Gif ye luik of thame any uther fruit in tymeis cuming, than ye have sene in thame quham we accuse, we ar assurit ye sall be desavit. Now hes God, beyond all expectatioun of man, maid youre selfis, quha sum tymeis war suppliantis with us for Reformatioun, jugeis, as it war, in the caus of God. At least he hes subdewit your ennemeis unto you, that by violence thay ar nocht abill to suppress the veritie, as heirtofoir thay haif done.

We thairfoir, in the bowellis of Jesus Chryst, crave of your Honouris, that ather thay be compellit to answer to our former accusationis, and to sick uthiris as we justlie have to lay to

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thair chargeis, or ellis that, all affectioun laid asyde, ye pronunce thame be censement of this Parliament sick, and cause thame to be sua reputit, as by us maist justlie thay ar accusit; especiallie, that thay be decernit unworthy of honour, authoritie, charge, or cure within the Kyrk of God, and sa from hencefurth never to joy vote[1] in Parliament. Quhilk gif ye do not, than in the feir of God, and by the assurance of his word, We foirwairne you, that as ye haif ane grevouse yock, and ane burding intollerabill upoun the kyrk of God within this Realme, so sall thay be thornis in youre eyes, and pryckis in your sydis, quhom efter, quhen ye wold, ye sall have no power to remove. God the Father of our Lord Jesus Chryst give yow upricht hartis, seiking his glory; and trew understanding quhat this day he quha delyverit yow fra bondage, baith spirituall and temporall, cravis of yow by his servandis: And youre Honouris Answer maist humbly we requyre.

This oure Supplicatioun being red in audience of the haill assembly, dyverse men war of dyverse jugementis; for als sone thair war that uprichtlie favourit the cause of God, sa war thair many that for warldlie respectis abhorrit ane perfect Reformatioun, (for how many within Scotland that have the name of Nobilitie, ar not injust possessouris of the patrimony of the Kyrk.) And yitt war the Barronis and Ministeris callit, and commandement gevin unto thame, to draw, in playne and severall heidis, the summe of that Doctrine, quhilk thay wald menteyne, and wald desyre that present Parliament to establische, as hailsome, trew, and onlie necessarie to be beleivit, and to be resavit within that Realme: Quhilk thay willinglie acceptit, and within foure dayis presentit this Confessioun as it followis, without alteratioun of any ane sentence:—

[1] In Vautr. edit. "to enjoy voice."

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THE CONFESSIOUN OF FAITH PROFESSIT AND BELEVIT BE THE PROTESTANTIS WITHIN THE REALME OF SCOTLAND, PUBLISCHEIT BY THAME IN PARLIAMENT, AND BE THE ESTAITIS THAIROF RATIFEIT AND APPROVIT, AS HAILSOME AND SOUND DOCTRINE, GROUNDIT UPOUN THE INFALLABLE TREWTH OF GODIS WORD.

MATHEI 24.

AND THIS GLAID TYDINGIS OF THE KYNGDOME SALL BE PRECHEIT THROUCH THE HAILL WARLD, FOR A WITNES UNTO ALL NATIOUNS, AND THEN SALL THE END CUM.

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(*Title-page of the first printed edition.*)

The Confessione of the fayht and doctrin beleued and professed by the Protestantes of the Realme of Scotland exhibited to the estates of the sam in parliament and by thare publict votes authorised as a doctrin grounded vpon the infallable wourd of God.

Matth. 24.

And this glaid tydinges of the kingdom shalbe preached throught the hole world for a witness to all nations and then shall the end cum.

Imprinted at Edinburgh, be Robert Lekprewik.

Cum priuilegio.

1561.

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THE PREFACE.

THE ESTAITIS OF SCOTLAND, with the Inhabitantis of the samyn, professing Chryst Jesus his Holy Evangell,[1] To thair naturall Cuntreymen, and to all utheris Realmeis and Natiouns, professing the samyn Lord Jesus with thame, wische grace, peace, and mercy from God the Father of our Lord Jesus Chryst, with the Spreit of rychteouse jugement, for Salutatioun.

LONG have we thristit,[2] deir Brethren, to haif notifeit unto the warld the summe of that doctrin quhilk we professe, and for the quhilk we haif sustenit infamy and daingear. Bot sik hes bene the rage of Sathan against us, and against Chryst Jesus his eternall veritie laitlie borne amangis us, that to this day na tyme hes bene grantit unto us to cleir our consciencis, as maist glaidlie we wald have done; for how we have bene tosit ane haill yeir past, the maist pairt of Europe (as we suppoise) dois understand. Bot seing that of the infinite gudnes of our God (quha never sufferris his afflictit to be utterlie confoundit) above expectatioun, we have obteinit sum rest and libertie, we could not bot sett furth this breve and playne Confessioun of sik doctrine as is proponit unto us, and as we beleif and professe, pairtlie for satisfactioun of oure Brethren, quhais hartis we dout not have bene and yitt ar woundit be the dispytefull railling of sik as yitt have not leirnit to speik weill; and pairtlie for stopping of the mouthis of impudent blasphemaris, quha baldlie condempne[3] that

[1] In Vautr. edit. &c., "Gospell."

[2] In the printed copies 1561, "thrusted;" and in the London edit. 1561, lines 5-6, of the title, "by their publicke voices authorised."—Some notices of the early editions of this Confession will be given in the Appendix to this volume.

[3] In the printed copies 1561, "dampne," and "damne."

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quhilk thay have neither hard nor yet understand. Not that we judge that the cankerit malice of sik is abill to be cured be this sempill Confessioun: Na, we knaw that the sweit, savour of the Evangell[1] is, and sall be death to the sonis of perditioun. Bot we haif cheif respect to our weak and infirme brethren, to quham we wald communicat the bottome of oure hartis, least that thay be trubillit or careit away be the diversiteis of rumouris quhilk Sathan sparsis contrar us,[2] to the defecting of this oure maist godlie interprise; Protesting, that gif any man will note in this oure Confessioun any article or sentence repugning to Godis holie word, that it wald pleis him of his gentilnes, and for Christiane cherities saik,[3] to admoneise us of the samyn in writt; and We of our honour and fidelitie do promeis[4] unto him satisfactioun fra the mouth of God, (that is, fra his holy Scriptures,) or ellis reformatioun of that quhilk he sall prove to be amyss. For God we taik to record in our conscienceis, that fra oure hartis we abhoir all sectis of heresye, and all techaris of erroneous doctrine; and that with all humylitie we embrace the puritie of Christis Evangell, quhilk is the onlie foode of our saullis; and thairfoir sua precious unto us, that we ar determinit to suffer the extremitie of warldlie daingear, rather than that we will suffer oure selvis to be defraudit of the same. For heirof we ar maist certainlie persuaidit, "That quhasoever denyis Chryst Jesus, or is eschameit of him, in presens of men, sall be denyit befoir the Father, and befoir his holie angellis." And thairfoir be the assistance of the mychtie Spreitt of the same, oure Lord Jesus, we firmlie purpoise to abyde to the end in the Confessioun of this oure Faith.[5]

[1] In Lond. edit. 1561, "Gospell."

[2] In Lond. edit. 1561, "spreads abrode against us."

[3] In Edinb. edit. 1561, "for Christes and cherites sake."

[4] In Lond. edit. 1561, several words are here omitted, and the passage reads: "repugnyng to God's holye worde, and do admonishe us of the same in writyng, we by God's grace do promesse," &c.

[5] In the printed copies 1561, "oure Faithe, as by articulis followeth."

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Off God.—Cap. I.[1]

We confesse and acknawledge ane onlie God, to quhom onlie we must cleave, [quhom onlie we must serve,[2]] quhom onlie we must wirschip, and in quhom onlie we must put our trust; quha is eternall, infinite, unmesurable, incomprehensible, omnipotent, invysible: ane in substance, and yit distinct in thre personis, the Father, the Sone, and the Holie Ghost: Be quhom we confesse and beleif all thyngis in hevin and in earth, alsweill visible as invisible, to haif bene creatit, to be reteanit in thair being, and to be rewllit and gydeit be his inscrutabill Providence, to sick end as his eternall wisdome, gudnes, and justice hes appointit thame, to the manifestatioun of his awin glorie. Deut. 6. Esai. 44. Deut. 4. Mat. 28. Gen. 1. Esai. Proverb. 16.

Off the Creatioun of Man.—Cap. II.

We confesse and acknawledge this oure God to haif creatit Man, (to witt, our fyrst father Adam) of quhom also God formit the Woman to his awin image and similitude;[3] to quhom he gaif wisdome, lordschip, justice, fre-will, and cleir knawledge of him selff; sua that in the haill nature of man thair could be notit na imperfectioun: Frome quhilk honour and perfectioun man and woman did baith fall; the woman being desavit be the Serpent, and man obeying to the voice of the woman, baith conspyring against the Soverane Majestie of God, quha in expressit wordis of befoir had threatnit death, gif thay presumeit to eit of the forbiddin tree. Gen. 1. 2. Gen. 3.

[1] The numbers of the Chapters, and the marginal Scriptural references are not contained in any of the MS. copies of Knox's History. They are here supplied from the first edition of the Confession, printed by Lekprevik in 1561, compared with the Acts of Parliament of 1567, printed in 1568.

[2] These words, and such others as are inclosed within brackets, are omitted in the copies of Knox. By "the old printed copies," in the following notes to the Confession, is signified the editions printed in 1561, and the several editions of the Acts of Parliament 1567.

[3] The words, "of quhom also God formit the woman to his awin image and similitude," are omitted in the editions of the Confession 1561, and of the Acts of Parliament 1567: also in Adamson's Latin translation, 1572.

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Off Originall Syn.—Cap. iii.

Ephes. 3. Rom. 5. Joan. 3. Rom. 5. 8.

By quhilk transgressioun, commonlie callit Originall Syn, was the image of God utterlie defaceit in man; and he and his posteritie of nature became ennemeis to God, slavis to Sathan, and servantis to syn; in samekill that death everlesting hes haid, and sall have power and dominioun over all that hes not bene, ar not, or sall not be regenerat frome above: quhilk regeneratioun is wrocht be the power of the Holy Ghost, wirking in the hartis of the elect of God ane assureit faith in the promeise of God, reveillit to us in his word; by quhilk faith thay apprehend[1] Chryst Jesus, with the graces and benefites promesit in him.

Off the Revelatioun of the Promeis.—Cap. iv.

For this we constantlie beleif, that God, efter the feirfull and horribill defectioun of man frome his obedience, did seik Adam agane, call upoun him, rebuk his syn, convict him of the same, and in the end maid unto him a maist joyfull promeisse, to witt, "That the seid of the woman sould brek doun the serpentis heid;" that is, he sould destroy the warkis of the Devill. Quhilk promeis, as it was repeitit and maid mair cleir from tyme to tyme, sua was it embraceit with joy, and maist constantlie retenit[2] of all the faithfull, frome Adam to Noah, frome Noah to Abraham, from Abraham to David, and sua furth to the incarnatioun of Chryst Jesus: quha all (we mene the faithfull Fatheris under the law,) did se the joyfull dayis of Christ Jesus, and did rejoyse.

Gen. 5. Gen. 12. 15. Esai. 7. 8.

The Continuance, Increase, and Preservatioun of the Kirk.[3]—Cap. v.

Ezech. 16.

We maist constantlie beleif, that God preservit, instructit, multipleit, honourit, decoirit, and frome death callit to lyfe his

[1] In the old printed copies, "we apprehend."

[2] In the old printed copies, "ressavit."

[3] In the editions 1561, "Church."

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Kirk in all aiges, fra Adam, till the cuming of Chryst Jesus in the flesche: for Abraham he callit frome his fatheris cuntrey, him he instructit, his seid he multipleit, the same he marvalouslie preservit, and mair marvelouslie delyverit frome the bondage [and tyranny] of Pharao; to thame he gaif his lawis, constitutiouns, and ceremoneis; thame he possessit in the land of Canaan; to thame efter Jugeis, and efter Saule he gaif David to be kyng, to quham he maid promeise, "That of the fruit of his loynis sould ane sitt for ever upoun his regall saitt." To this same pepill from tyme to tyme he send propheittis to reduce thame to the recht way of thair God, frome the quhilk often tymis thay declyneit by idolatrie. And albeit for thair stubburne contempt of justice, he was compellit to gif thame in the handis of thair ennemeis, as befoir was threatnit by the mouth of Moyses, in samekill that the halye citie[1] was destroyit, the tempill brynt with fyre, and the haill land left desolat the space of sevintie yeiris; yitt of mercy did he reduce thame agane to Jerusalem, quhair the citie and tempill war reedifeit, and they, against all temptatiounis and assaultis of Sathan, did abyde till the Messias came, according to the promeise.

Gen. 12. 13. Exod. 1. 2. Exod. 20.

Josu. 1. 2. 3. 1 Sam. 1. 23. 2 Reg. 17.

2 Reg. 24. 25. Deut. 28. Jere. 39. Esdr. 1. Agg. 1, 2. Zach. 3.

Off the Incarnatioun of Chryst Jesus.—Cap. vi.

Quhan the fulnes of tyme came, God send his Sone, his Eternall Wisdome, the substance of his awin glory, in this warld, quha tuik the nature of manheid of the substance of ane woman, to witt, of ane Virgin, and that be the operatioun of the Holie Ghost: And sa was borne the just seid of David, the angell of the greit counsall of God; the verray Messias promesit, quham we acknawledge and confesse Emanuell; verray God and verray man, twa perfyte naturis unitit and joynit in ane persone. By quhilk oure confessioun we dampne[2] the

Gal. 4.

Luc. 1, 2.

Esai.

[1] In the MSS. of Knox, "the haill citie."

[2] In the old printed copies, "condempne."

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damnabill and pestilent hereseyis of Arrius, Marcion, Eutiches, Nestorius, and sick utheris, as either deny[1] the eternitie of his Godheid, either the veratie of his human nature, either confound thame, either yit devyde thame.

Quhy it behovit the Mediatour to be verray God and verray Man.—Cap. vii.

We acknawledge and confesse, that this maist wonderous conjunctioun betwix the Godheid and the Manheid in Chryst Jesus, did proceid frome the eternall and immutabill decree of God, quhence alssua oure salvatioun springis and dependis.[2]

Electioun.—Cap. viii.

For that samyn Eternall God, and Father, quha of mere
Eph. 1. mercy electit us in Chryst Jesus his Sone, befoir the fundaHeb. 2. tioun of the warld was laid, appoyntit him to be oure Heid, our Brother, our Pastoure, and greit Bishop of oure Saullis.
Joan. 10. Bot becaus that the enmitie betwix the justice of God and our synnes was sick, that no flesche by it self could or mycht have atteanit unto God, it behovit that the Sone of God sould discend unto us, and tak him selff ane body of oure body, flesche of oure flesche, and bane of oure baneis, and sua
Joan 1. became[3] the perfyte Mediatour betwix God and man; giffing power to sa mony as beleif in him to be the sonis of God, as
Joan 20. him selff dois witnesse—"I pas up to my Father and unto your Father, to my God and unto your God." By quhilk maist halie fraternitie, quhatsoever we have lost[4] in Adam is restoirit to us againe. And for this cause ar we not effrayit to call God our father, not samekill in that he hes creatit us,[5]

[1] In the old printed copies, "did deny;" and "or," instead of "either," in the two next lines.

[2] In the edition 1561, and MS. G, "whence also our salvation springeth, and dependeth;" in the Acts of Parliament 1567, "fra quhilk all our salvatioun springs and depends."

[3] In the old printed copies, "become."

[4] In the Acts 1567, "have tint."

[5] In the editions 1561, "not so much because he hath created us."

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(quhilk we have common with the reprobat,) as for that he hes gevin to us his onlie Sone to be our brother, and gevin unto us grace to [acknawledge and] embrace him for oure onlie Mediatour, as befoir is said. It behovit farther, the Messias and Redeemer to [be] verray God and verray Man, becaus he was to underly[1] the punishment dew for oure transgres- Esai. 53.
siouns, and to present him selff in the presence of his Fatheris jugement, as in oure persone, to suffer for our transgressioun and inobedience, by death to ovircum him that was author of death. Bot becaus the onlie Godheid could not suffer death, neyther could the onlie Manheid ovircum the same; he joynit baith togidder in ane persone, that the imbecilitie of the ane sould suffer, and be subject to death, (quhilk we haid deservit,) and the infinite and invincible power of the uther, to wit, of the Godheid, sould tryumphe and purchese till us lyfe, libertie, and perpetuall victorie. And so we confess, and maist undowtedlie beleif.

Chrystis Death, Passioun, Buryall, &c.—Cap. ix.

That our Lord Jesus Chryst offerrit him self ane voluntarie sacrifice unto his Father for us; that he sufferrit contradictioun of synneris; that he was woundit and plaigit for our transgres- Heb. 12. Esai. 53.
siouns; that he being the clene and innocent Lamb of God, was dampnit in the presence of an earthlie juge, that we mycht be absolvit befoir the tribunall seat of our God; that he sufferit not onlie the creuell death of the croce (quhilk was accursit be Deut. 21.
the sentance of God,) bot alssua that he sufferrit for a seassone Gal. 3.
the wrath of his Father, whilk synnaris had deservit. Bot yitt we avow, that he remaneit the onlie and weilbelovit and blissit Sone of his Father, evin in the myddis of his anguysche and torment, quhilk he sufferrit in body and saull, to mak the full satisfactioun for the synnis of his pepill.[2] Efter the Heb. 10.

[1] In the London edition 1561, "to beare upon him."

[2] In the old printed copies, "the people."

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quhilk, we confesse and avow, that thair remaneis na uther sacrifice for synnis; quhilk gif any affirme, we nathing dowt to avow that thay are blasphemaris against Chrystis death, and the everlesting purgatioun and sattisfactioun purchessit till us by the same.

Resurrectioun.—Cap. x.

Act. 2. 3. Rom. 6. We undoutedlie beleif, that insamekill as it was impossibill that the dolouris of death sould reteane in bondage the Author of lyff, that our Lord Jesus Chryst crucifeit, deid, and buryit, quha discendit into hell, did raise agane for our justificatioun, and distroying [of] him who was [the] author of death, brocht lyfe agane to us that war subject to death and to the bondage of the same. We knaw that his resurrectioun was confirmit Mat. 28. Mat. 27. be the testimonye of his verray ennemeis; by the resurrectioun of the deid, quhais sepulturis did oppin, and thay did arise and apperit to many within the Citie of Jerusalem. It Joan. 20. 21. was alssua confirmit be the testimonie of [his] Angellis, and be the senses and jugementis of his Apostleis, and [of] utheris, quha had conversatioun, and did eit and drynk with him efter his resurrectioun.

Ascensioun.—Cap. xi.

We nathing dowt, bot that the selff samyn body, quhilk was borne of the Virgine, was crucifeit, deid, and buried, and quhilk Act. 1. did ryse agane, did ascend into the heavinis for the accompleischment of all thingis; quhair, in oure names, and for our con- Mat. 28. fort he hes resavit all power in hevin and in earth, quhair he sittis at the rycht hand of the Father inaugurat in his king- 1 Joan. 2. dome, advocat and onlie Mediatour for us; quhilk glorie, 1 Tim. 2. honour, and prerogatyve he allone amangis the brethren sall Psal. 110. possesse, till that all his ennemyes be maid his futestule, as that we undoubtedlie beleif thay sall be in the finall jugement; to the execution quhairof we certainlie beleif that the same oure Lord Jesus sall visibillie returne as that he was sene to

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ascend: And than we firmlie belief, that the tyme of refreshing and restitutioun of all thingis sall cum, in samekill that thay that from the begynning have sufferit violence, injurie, and wrang for rychteousnes saik, sall inherit that blissit immortalitie promesit from the begynning; bot contrariewyse, the stubburne, inobedient, cruell, oppressouris, filthy personeis, adulteraris, and all sortis of unfaithfull [men] sall be cast in the dungeoun of utter darknes, quhair thair worme sall not dye, neather yitt thair fyre [sall] be extinguischeit. The remembrance of the quhilk day, and of the jugement to be executit in the same, is not onlie to us ane brydill quhairby oure carnall lustis ar refranit; but alsso sick inestimabill confort, that neather may the threatning of wardlie princeis, neyther yitt the feir of temporall death and present daingear move us to renunce and forsaik that blissit societie, quhilk we the members have with oure Head and onlie Mediatour Christ Jesus, whome we confesse and avow to be the Messias promissed, the only Head of his Kirk, our just Lawgevar, oure onlie Hie Preast, Advocat, and Mediatour. In whiche honouris and offices, yf man or angell presume to intruse thame selfis, we utterlie detest and abhorre thame, as blasphemous to oure Soverane and Supreame Governour, Christ Jesus.

Apoc. 20.
Esai. 66.
Ezai. 7.
Colloss. 1.
Heb. 9. 10.

Faith in the Holy Ghost.—Cap. xii.

This our Faith, and the assurance of the same, proceidis not frome flesche and blood, that is to say, frome no naturall poweris within us, but is the inspiratioun of the Holy Ghost: Whome we confesse God, equall with the Father and with the Sone; who sanctifieth us, and bringeth us in all veritie by his awin operatioun; without whome we should remane for ever enemyes to God, and ignorant of his Sone, Christ Jesus. For of nature we ar so dead, so blynd and so perverse, that neather can we feill when we ar pricked, see the lycht when it schynes, nor assent to the will of God when it is reveilled;

Mat. 16.
Joan. 14. 15. 16.

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onlie[1] the Spreit of the Lord Jesus quickinneth that which is dead, removeth[2] the darknes from our myndis, and boweth oure stubburne heartis to the obedience of his blessed will. And so as we confesse that God the Father created us when we war not; as his Sone, our Lord Jesus redeamit us when we war ennemyes to him: so also do we confesse that the Holy Ghost dois sanctifie and regenerat us, without all respect of any merite proceading from us, be it befoir, or be it after oure regeneratioun. To speak this one thing yit in more plane wordis, as we willinglie spoyle oureselves of all honour and glorie of oure awin creatioun and redemptioun; so do we also of oure regeneratioun and sanctificatioun: For of our selves we ar nott sufficient to think ane good thoght; but he who hes begune the good work in us, is onlie he that continueth us in the same, to the praise and glorie of his undeserved grace.

Rom. 5.

2 Corin. 3.

The Cause of Good Workis.—Cap. xiii.[3]

So that the caus of Good workis, we confess to be, nott our free will, but the Spreit of the Lord Jesus, who dwelling in oure heartis be trew faith, bringis furth sick good workis as God hath prepared for us to walk into: for this we most boldlie affirm, that blasphemy it is to say, that Christ Jesus abydis in the heartis of sick as in whome thair is na spreit of Sanctificatioun. And thairfoir we fear nott to affirme, that murtherraris, oppressouris, cruell persecutaris, adulteraris, whoremongaris, filthy personis, idolateris, drounkardis, theavis, and all workaris of iniquitie, have neather trew faith, neather any portioun of the spreat of Sanctificatioun, whiche proceadeth frome the Lord Jesus, so long as thei obstinatlie continew in thair wickednes. For how sone that ever the spreit of the Lord Jesus, (whiche Godis elect children resave by trew fayth,)

Joan. 15.

Ephes. 2.

[1] & [2] In the old printed copies, "unless the Spirite, &c. quickin that;" and "remove the," &c.: "and bow."

[3] In the old printed copies, including the Acts of Parliament 1567, this Chapter is numbered 14, and the mistake is continued throughout, so that the last Chapter 25, is numbered 26.

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takis possessioun in the heart of any man, so soon dois he regenerat and renew the same man; so that he begynnis to hate that whiche befoir he luffit, and begynnis to luif that whiche befoir he hated; and from thence cumis that continewall battell which is betwix the flesche and the spreit in Godis children; while the flesche and naturall man (according to the awin corruptioun) lustis for things pleasing and delectable unto the self, grudges in adversitie, is lyfted up in prosperitie, and at everie moment is prone and reddye to offend the Majestie of God. Bot the Spreit of God, whiche giveth witnessing till our spreit, that we ar the sones of God, makis us to resist the devill, to abhorr[1] fylthy pleasouris, to groane in Godis presence for deliverance from this boundage of corruptioun; and finally, so triumphe over syne that it reigne not in our mortall bodyes. This battell hes nott the carnall men, being destitut of Goddis Spreitt; but do follow and obey syn with greadynes, and without repentance, evin as the devill and thair corrupt lustis do prick thame. But the sonnes of God (as befoir is said) does feght against syn, do sobb and murne, when they perceave thame selfis tempted to iniquitie; and gif they fall, they ryse agane with earnest and unfeaned repentance. And these thingis they do nott by thair awin power, but the power of the Lord Jesus (without whome thai war able to do nothing) wyrketh in thame all that is good.[2]

Gal. 5.

Rom. 8.

Joan 15.

What Workis ar reputed Good befoir God.—Cap. xiv.[3]

We confesse and acknawledge, that God hes gevin to man his holy law, in whiche not onlie ar forbiddin all sick workis

Exod. 20. Deut. 4.

[1] In the old printed copies, the words, "the devill, to abhorr," are omitted.

[2] In the editions 1561, and in the Acts 1567, the last seven words are omitted: the sentence runs thus, "but by the power of the Lord Jesus, without whom thai war hable to do nothing."

[3] The marginal notes on this and the following Chapters, (with the exception of the Scripture references,) are not contained in Lekprevik's edition 1561: they are copied from the edition of the Confession, printed at London by R. Hall, 1561, small 8vo.

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The Law. whiche displease and offend his Godlye Majestie; but also ar commanded all sick as please him, and as he hath promised to rewarde. And these workis be of two sortis; the one ar done to the honour of God, the other to the proffit of our nychtbouris; and baith have the reveilled will of God for thair assurance. To have one God, to wirschepe and honour him; to call upoun him in all our trubles; to reverence his holy name; to hear his word; to beleve the same; to communicat with his holy sacraments;—ar the workis of the First Table.

The workes of the First Table.

Ephes. 6.

To honour father, mother, princes, reullaris, and superiour poweris; to love thame; to supporte thame, yea, to obey thair charges (not repugnyng to the commandiment of God); to save the lyves of innocents; to represse tyranny; to defend the oppressed; to keep our bodyes cleane and holy; to lyve in sobrietie and temperance; to deall justlie with all men, boyth in word and in deed; and, finallie, to represse all appetite of our nychtbouris hurte;—ar the good workis of the Second Table, whiche ar most pleasing and acceptable unto God, as those workis that are commanded by him self. The contrarie whairof is syn most odiouse, whiche always displeasses him, and provokes him to anger,—as, nott to call upoun him allone when we have nead; not till hear his word with reverence; to contempne and despyse it; to have or to wyrschipe idolles; to mainteane and defend idolatrie; lychtlie to esteame the reverent name of God; to prophane, abuse, or contempne the sacramentis of Christ Jesus; to disobey or resist any that God hes placed in authoritie, (while thei pas not ower the boundis of thair office); to murther, or to consent thairto, to bear hattrent, or to suffer innocent blood to be schedd geve we may ganestand[1] it; and, finallie, the transgressing of any other commandiment in the First or Secound Table, we confesse and affirme to be syn, by the which Goddis hote displeasour is kendilled[2] against the proude and

The workes of the Second Table.

Ezek. 22. Jere. 22. Esai. 50. 1 Thes. 4. Luc. 2.

Things contrarl to the Firste and Second Table.

Rom. 13. Ezek. 22.

[1] In the old printed copies, "withstand."

[2] In the old printed copies, "Goddis hait and displesoure is kendlit."

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unthankfull world. So that Good workis we affirme to be these onlie that ar done in faith, [and] at Goddis commandiment, who in his law hes expressed what be the thingis that please him: And Evill workis, we affirme, nott onlie those that ar expressedlie done against Goddis commandiment, but those also that, in materis of religioun and wirschipping of God, have no [uther] assurance butt the inventioun and opinioun of man, whiche God frome the begynning hes ever rejected; as by the prophete Esaias, and by our maister Christ Jesus, we ar taught in these wordis—"In vane do they wirschepe me, teiching the doctrine being preceptis of men."[1] Esai. 29. Matt. 15.

The Perfectioun of the Law and Imperfectioun of Man.—Cap. xv.

The Law of God, we confesse and acknawledge most just, most equall, most holy, and most perfite; commanding those thingis, whiche being wrocht in perfectioun, war able to geve lyfe, and [able] to bring man to eternall felicitie: But our nature is so corrupt, so weak, and imperfite, that we ar never able to fulfill the workis of the Law in perfectioun; yea, "Yf we say we have no syn, (evin after we ar regenerat,) we deceive our selfis, and the veritie of God is not into us." And thairfoir it behoved us to apprehend Christ Jesus, with his justice and satisfactioun, who is the end and accomplishment of the Law, to all that beleve, by whome we ar sett at this libertie, that the curse and maledictioun of God,[2] fall not upoun us, albeit that we fulfill not the same in all pointis. For God the Father beholding us in the body of his Sone Christ Jesus, accepteth oure imperfyte obedience as it ware perfite, and coverith our workis, whiche ar defyled with many spottis, with the justice of his Sone. We do not meane that we ar so set at libertie, that we awe no obedience to the Law, (for that Rom. 7. Psal. 19. Deut. 5. Rom. 10. 1 Joan. 12. Rom. 10. Gal. 3. Deut. 26. Eph. 1. Rom. 4.

[1] In the old printed copies, "the doctrines the preceptes of men."

[2] In the MSS. of Knox, "maledicticun of the Law."

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befoir we have plainelie confessed); but this we affirme, that no man in earth, (Christ Jesus onlie excepted,) hath gevin, geveth, or shall geve in work, that obedience to the Law which the Law requyreth. But when we have done all thingis, we must fall doun and unfeanedlie confess, "That we ar unprofitable servandis." And thairfoir whosoever boast thame selves of the merittis of thair awin workis, or putt thair trust in the workis of supererogatioun, they boast thame selfis of that whiche is not, and putt thair trust in damnable idolatrie.

Luc. 17.

To put trust in our own workes, is damnable idolatrie.

Of the Kirk.[1]—Cap. xvi.

As we believe in one God, Father, Sone, and Holy Ghost, so do we most earnestlie beleave[2] that from the begynning thair hes bein, now is, and to the end of the warld shalbe a Churche; that is to say, a company and multitude of men chosin of God, who rychtlie worschip and embrace him, by trew fayth in Christ Jesus, who is the onlie Head of the same Kirk, whiche also is the body and spous of Christ Jesus; whiche Kirk is Catholik, that is, universall, becaus it conteanes the Elect of all aiges, [of] all realmes, nationis, and tounges, be thai of the Jewis, or be thai of the Gentiles, who have communioun and societie with God the Father, and with his Sone Christ Jesus, throcht the sanctificatioun of his Holy Spreit; and thairfoir it is called [the] communioun, not of prophane personis but of sanctis, who, as citizens of the heavinlie Jerusalem, have the fruitioun of the most inestimable benefitis, to witt, of ane God, ane Lord Jesus, ane faith, and of ane baptisme; out of the[3] whiche Kirk thair is neather lyfe, nor eternall felicitie. And thairfoir we utterlie abhorr the blasphemye of those that affirme, that men quhilk live according to equitie and justice, shall be saved, what religioun soever they have professed. For as without Christ Jesus thair is neather

Matth. 28. Ephes. 1. Colloss. 3. Ephes. 5. Apoc. 7. Ephes. 2. Joan. 5. 6.

[1] Here and elsewhere, in the editions 1561, "Church" is uniformly substituted in place of "Kirk."

[2] In the old printed copies, "constantlie believe."

[3] In the MSS. of Knox, "without the."

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lyfe nor salvatioun, so shall thair nane be participant thairof but sik as the Father has gevin unto his Sone Christ Jesus, and those [that] in tyme come to him, avow his doctrine, and beleve into him, (we comprehend the children with the faythfull parentis). This Kirk is invisible, knowin onlie to God, who allone knoweth whome he hes chosin, and comprehendis alsweall (as said is) the Elect that be departed, (commounlie called the Kirk Triumphant), as those that yit leve and feght against syne and Sathan as shall leve heareafter.

The Immortalitie of the Saullis.—Cap. xvii.

The Elect departed are in peace and rest from thair laubouris; Apoc. 14. not that thai sleap and come to ane certane oblivioun (as some fantastick headis[1] do affirme,) but that thai ar delivered from Apoc. 7. all fear, all torment, and all tentatioun, to whiche we and all Godis elect ar subject in this lyfe; and thairfoir do bear the name of the Kirk militant. As contrariewyse, the reprobat and unfaythfull departed, have anguishe, torment, and paine, that can nott be expressed; so that neather ar the ane nor the other in sick sleap that thai feill not joy or torment, as the Parable of Christ Jesus in the saxtene of Luke, his Luc. 16. wordis to the theaf, and these wordis of the saullis crying under the altar, "O Lord, thou that arte rychteous and just, Apoc. 6. how longe shalt thow not revenge our blude upoun thame that dwell upoun the earth!" doeth playnlie testifie.

Of the Notis by whiche the True Kirk is discharned from the fals, and who shalbe judge of the doctrine.—Cap. xviii.

Because that Sathan from the begyning hes laboured to deck his pestilent Synagoge with the title of the Kirk of God, and hes inflambed the heartis of cruell murtheraris to persecute, truble, and molest the trew Kirk and members thairof,

[1] In the old printed copies, "some fantastickis."

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Gen. 4. 21. 27. as Cain did Abell; Ismaell, Isaac; Esau, Jacob; and the whole
Mat. 23. preasthead of the Jewis, Jesus Christ him self, and his apostles
Joan. 12. after him; it is a thing most requisite, that the trew Kirk be
Act. 5. discernit frome the filthy synagoge, be cleare and perfite nottis, least we being deceaved, resave and embrace to our awin condemnatioun the ane for the other. The nottis, signes, and assured tokenis whairby the immaculat spouse of Christ Jesus is knawin from that horrible harlote the Kirk malignant, we affirme ar neyther antiquitie, title usurped, lineall discente, place appointed, nor multitude of men approving ane errour; for Cain in aige and title was preferred to Abell and Seth. Jerusalem had prerogative above all places of the earth, whair also war the preastis lineally descended from Aaron; and greattare multitude[1] followed the Scribes, Pharaseis, and Preastis, then unfeanedlie beleaved and approved Christ Jesus and his doctrin; and yit (as we suppoise) na man of sound judgment[2] will grant that any of the foirnamed war the Kirk

Notes of the Trew Church. of God. The Notis, thairfoir, of the trew Kirk of God we beleve, confesse, and avow to be, first, The trew preaching of the word of God; into the whiche God hes reveilled him self to us, as the writtingis of the Prophettis and Apostles do de-

Joan. 1. 10. clair. Secoundlie, The rycht administratioun of the sacramentis of Christ Jesus, whiche mun be annexed to the worde and promisse of God, to seall and confirme the same in our

Rom. 4. hartis. Last[ly], Ecclesiasticall discipline uprychtlie ministred, as Godis word prescribed, whairby vice is repressed, and vertew nurished. Whairsoever then these former nottis ar sene, and of any tyme continew (be the number never so few above twa

1 Cor. 5. or thre) thair, but all dowbt, is the trew Kirk of Christ, who according to his promeise is in the myddis of thame: not that universal (of whiche we have befoir spokin) but particulare; sick as was in Corinthus, Galatia, Ephesus, and utheris

[1] In the old printed copies, "greater number."

[2] In the MSS. of Knox, "of holle judgment."

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places in whiche the ministerie was planted by Paule, and war of him self named the Kirkis of God. And sick kirkis, we, the Inhabitants of the Realme of Scotland, professouris of Christ Jesus, confesse us to have in our cities, townis, and places reformed; for the doctrine taught in our kirkis is conteaned in the writtin word of God, to witt, in the buikis of the Auld and New Testamentis. In these buikis we meane, whiche of the ancient have bene reputed canonicall, in the whiche we affirme that all thingis necessarie to be beleaved for the salvatioun of mankynd, is sufficientlie expressed; the interpretatioun whairof, we confess, neather apperteaneth to privat nor publict persone, neather yit to any kirk for any preheminence or prerogative, personall or locall, whiche one hes above another; butt apperteaneth to the Spreit of God, by the whiche also the Scripture was writtin. When contraversie then happinneth for the rycht understanding of any place or sentence of Scripture, or for the reformatioun of any abuse within the Kirk of God, we aucht not sa mekle to look what men befoir us have said or done, as unto that whiche the Holy Ghost uniformelie speakis within the body of the Scriptures, and unto that whiche Christ Jesus him self did, and commanded to be done. For this is a thing universallie granted, that the Spreit of God, which is the Spirit of unitie, is in nothing contrarious unto himself. Yf then the interpretatioun, determinatioun, or sentence of any doctour, kirk, or counsall, repugne to the plane word of God writtin in any other place of [the] Scripture, it is a thing most certane, that thairis is nocht the trew understanding and meanyng of the Holy Ghost, supposing that Counsallis,[1] Realmes, and Nations have approved and receaved the same: For we dar nott receave and admitt any interpretatioun whiche directlie repugneth to any principall point of our fayth, [or] to any other plane text of Scripture, or yitt unto the rewll of charitie.

Act. 16. 18. 1 Cor. 1. Act. 20.

To whom the interpretation of the Scripture apperteyne.

1 Cor. 11.

[1] In the old printed copies, "although that Counsellis."

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The Authoritie of the Scripturis.—Cap. xix.

1 Tim. 3. As we beleve and confesse the Scriptures of God sufficient to instruct and maik the man of God perfect, so do we affirme and avow the authoritie of the same to be of God, and neather to depend on men nor angellis. We affirme thairfoir that sick as alledge the Scripture to have na [uther] authoritie, but that whiche is receaved from the Kirk, to be blasphemous against Joan. 10. God, and injuriouse to the trew Kirk, whiche alwayis heareth and obeyeth the voice of hir awin Spouse and pastour, but taketh nott upoun her to be maistres over the same.

Of Generall Counsallis, of thair Power, Authoritie, and Causes of thair Conventioun.—Cap. xx.

As we do nott raschelie dampne that whiche godlie men, assembled togidder in Generall Counsallis, lauchfullie gathered, have approved[1] unto us; so without just examinatioun dar we not resave whatsoever is obtrused unto men, under the name of Generall Counsallis: for plane it is, that as they war men, so have some of thame manifestlie erred, and that in materis of great weght and importance. So far then as the Counsall proveth the determinatioun and commandiment that it geveth by the plane word of God, so far do we reverence and embrace the same. But yf men, under the name of a Counsall pretend to forge unto us new articles of our faith, or to maik constitutionis repugnyng to the word of God, then utterlie we mone refuise the same, as the doctrin of devillis which drawis our saullis from the voice of our onlie God, to follow the doctrines and constitutionis of men. The caus, then, why [that] Generall Counsallis convened, was neather to mak any perpetuall law (whiche God befoir had nott maid,) neather yitt to forge new articles of our beleve, neather to give the word of God authoritie, mekle less to make that to be his worde, or yitt the trew interpretatioun of the same, which was not befoir by

How far the Counsells are to be allowed.

Wherein they are to be rejected.

1 Tim. 4.

Why they were assembled.

[1] In the old printed copies, "have proponit."

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his holy will expreassed in his worde. But the caus of Counsallis, (we meane of sick as merite the name of Counsallis,) was partlie for confutatioun of heresyes, and for geving publict confessioun of thair faith to the posteritie following; whiche baith they did by the authoritie of Goddis writtin worde, and nott by any opinioun or prerogative that they could nott err, be reassoun of thair Generall assemblie: And this we judge to have bene the cheaf caus of Generall Counsallis. The other was for good policie and ordour to be constitut and observed in the Kirk, in whiche (as in the house of God) it becumis all thingis to be done decentlie and into ordour. Not that we think that ane policie, and ane ordour in Ceremonies can be appointit for all aigis, tymes, and plaicis; for as ceremonies (sick as men hes devised) ar but temporall, so may and aucht they to be changed, when they rather foster superstitioun, then that they edifie the Kirk using the same.

Why Counsels were called.

Ceremonies ought to be changed when they foster superstition.

Off the Sacramentis.—Cap. xxi.

As the Fatheris under the Law, besydis the veritie of the sacrifices, had two cheaf Sacramentis, to witt, Circumcisioun and the Passover, the despysaris and contemnaris whairof war not reputed for Godis people; so [do] we acknawledge and confesse that we now, in the tyme of the Evangell, have two[1] Sacramentis onlie, institutit be the Lord Jesus, and commanded to be used of all those that will be reputed members of his body, to witt, Baptisme and the Supper, or Table of the Lord Jesus, called The Communioun of his body and bloode. And these sacramentis (alsweill of the Auld as of the New Testament) war institut[2] of God, not onlie to maik ane visible difference betwixt his people, and those that war without his league; but also to exercise the faith of his children; and by participatioun of the same sacramentis, to seall in thair heartis the assurance of his promeis, and of that most blessed con-

The use of Sacraments.

[1] & [2] In the old printed copies, "two chief;" and "now instituted."

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junctioun, unioun, and societie, whiche the Elect have with thair head, Christ Jesus. And thus we utterlie dampne the vanitie of those that affirme Sacramentis to be nothing else but naked and bair signes. No, we assuredlie beleve, that by Baptisme we ar ingrafted in Christ Jesus to be maid partakaris of his justice, by the whiche our synes are covered and remitted; and also, that in the Supper, rychtlie used, Christ Jesus is so joyned with us, that he becumis the verray nurishement and foode of our saullis. Not that we ymagine any transsubstantiatioun of bread into Christis naturall body, and of wyne in his naturall bloode, (as the Papistis have perniciouslie taught and dampnablie beleved;) but this union and communioun whiche we have with the body and bloode of Christ Jesus in the rycht use of the sacraments, is wrocht by operatioun of the Holy Ghost, who by trew faith caryes us above all thingis that ar visible, carnall, and earthlie, and maikis us to feid upoun the body and bloode of Christ Jesus, whiche was ones brokin and schedd for us, whiche now is in the heavin, and appeareth in the presence of his Father for us. And yit, notwithstanding the far distance of place, whiche is betwix his bodye now glorifeid in the heavin, and us now mortall in this earth, yit we most assuredlie beleve, that the bread which we break is the communioun of Christis body, and the cupp which we bliss, is the communion of his bloode. So that we confesse, and undowttedlye beleve, that the faithfull, in the rycht use of the Lordis Table, so do eatt the body, and drynk the bloode of the Lord Jesus, that he remaneth in thame and thai in him: yea, that thai ar so maid flesche of his flesche, and bone of his bones, that as the Eternall Godheid hath gevin to the flesche of Christ Jesus (whiche of the awin conditioun and nature was mortall and corruptible) lyfe and immortalitie, so doeth Christ Jesus his flesche and bloode eatten and drunken by us, give to us the same prerogatives: Whiche albeit we confesse, are neather gevin unto us at that onlie tyme, neather yit by

Baptisme.

The Lordis Supper, perfytlie and plainly described.

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the propir power and vertew of the Sacramentis onlie; yit we affirme, that the faithfull in the rycht use of the Lordis Table hes sick conjunctioun with Christ Jesus, as the naturall man can not comprehend: yea, and farther we affirme, that albeit the faithfull oppressed be negligence, and manlie infirmitie, doeth not proffeitt so mekill as thei wold att the verray instant actioun of the Supper, yit shall it after bring furth frute, as livelie seid sawin in good ground; for the Holy Spreit, whiche can never be devided frome the rycht institutioun of the Lord Jesus, will not frustrat the faythfull of the frute of that misticall actioun. But all this, we say, cumis by trew fayth, whiche apprehendeth Christ Jesus, who onlie maikis his Sacramentis effectuall unto us; and, thairfoir, whosoever sclandereth us, as that we affirmed or beleved Sacramentis to be onlie naiked and bair signes, do injurie unto us, and speak against a manifest treuth. But this liberallie and francklie we most confess, that we maik ane distinctioun betwix Christ Jesus, in his naturall substance,[1] and betwix the elementis in the Sacramentall signes; so that we will neather wirschip the signes in place of that which is signifeid by thame; neather yit do we dispyse and interprete thame as unprofitable and vane; but do use thame with all reverence, examyning our selfis diligentlie befoir that so we do, becaus we ar assured by the mouth of the Apostle, "That sick as eat of that bread, and drynk of that cupp, unworthelie, ar guyltie of the body and bloode[2] of the Lord Jesus."

Off the Rycht Administratioun of the Sacramentis.—Cap. xxii.

That Sacramentis be rychtlie ministred, we judge twa thingis requisit: the one, That thei be ministred be lauchfull ministeris, whome we affirme to be onlie thei that ar appointed

[1] In the old printed copies, "in his eternall substance."

[2] In the editions 1561, "and of the blood of Christ Jesus."

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to the preaching of the worde, or into whose mouthis God hes putt some sermoun of exhortatioun, thei being men lauchfullie chosin thairto by some Kirk. The other, That thei be ministred in sic elementis, and in sic sorte as God hath appointed. Ellis we affirme, that thei cease to be rycht Sacramentis of Christ Jesus. And, thairfoir, it is, that we flye the societie with the Papisticall Kirk, in participatioun of thair Sacramentis; first, becaus thair ministeris ar no ministeris of Christ Jesus; yea, (whiche is more horrible) thei suffer wemen, whome the Holy Ghost will not suffer to teache in the congregatioun, to Baptise. And, secoundlie, Becaus thei have so adulterat, both the one sacrament and the other, with thair awin inventionis, that na pairte of Christis actioun abydeth in the originall puritie; for oyle, salt, spattle,[1] and siclyk in baptisme, are but menis inventionis; adoratioun, veneratioun, bearing throcht streittis and townes, and keaping of bread in boxes or buistis, are prophanatioun of Christis Sacramentis, and no use of the same: For Christ Jesus said, "Tak, eat, &c.; Do ye this in remembrance of me." By which wordis and charge he sanctifeid bread and wyne to be the sacrament of his body[2] and blude; to the end, that the one should be eatten, and that all should drink of the other; and not that thei should be keapt to be wirschiped and honoured as God, as the blynd Papistis have done heirtofoir, who also have committed sacriledge, stealling frome the people the one parte of the Sacrament, to witt, the blissed cupp. Moreover, that the Sacramentis be rychtlie used, it is requyred, that the end and caus why the Sacramentis war institut, be understand and observed, alsweall of the minister as of the receaveris; for yf the opinioun be changed in the receavare, the rycht use ceasseth; whiche is most evident by the rejectioun of the sacrifices, (as also yf the teachar teache[3] fals doctrin,) whiche war

Christians may not participate with the Papists in their Sacraments.

Women may not Baptise.

The Papists commit sacriledge.

[1] In some copies, "spittle."
[2] In some copies, "his holy body."
[3] In the old printed copies, "gif the teacher plainly teach, &c. befoir God."

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odiouse and abominable unto God (albeit thei war his awin ordinances,) becaus that wicked men use thame to ane other end than God hath ordeaned. The same affirme we of the sacramentis in the Papisticall Kirk, in whiche we affirme the haill actioun of the Lord Jesus to be adulterat, alsweill in the externall forme, as in the end and opinioun. What Christ Jesus did, and commanded to be done, is evident by the three Evangelistis [quho speak of the Sacrament,[1]] and by Sanct Paule: What the preast does at his altare we neid not to rehearse. The end and caus of Christis institutioun, and why the self same should be used, is expressed in these wordis,—"Do this in remembrance of me. As oft as ye shall eatt off this bread and drynk of this cupp, ye shall schaw furth, (that is, extoll, preache, and magnifie,[2]) the Lordis death till he come." But to what end, and in what opinioun the preastis say thair masses, lett the wordis of the same, thair awin doctouris and writtingis witness, to witt, that thei, as mediatouris betwix Christ and his Kirk, do offerr unto God the Father ane sacrifice propitiatorie for the synnes of the quick and the dead. Which doctrine, as blasphemous to Christ Jesus, and macking derogatioun to the sufficiencie of his onlie sacrifice, ones offered for purgatioun of all those that shalbe sanctified, we utterlie abhorr, detest, and renunce.

Such as think not rightly of the Lordis Supper receive it not worthely.

To whome Sacramentis appertеane.—Cap. xxiii.

We Confesse and acknawledge that Baptisme apperteaneth alsweall to the infantis of the faithfull, as to those that be of age and discretioun. And so we dampne the errour of [the] Anabaptistes, who deny baptisme to appertеane to children, befoir that thei have faith and understanding. But the Supper of the Lord, we confesse to apperteane onlie to sick as[3] have

[1] Supplied from MS. G; but the old printed copies also read, "by the Evangelistis, and by Sanct Paule;" omitting the word "three."

[2] In the old printed copies, "preach, magnifie, and prayse."

[3] In the old printed copies, "to sic onlie as be of the houshald."

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bene of the houshold of faith, [and] can try and examyn thame selfis, asweill in thair faith, as in thair dewtie towardis thair nychtbouris. Such as eat [and drink] at that holy table without fayth, or being at dissentioun and divisioun with thare brethren, do eat unworthelye: and thairfoir it is, that in our Kirkis our Ministeris tackis publict and particulare examinatioun of the knowledge and conversatioun of suche as are to be admitted to the table of the Lord Jesus.

Of the Civile Magistrat.—Cap. xxiv.

We Confesse and acknawledge impyres, kyngdomes, dominiounis, and cities to be distincted and ordaned by God: the powers and authorities in the same (be it of Emperouris in thair impyris, of Kingis in thair realmes, Dukis and Princes in thair dominiounis, or of otheris Magistratis in free cities,) to be Godis holy ordinance, ordeaned for manifestatioun of his awin glorie, and for the singulare proffeit and commodite of mankynd. So that whosoever goes about to tack away or to confound the haill state of civile policies, now lang establischéd, we affirme the same men not onlie to be ennemyes to mankynd, but also wickedlie to feght against Godis expressed will. We farther Confesse and acknawledge, that sic personis as are placed in authoritie are to be loved, honoured, feared, and holdin in most reverent estimatioun; becaus [that] thei are the lieutennentis of God, in whose sessioun God him self doeth sitt and judge, (yea evin the Judges and Princes thame selfis,) to whome by God is gevin the sweard, to the praise and defence of good men, and to revenge and puniss all open malefactouris. Moreover, to Kingis, Princes, Reullaris, and Magistratis, we affirme that cheiflie and maist principallie the reformatioun[1] and purgatioun of the Religioun apperteanes; so that not onlie thei are appointed for civile policey, bot also for mantenance of the trew Religioun, and for suppressing of idolatrie and superstitioun whatsomever, as in David, Josaphat, Eze-

[1] In the old printed copies, "conservatioun."

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chias, Josias, and otheris, keychtlie commended for thair zeall in that caise, may be espyed. And thairfoir we confesse and avow, that sick as resist the Supreme power, (doing that thing which apperteanis to his charge,) do resist Goddis ordinance, and thairfoir can not be guyltless. And farther, we affirme, that whosoever deny unto thame thair aid, counsall, and conforte, while the Princes and Reullaris vigilantlie travaill in the executing[1] of thair office, that the same men deny thair help, supporte, and counsall to God, who by the presence of his lieutennent craveth it of thame.

The Giftis frelie gevin to the Kirk.—Cap. xxv.

Albeit that the word of God trewlie preached, [and] the Sacramentis rychtlie ministred, and discipline executed according to the word of God, be the certane and infallible signes of the trew Kirk; yit do we nott so meane, that everie[2] particulare persone joyned with sick ane cumpany, be ane elect member of Christ Jesus. For we acknawledge and confesse, that darnell, cokle, and chaff, may be sawin, grow, and in great abundance lye in the myddis of the wheat; that is, the reprobat may be joyned in the societie of the elect, and may externallie use with thame the benefites of the word and sacramentis; but sic being butt temporall professouris in mouth, but not in heart, do fall back and continew not to the end: and thairfoir haif thei no fruit of Christis death, resurrectioun, nor assentioun. But sick as with heart unfeanedlie beleve, and with mouth beldlie confesse the Lord Jesus, (as befoir we have said,) shall most assuredly resave these giftis; first, In this lyfe, remissoun of synnes, and that by faith onlie in Christis blude, insamekle, that albeit syne remane and continuallie abyd in these our mortall bodyes, yit it is not imputed unto us, but is remitted and covered with Christis justice. Secondlie, In the generall judgement thair shalbe gevin

[1] In the old printed copies, "in executioun."

[2] In the old printed copies, "the trew Kirk; we meane not that every."

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to everie man and woman resurrectioun of the flesche; for the sea shall geve hir dead, the earth those that thairin be inclosed; yea, the Eternall, our God, shall stretche out his hand upoun the dust, and the dead shall aryse incorruptible, and that in the substance of the [self] same flesche that everie man now bearis, to resave, according to thair warkis, glorie or punishment: for sik as now delyte in vanitie, creueltye, filthynes, superstitioun, or idolatrie, shalbe adjudged to the fyre inextinguishable, in the whiche thei shalbe tormented for ever, alsweall in thair awin bodyes, as in thair saullis, whiche now thei give to serve the devill in all abominatioun. Butt sik as continew in weall doing to the end, boldlie professing the Lord Jesus, [we constantly beleve, that they sall receive glorie, honour, and immortalitie, to reigne for ever in life everlasting with Christ Jesus,[1]] to whose glorifeid body all his Eleet shalbe [made] lyke, when he shall appeir agane to judgement, and shall render up the kingdome to God his Father, who then shalbe, and ever shall remane all in all thingis, God blessed for evir: To whome, with the Sone, and with the Holy Ghost, be all honour and glorie, now and ever. Amen.

Aryse, O Lord, and lett thy ennemyes be confounded: Lett thame flye frome thy presence that hait thy godlie name: Give thy Servandis strenth to speak thy word in boldnes; and lett all Nationis atteane to[2] *thy trew knowledge.*

Thir Actis and Articles war red[3] in face of Parliament, and ratified be the Three Estaitis of this Realme, at Edinburgh, the sevintene day of August,[4] the year of God J^m. V^c. and threscoir yearis.

[1] This clause, omitted by Knox's amanuensis, is not contained in Vautr. edit., or in the later MSS.

[2] In the old printed copies of the Confession, "cleif," "cleve," or "cleave to."

[3] In the Acts 1560 and 1567, "ar red."

[4] In the MSS. of Knox, and in Vautrollier's edition, the erroneous date, 17th July, is given instead of the 17th August, as the day when the Confession of Faith was ratified by Parliament. The same mistake occurs in the rare edition of the Confession, printed at Edinburgh by John Scott, 1561, 4to. —See Herbert's Typographical Antiquities, vol. iii. p. 1817.

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THIS oure CONFESSIOUN was publictlie red, first in audience of the Lordis of Articles, and after in audience of the haill Parliament; whair war present, not onlie suche as professed Christ Jesus, but also a great number of the adversaries of our religioun, suche as the foirnamed Bishoppis, and some others of the Temporall Estate, who war commanded in Goddis name to object, yf thei could, any thing against that doctrine. Some of our Ministeris war present, standing upoun thair feit, reddye to have answered, in caise any wald haif defended the Papistrie, and impugned oure affirmatives: but whill that no objectioun was maid, thair was a day appointed to voting in that and other headis. Oure Confessioun was redd, everie article by itself, over agane, as thei war wryttin in ordour, and the vottis of everie man war requyred accordinglie. Of the Temporall Estate onlie voted in the contrair, the Erle of Atholl,[1] the Lordis Somervaill[2] and Borthwik;[3] and yit for thair disassenting thei produced no bettir reassone, but, "We will beleve as oure fatheris beleved." The Bischoppis, (Papis-

[1] John Stewart, fourth Earl of Atholl. He succeeded his father in 1542. He enjoyed the favour of Queen Mary, and promoted her marriage with Darnley. He afterwards joined in the Association, and signed the warrant for the Queen's custody in Loch-Leven. In 1577, he became Lord Chancellor of Scotland, and died 24th April 1579.

[2] James sixth Lord Somerville, succeeded to the title in 1550. From Sadler's Correspondence it appears he was in England in 1543, as a hostage for his father, who had been taken prisoner at Solway. (State Papers, vol. i. pp. 182, 348.) His name occurs as signing the Bond in April 1560: (see page 63.) It may be questioned, therefore, whether Knox is quite correct in the names of the persons whom he mentions as having openly opposed the Confession in Parliament. See in the Appendix an extract from Randolph the English envoy's letter to Sir William Cecil, on the 19th of August, in which he says, "of the Temporal Lords, the Earl of Cassillis, and the Earl of Caithness, said Noe; the rest of the Lords, with common consent, allowed the same." (Tytler's Hist. of Scotland, vol. vi. p. 184, note.) Lord Sommerville, who continued his adherence to the Queen's party, at the battle of Langsyde, in May 1568, was severely wounded; and he died in the month of December following.

[3] John fifth Lord Borthwick, in 1543, was served heir of his father, William fourth Lord Borthwick, (his elder brother, the Master of Borthwick, having died without issue.) He assisted the Queen Regent in her contests with the Lords of the Congregation, and died in 1565.

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ticall, we meane,) spack nothing. The rest of the haill thre Estaittis, by thair publict votes, affirmed the doctrine; and many, the rather, becaus that the Bischoppis wold nor durst say nothing in the contrair; for this was the vote of the Erle Merschell,[1]—"It is long since I have had some favour unto the trewth, and since that I have had a suspitioun of the Papisticall religioun; but, I praise my God, this day hes fully resolved me in the one and the other. For seing that my Lordis Bischoppis, who for thair learing can, and for the zeall that thei should bear to the veritie, wold, as I suppose, ganesay any thing that directlie repugnes to the veritie of God; seing, I say, my Lordis Bischoppis heir present speakis nothing in the contrair of the doctrine proponed, I can nott but hold it to be the verie trewth of God, and the contrarie to be deceavable doctrine. And thairfoir, so far as in me lyeth, I approve the one and dampne the other: And do farther ask of God, that not onlie I, but also all my posteritie, may enjoy the comforte of the doctrin that this day our earis have hearde. And yitt more, I man vote, as it war by way of protestatioun, that yf any persones ecclesiasticall shall after this oppone thame selfis to this our Confessioun, that thei have no place nor credite, considdering that thei having long advisement, and full knawledge of this oure Confessioun, none is now found in lauchfull, free, and quyete Parliament to oppone thame selfis to that whiche we professe: And thairfoir, yf any of this generatioun pretend to do it after this, I protest he be repute rather one that loveth his awin commoditie and the glorie of the world, than the trewth of God, and the salvatioun of menis saullis."

THE ERLE MERSCHELLIS VOTE IN PARLIAMENT.

After the voting and ratificatioun of this oure Confessioun,

[1] William Keith, fourth Earl Marischall, who succeeded his grandfather in 1580. In 1541 he was appointed Extraordinary Lord of Session. See vol. i. p. 251, note 2. He died 7th October 1581, having spent many of his latter years in retirement, in his Castle of Dunnottar.

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by the haill body of the Parliament, thair war also pronunced two Actis, the one against the Masse and the abuse of the Sacramentis, and the other against the Supreamacye of the Pape;[1] the tenouris whairof followis:—

The Act against the Messe.[2]

In the Parliament haldin at Edinburgh, the tent of Julij, the year of God J^m^ fyve hundreth threscoir yearis, the said Parliament being continewed to the first of August nixt thairafter following, with continewatioun of dayis, upoun the twenty-four day of the said moneth of August, the Thre Estaitis then being present: The whiche day, forsamekle as Almychtie God be his maist trew and blessed worde, hes declaired the reverence and honour quhilk should be gevin to him: and, be his Sone Jesus Christ, has declaired the trew use of the Sacramentis, willing the same to be used according to his will and worde: Be the quhilk it is notour and perfitlie knawin that the Sacramentis of Baptisme and of the body and bloode of Jesus Christ, hes bene in all tymes bygane corrupted be the Papisticall Kirk, and be thair usurpit ministeris; and presentlie, notwithstanding the Reformatioun allreaddy maide according to Goddis worde, yit nottheless thair is some of the same Papis Kirk that stubburnelie perseveris in thair wicked idolatrie, sayand Messe, and Baptizand conforme to the Papis Kirk, prophanand thairthrow the Sacramentis foirsaidis, in quyett and secreatt places, regardand thairthrow

[1] The Acts referred to were renewed in the Parliament, held by the Regent Earl of Murray, in December 1567. There was likewise another Act annulling all former Acts made for the maintenance of Idolatry, or "contrary to the Confession of Fayth, published in this Parliament." It was only by such ratifications that any proceedings of the Parliament in 1560 were recorded. The Acts alluded to were republished in a separate form, along with some of a subsequent date, connected with Religion,—1st, In an edition "Imprintit at Edinburgh, be Johne Ros, Anno Do. 1580," 4to; and 2dly, at "Edinburgh, prentit be Robert Waldegrave," 1598, 4to.

[2] The title in the Acts of Parliament 1567, is, "Anent the Messe abolischit, and punisching of all that heiris or sayis the samin.—Cap. v."

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nowther God nor his worde: Thairfoir it is statut and ordeaned in this present Parliament, that na maner of persone nor personis, in ony tyme cuming, administrat ony of the Sacramentis foirsaidis secreatlie, or ony other maner of way, but thei that ar admitted and havand power to that effect; nor say Messe, nor yit hear Messe, nor be present thairat, under the paine of confiscatioun of all thair goodis, [movabill and unmovabill,] and punisheing of thair bodyis at the discretioun of the Magistrattis, within whais jurisdiction sick personis happynnis to be apprehended, for the first fault; banisching of the Realme, for the secound fault; and justifieing to the dead, for the thrid falt: And ordainis all Schireffis, Stewartis, Bailleis, and thair deputtis, Provestis, and Bailleis of Burrowis, and otheris judges whatsumever, within this Realme, to taik diligent suyt and inquisitioun within thair boundis, whair ony sick usurped ministerie is used; Messe saying, or thei that beis present at the doing thairof, ratifeand and apprevand the samyn, and tack and apprehend thame, to the effect that the panis above wrettin may be execut upon thame.

Extractum de libro Parliamenti, per me, etc.

(*Sic subscribitur,*)

Jacobus McGill.[1]

The Act for Abolishing the Jurisdictioun of the Pape.[2]

In the Parliament haldin at Edinburgh, the tent day of Julij, the yeare of God J^m V^c lx yearis, and thairefter continewit to the first day of August nixt thairefter following, with continewatioun of dayes, upoun the xxiiij of the said moneth of August:[3] The thre Estaitis, then being present, understanding that the jurisdictioun and authoritie of the Bis-

[1] Mr. James M'Gill, Clerk Register: see a subsequent note.

[2] The title in the Acts of Parliament 1567, is, "Anent the abolissing of the Pape, and his usurpit authoritie.—Cap. iii."

[3] See note to the preceding Act, which was passed on the same day.

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chope of Rome, callit the Pape, usit [with]in this Realme in tymes bypast, hes [not onlie bene contumelious to the Eternall God, but also] verry hurtsome and prejudiciall to our Soveranis authoritie, and commoun weall of this Realme: Thairfoir hes statut and ordainit, that the Bischope of Rome, [callit the Paip,] have na jurisdictioun nor authoritie [with]in this Realme in tymes cuming; and that nane of oure said Soveranis subjectis sute or desyre, in ony tyme heirefter, tytill or rycht, be the said Bischope of Rome or his sect, to ony thing within this Realme, under the panis of Barratrie; that is to say, proscriptioun, banishment, and never to bruik honour, office, nor dignitie within this Realme: And the contraveaneris heirof, to be callit befoir the Justice or his deputtis, or befoir the Lordis of the Sessioun, and punist thairfoir according to the lawis of this Realme: And the furnessaris of thame with fynance of money, and purchessaris of thair tytle of rycht, or manteaneris and defenderis of thame, sall incurr the samyn panis: And that na Bischope, nor uther Prelatt of this Realme, use ony jurisdictioun in tymes to cum, be the said Bischope of Rome's authoritie, under the paine foirsaid. *Extractum, etc.*

These and other thingis ordourlie done in lauchfull and free Parliament,[1] we direct to France, to our Soveranis, Sir James Sandelandis, Lord of Sanct Johne,[2] with the Actes of the said

[1] As already mentioned, no record of the proceedings of this Parliament in August 1560, was included in any of the printed collections of the Public Statutes, until Mr. Thomson restored the three Acts, (see page 123, note 1,) along with the Confession of Faith, in his edition of Acta Parl. Scot., vol. ii. pp. 525-535. An abstract of the proceedings was furnished to Bishop Keith, by Father Innes, from Archbishop Beaton's MSS. in the Scots College, Paris: a copy of this abstract will be given in the Appendix, along with the extract of Randolph's letter, mentioned at page 121, note 2.

[2] James Sandilands, second son of Sir James Sandilands of Calder, (see vol. i. page 301,) became Preceptor of Torphichen, (ib. page 249,) and in virtue of this office, under the title of Lord St. John, he had a seat in Parliament. He was employed in several embassies; and with the rest of his family he joined

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Parliament, that by thame thei mycht be ratifeid according to the promeisse of thair Heyghness Commissionaris maid to us, as by the Contract of Peace most evidentlie may appear. Bot how the said Lord of Sanct Johne was entreated we list nott reherse; but alwyis no Ratificatioun brought he unto us.[3] But that we litill regarded, or yit do regarde; for all that we did was rather to schaw our debtfull obedience, then to bege of thame any strenth to our Religioun, whiche from God hes full powar, and neideth nott the suffrage of man, but in so far as man hath neid to beleve it, yf that ever he shall have participatioun of the lyfe everlesting. But somewhat most we answer to suche as since hes whispered, that it was but a pretended Parliament and a privye conventioun, and no lauchfull Parliament. Thair reassonis ar, the King and Quene war in France; thair was neather sceptour, sweard, nor croune borne, &c., and some principall Lordis war absent. We answer, That we rather wishe the Papistis to be quyett, nor too curiouslie to travell in that head; for it may be, that whill thei think to hurte us, thei tack the Quene and hir authoritie a great blawe, and yitt amend thame selffis nothing. For in whose defalt, we pray yow, was the Quene absent frome this Realme? We think thei will not be so schameless as that thei will blame the Protestantis thairof. Her persone was absent, and [that] to no small greaff of our hartis. But war nott the Estaitis of hir Realme assembled in hir name? Yea, had thei nott hir full power and commissioun, yea, the commissioun

the Reformers; this mission to France shews the estimation in which he was held. Having obtained a grant of the possessions of the Knights Templars and Hospitallers in Scotland in 1563, the same were erected into a Free Barony or a Temporal Lordship, in his favour, by Queen Mary, as Lord Torphichen; and he relinquished his former title of Lord St. John. See the copy of the Charter, dated 24th January 1563-4, with several interesting notices regarding the Templar Lands and Dignities, by Mr. Maidment, in the Spottiswoode Miscellany, (vol. ii. pp. 17-82,) Edinb. 1845, 8vo. James Lord Torphichen, died 29th November 1596, leaving no issue, and his estates and title devolved on his grand-nephew, James Sandilands of Calder.

[3] See note 1, page 131.

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and commandiment of hir head the King of France, to convocat that Parliament, and to do all thingis that may be done in lauchfull Parliament, evin as yf oure Soveranis had bene thair in proper personis? Yf thei will limitat the power of princes to the places onlie whair thair bodelye presence is, it will be thocht strange; for so not onlie shall Kingis be compellit to content thame with one Realme, but also with one citie; for the bodilie presence of Kingis can no more be in diverse cities in one instant, then that thei can be in diverse Realmes. Hitherto we haif understand, that whairsoever the Counsallouris of the King, with his power and commissioun, ar assembled to do any thing at his commandiment, that thair is the Kingis sufficient presence and authoritie, whairsoever his awin body be leving at fredome and libertie. Which, yf the Papistis deny, we will find faultis with thame, and with the princes whome thei have abused, that more will annoy thame then anything that we can lose by the insufficiencie of that Parliament; whiche not the less we ar bold to affirme, to have bene more lauchfull, and more free then any Parliament that thei ar able to produce this hundreth year befoir it, or yitt any that hath ensewed since it was; for in it, the votes of men war free, and gevin of conscience: in otheris thei war bought or gevin at the devotioun of the prince. All thingis in it concluded ar able to abyde the tryall, and nott to be consumed at the prufe of the fyre. Off otheris the godly may justly call in dowbt thingis determined.

To the sweard and sceptour, nor yitt to the absence of some Lordis, we ansuere nothing; for oure adversaries know weall yneuche that the one is rather a pompe and gloriouse vane ceremonye, than a substantiall point of necessitie, requyred to a lauchfull Parliament; and the absence of some prejudges nott the poweris of the present, providing that dew advertisement be made unto thame. But now we returne to oure Historye.

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The Parliament dissolved, consultatioun was had, how the Kirk mycht be establissed in a good and godlie Policy, whiche by the Papistes was altogether defaced. Commissioun and charge was gevin to Mr. Johne Winram[1] Suppriour of Sanctandrois, Maister Johne Spottiswoode, Johne Willok, Mr. John Douglas Rectour of Sanctandrois, Maister Johne Row, and Johne Knox, to draw in a volume the Polecey and Disciplyn of the Kirk, as weill as thei had done the Doctrin; whiche thei did and presented to the Nobilitie, who did peruse it many dayis. Some approved it, and willed the samyn have bene sett furth be a law. Otheris, perceaving thair carnall libertie and worldlie commoditie somewhat to be impaired thairby grudged, insomuche that the name of the Book of Discipline became odious unto thame. Everie thing that repugned to thair corrupt affectionis, was termed in thair mockage, "devote imaginationis." The caus we have befoir declaired; some war licentious; some had greadelie gripped to the possessionis of the Kirk; and otheris thought that thei wald nott lack thair parte of Christis coat; yea, and that befoir that ever he was hanged, as by the Preachearis thei war oft rebuked. The cheaf great man that had professed Christ Jesus, and refuissed to subscrive the Book of Discipline, was the Lord Erskyn;[2] and no wonder, for besydis that he has a verray Jesabell to his wyffe, yf the poore, the schooles, and the ministerie of the Kirk had thair awin, his keching wald lack two parttis and more, of that whiche he injustlie now possesses. Assuredlye

[1] In Knox's MS. 1566, the names of Winram and Douglas are added on the margin, apparently in his own hand; in the text being simply styled, "*the* Suppriour," &c., and "*the* Rectour," &c., "the," being afterwards deleted. In Vautr. edit., and the later MSS., the names are introduced into the text. The transcriber of MS. G, has, however, omitted the name of "John Willok," as one of the compilers of the Book of Discipline.

[2] This charge of avarice was made against John Lord Erskine, afterwards Earl of Mar, and Regent of Scotland; who had married Annabella Murray, eldest daughter of Sir William Murray of Tullibardine, and Catherine, daughter of Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenurchy.

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some of us have woundered how men that professe godlynes could of so long continewance hear the threatnyngis of God against theavis and against thair housses, and knowing thame selfis guyltie in suche thingis, as war openlie rebucked, and that thei never had remorse of conscience, neather yitt intended to restore any thingis of that, whiche long thei had stollen and reft. Thair was none within the Realme more unmercyfull to the poore Ministeris then war thei whiche had greatest rentis of the Churches. But in that we have perceaved the old proverbe to be trew, "Nothing can suffice a wreche;" and agane, "The bellie hes none earis." Yitt the same Book of Discipline was subscrived by a great parte of the Nobilitie: to witt, the Duckis Grace, the Erle of Arrane, the Erles Ergyle, Glencarne, Merschall, Menteth, Mortoun, Rothes, Lord James, now Erle of Murray; Lordis Yester, Boyd, Vchiltree; Maister of Maxwell,[1] Lord Lyndesay elder, and the Maister now Lord;[2] Baronis Drumlanryg, Lochinwar, Garleise, Bargany; Mr. Alexander Gordoun Byschop of Galloway, Alexander Campbell Deane of Murray, with a great number mo, subscrived and approved the said Book of Discipline,[3] in the Tolbuyth of Edinburgh, the twenty-sevin day of Januare, the year of God J^m V^c threscoir yearis, by thair approbatioun, in these wordis:—

"We quhilk have subscrivit thir presentis, havand advised with the Articles herein specified, and as is above mentionat, from the begyning of this Book, thinkis the samyn goode,

[1] In MS. G, "Maister of Maxwell, thairefter Lord Herise." Sir John Maxwell, in virtue of his marriage with the eldest daughter and co-heiress of William third Lord Herries, assumed that title in 1567.

[2] John fifth Lord Lindesay of Byres, died in 1563, and was succeeded by his eldest son Patrick, Master of Lindesay.

[3] Upon comparing this list of names with the signatures attached to the Book of Discipline, it will be seen that Knox's amanuensis has unfortunately copied them only in part, as the names of the Earls of Marischal, Monteith, and Morton, and a few others here specified, are not given. See the end of Book Third, in the present volume.

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and conforme to Goddis word in all poyntis, conforme to the notes and additionis thairto eikked; and promittis to sett the same fordwarte at the uttermost of oure powerís, providing that the Bischoppis, Abbottis, Priouris, and utheris Prelattis and beneficed men, quhilkis ellis have adjoyned thameselfis to us, bruik the revenues of thair benefices during thair lyfe-tymes, thei susteanyng and upholding the Ministerie and Ministeris, as is heirin specified, for preaching of the worde, and ministring of the sacramentis."

What be the contentis of the haill Book, and how that this promeise was illuded frome tyme to tyme, we will after hear.

Schort after the said Parliament, war send from the counsall Ambassadouris to England, the Erles Mortoun and Glencarne, togidder with William Maitland of Lethingtoun youngare. The cheaf poynt of thair commissioun was earnestlie to crave the constant assistance of the Quenis Majestie of England, against all forane invasioun, and to propone the Earle of Arrane (who then was in no small estimatioun with us) to the Quene of England in mariage.[1]

That same tyme was the Castell of Sempill[2] besieged and tane, because the Lord thairof disobeyed the lawes and ordi-

[1] In the Acta Parl. Scot., vol. ii. p. 605, "The Commission of the Estates to move Queene Elizabeth of England to tak the Erle of Arran to hir husband," in August 1560, is inserted, with the signatures, from the original, preserved among the Hamilton archives. This Commission authorized "that honorable personis be sent in ambassat fra and on behalf of the Estates." The ambassadors, the Earls of Morton and Glencairn, and Maitland of Lethington, set out from Edinburgh, accompanied with fifty-four horse, on the 11th or 12th October 1560. (Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 62.) They returned on the 3d of January 1560-61. (Ib. pp. 68, 281.)

[2] "My Lord Duke and the Earl of Arrane, his son, on the 24th September 1560, departit to cast doun my Lord Sempills hous;" and on the 14th October, "the Castell of Sempill was tane be my Lord Duke." (Diurnal of Occurrents, pp. 62, 68.)

Castle Semple is in the parish of Lochwinnoch, and county of Renfrew, and stood at the northern end of the lake called Lochwinnoch, from which the parish derived its name: it was demolished in the year 1785, and replaced by a modern mansion.

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nances of the Counsall in many thingis, and especiallie in that, that he wold manteane the idolatrie of the Messe, and also that he besett the way to the Erle of Arrane, with a great gathering, as he was ryding with his accustumed companye.

The Papistis war proude, for thei looked for ane new armye from France at the nixt spring, and thairof was thair no small appearance, yf God had not otherwyse provided. For France utterlie refused the confirmatioun of the peace contracted at Leyth, wald ratifie no parte of oure Parliament, dismissed the Lord of Sanct Johne without any resolute ansure,[1] begane to gather new bandis of throte-cuttaris, and to maik great preparatioun for schippes. Thei farther send befoir thame certane practisaris (amonges whome the Lord Seatoun,[2] who had departed with the Frenche out of Leyth was one) to rouse up new trubles within this Realme. And all this came partlie of the malice of the house of Gwise, who had avowed to revenge the displeasour of thair sister, boyth upoun England and Scotland, and partlie by instigatioun of proud Beatoun, falslie called Bischope of Glasgu, of Dury, Abbot of Dumfermeling, Saulles Seatoun,[3] and Mr. John Sinklar, Dene of Restarick,[4]

[1] The journey of Lord St. John seems to have been delayed for nearly a month after the dissolution of Parliament. Robert Melville, who was to have accompanied him, addressed a letter to the Lady Cecill, on the 21st September, in which he says, "quhilk journay is alterit, and thought mare expedient that my Lord of Senjhone pass in France, quhaire I daire not go at this tyme. Seeing my Lord is desirous to offer his service unto your Ladyship," &c. (Haynes's State Papers, p. 362.)—"Upoun the xxiij day of September, the zeir of God 1560 zeiris, James Lord of Sanctjohne was directit as ambassadour, and departit to France, throw the Realme of Ingland, to obtane confirmatioun of the Quenis grace of this Realme, and hir Spouse, upoun the Actis maid of the Parliament foirsaid." (Diurnal of Occurrents, pp. 62, 280.) The same authority states, that on the 19th December, "James Lord Sanctjohne come furth of France to Edinburgh, and obtenit little or nathing of his errands expeid." (ib. p. 281.)

[2] George sixth Lord Seaton, was one of the Commissioners sent to France in 1558, at the marriage of Queen Mary. On the Queen's return to Scotland, he was appointed Master of the Household, and remained attached to her in all her misfortunes.

[3] So in the different MSS.; but it may be suggested, whether the name is not a mistake for the Abbot of Sauls Seat, (*Sedes Animarum*,) in Wigtonshire.

[4] In MS. G, "Restalrig."—Sinclair's name is added on the margin of MS. 1566.

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with suche utheris of the Frenche factioun,[1] who had openlie spokin, that thei had refused all portioun of Scotland, onless that it war under the government of a Frenche man. "Recompense thame, O Lord, as thou knowest maist expedient for thy awin glorie, and for the perpetuall schame of all tratouris to thair commoun-wealth."

The certane knowledge of all these thingis came to our earis, whairat many war effrayed; for diverse suspected that England wald nott be so fordwarde in tymes to cum, considering that thair formar expensses war so great. The principall conforte remaned with the preacheouris; for thei assured us in Goddis name, that God should performe in all perfectioun that worke in our handis, the begyning whairof he had so mychtelie mainteaned, becaus it was not ouris, but his awin; and thairfoir exhorted us that we should constantlie proceid to reforme all abuses, and to plant the ministerie of the Churche, as by Goddis word we mycht justifie it, and then committ the successe of all to our God, in whose power the dispositioun of kingdomes standis. And so we begane to do, for troubles appearing, maid us give ear to the admonitionis of Goddis servandis. And whill that we had skarslie begune agane to implore the helpe of our God, and to schaw some signes of our obedience unto his messingeris, and holy worde, lo! the potent hand of God from above send unto us a wonderfull and most joyfull deliverance: For unhappy Francis, husband to our Soverane, suddandlie perissheth of a rottin ear. But becaus the death of that child was nott onlie the cause of joy to us in Scotland, but also by it war the faythfull in France delivered, as it ware, from the present death, we think expedient to entreat the same somewhat more largelie.

THE DEATH OF THE YONG KING OF FRANCE, HUSBAND TO OUR JESABELL.

[1] The persons of the French faction here named, have been previously mentioned by Knox, viz. James Beaton, Archbishop of Glasgow, (vol. i. p. 252, note 2,) who survived till the year 1603; George Durie, Abbot of Dunfermline, (vol. i. p. 183, note 2); and John Sinclair, Dean of Restalrig, (vol. i. p. 265, note 2,) became Bishop of Brechin in 1568. See *infra*, p. 141. Beaton and Seaton arrived at Paris on the 8d of August. (Tytler's Hist. vol. vi. p. 176.)

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These cruell and conjured ennemyes of God, and of all godlynes, the Duck of Gwyse, the Cardinall of Lorane, and thair factioun, who then at thair awin appetite plaide the tyrantis in France, had determined the destructioun[1] of all that professed the trew knowledge of Jesus Christ within that Realme. What tyranny laite befoir thei had used at Amboyse, the historie of France doth witness. Now, in Orleance, in the moneth of November, conveyned the King, unhappie Francis, the Quene oure Soverane, and the Quene Mother, the Duck of Gweise, with all his factioun, the King of Navar, and the Prince his brother.[2] So that great was the confluence of the Nobilitie; but greater was the assemblie of the murtheraris; for thair was nott a hangman in all France whiche was nott thair. The preasonis ware full of the trew servandis of God: the King of Navar and the Prince war constitut preasonaris. The Schereff of Orleance, a man fearing God, was tackin, and so war many otheris of the toune. Breiflie, thair was none that professed God or godlyness within that toune, that looked nott for the extreamitie; for the walles and yettis war nycht and day keapt with tha garnysonis of the Gwysianes: miserable men war dalie browght in to suffer judgement, but none was suffered to departe furth butt at the devotioun of the tyrantis. And so thei proceided till the tent or twelft[3] of December, when that thei thowght tyme to putt thair bloody counsall in executioun, and for that purpoise conclusioun was tackin that the King should departe of the toune, and lye at a certane place; whiche was done to this intent, that thair should no suyte be maid to the King for the saiftie of any

[1] The account here given is not exaggerated, as the French Protestants were subjected to fearful persecutions, and the number of persons brought to the stake on account of religion, from time to time, would scarcely be credited, unless for the undeniable testimony of contemporary writers. The sudden death of Francis the Second, had undoubtedly the effect of preventing some intended atrocities against the Reformed party in France.

[2] A blank space of about two lines left here in MS. 1566, as if to insert some additional names.

[3] See next page, note 2.

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manis lyfe, whome thei thowght worthy of death. And so was the Kingis house in Orleance broken up, his beddis, cofferis, and tapistree sent away; his awin buttis putt on, he sitting at the Messe, immediatlie thairafter to have departed, and so thair tyrannie to have begune,—when all thingis, we say, war into this readdyness to sched the bloode of innocentis, the Eternall, our God, who ever watches for the preservatioun of his awin, begane to work, and suddandlie did put his awin werk in executioun. For as the said King satt at Messe, he was suddandlie strikkin with ane aposthume, in that deaf eare that never wald hear the treuth of God; and so was he caryed to ane void house, layd upoun a palliase unto suche tyme as a cannabie was sett up unto him; whair he lay till the fyftene day of December, in the year of God J^m V^c threscoir yearis,[2] when his glorie perished, and the pryde of the stubburne heart evanished in smok. And so was the snare brokin, the tyrantis disappoynted of thair crueltye; those that war appointed to death rased, as it war out of thair graves; and we, who by our foolischnes had maid our selves slaves to strangearis, war restored agane to freedome and libertie of a free Realme.

CORRECTED BE MR. GEORGE.[1]

"Oh! that we had heartis deaplie to considder what ar thy wonderouse workis, O Lord, that we mycht praise Thee in the myddest of this most obstinat and wicked generatioun,

[1] There can be little doubt that by "Mr. George," we are to understand Mr. George Buchanan. He was in France at the time of the King's death, and it is highly probable he may not only have furnished Knox with the information contained in this paragraph, but also have supplied him with the translation of the Latin verses on page 136. The style of this version corresponds so much with the prose writings and the few letters of Buchanan written in his native tongue, as to warrant this ascription: but in either case, whether translated by Buchanan or Knox, these lines may be esteemed a literary curiosity. Buchanan returned to Scotland about the same time with Mary Queen of Scots, in the summer or autumn of 1561.

[2] The date here assigned for the death of the French monarch, is incorrect. He died on the 5th, not the 15th of December 1560, (although Mezeray, the French historian, says it was on the 4th of that month,) after a short reign of sixteen months and twenty-four days, in the 17th year of his age.

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and leave the memoriall of the same to oure posterities, whiche, allace, we fear, shall forget thy inestimable benefites." The godlie in France, upoun this suddane death, sett furth in these verses ane admonitioun to Kingis:—

AD HUJUS TEMPORIS MONARCHAS PROTREPTICON CARMEN.[1]

Consiliis Christum oppugnans et fraudibus, ingens
Regum ille terror Carolus:
Ipsis ridiculis pueris, furiosus, et excors,
Totus repente corruit.
Tuque Henrice, malis dum consultoribus utens,
Sitis piorum sanguinem:
Ipse tuo vecors, inopina, cæde peremptus
Terram imbuisti sanguine.
Henrici deinceps, sectans vestigia patris
Franciscus infœlix puer,
Clamantem Christum surda dum negligit aure,
Aure putrefacta corruit.

[1] The writer of these verses is unknown. They occur in an anonymous work, containing much curious and important matter relating to the state of Religion in France, entitled, "Commentaires de l'Estat de la Religion et Republique soubs les Rois Henry et Francois seconds, et Charles neufiesme. (1556-1561.)—M.D.LXV." 8vo. foll. 262. The above "Vers Latins faicts sur la mort du Roy Francois," are thus introduced at fol. 100:

"Non long temps apres furent divulguez quelques vers Latins faicts sur la mort dudict Roy François, du Roy Henry son pere, et de l'Empereur Charles cinquiesme, qui m'ont semblé estre dignes de memoire, et d'estre conservez a la posterité: lesquels pourtant i'ay voulu icy adiouster, la superscription estant telle qu'il s'ensuit cy apres.

"AD HVIVS TEMPORIS
Monarchas προτρεπτικὸν Carmen.

Consiliis Christum oppugnans," &c.

There is a similar work entitled, "Commentariorum de Statu Religionis et Reipublicæ in Regno Franciæ, Pars I-V." by Joannes Serranus, a learned divine. The author of the "Commentaires," was Peter de la Place, an eminent lawyer, whom Henry the Second had appointed King's Advocate and President of the Court of Aids, in Paris. In 1560, he openly avowed himself a Protestant, which obliged him to leave Paris, and in the troubles that followed, his library and effects were pillaged or destroyed; and he himself eventually became one of the victims in the atrocious massacre of the Protestants on the eve of St. Bartholomew, 25th August 1572.

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Versuti, fatui, surdi, hæc spectacula, Reges,
Vos sapere vel mori jubent.

The meanyng whairof is, that Charles—

Kynge Charles that tyrane terrible,
Withstanding Christ with witt and craft,
As mocking stock most miserable,
Endit at ones ragine and daft.[1]
Then Henrie through evill cumpany,
Thristing the blood of godlie men,
With his awin blood, schedd suddantlie,
Was maid to wait the end ye ken.[2]
Last, Francis, that unhappie child,
His Father's footsteps following plane,
To Christ crying, deafe eares did yeild,
Ane rotten eare then was his baine.
O craftie, deif, and foolische Kyngs,
These fearfull judgments gone befoir you,
Biddeth you be wyser in your reignes,
Or schamefull death will sone devoir you.

The death of this King maid great alteratioun in Fraunce, England, and Scotland. France was erected in some esperance, that the tyranny of the Gwysianis should no longar ring above thame, becaus that God at unwares had brokin the staff whairupoun thei leaned. But, allace, thei war deceaved: for the simplicitie of some was so abused, that, against the lawes of the Realme, to the Quene Mother was committed regiment:

[1] The Emperor Charles the Fifth, and King of Spain. After having abdicated his throne to his son Philip the Second, in October 1555, he took up his retreat in the convent of St. Just, in the Province of Estramadura, in Spain. The change from an active life, and his mortified ambition, led to acts of fantastic devotion, which betrayed a weakness of understanding. He died 21st September 1558.

[2] Henry the Second, King of France. His death, on the 10th July 1559, is previously mentioned by Knox: see vol. i. p. 371.

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which lifted up asweill the Duck of Gwyse, as the cruell Cardinall for a seassone.

The Quene of England and the Counsall, remitted our Ambassadouris with answer, "That sche wald nott marye hastelye, and, thairfoir, willed the Counsall of Scotland, and the Erle of Arrane, foirsaid, nott to depend upoun any hope thairof."[1] What motives she had, we omitt.

The pryde of the Papists of Scotland began to be abated, and some that ever had schawin thame selfis ennemyes unto us, began to think, and planelie to speak, (amanges whom the auld Schiref of Ayr[2] was one,) that thei perceaved God to feght for us. The Erle of Arrane him self did more patientlie abyd the repulse of the Quene of England, becaus that he was nott altogitther without hope that the Quene of Scotland bare unto him some favour. And so he wrait unto her, and send for credite a ryng, whiche the said Quene our Soverane knew well yneuch. The letter and ring war baith presented to the Quene, and of her receaved. Answer was returned to the said Erle, after the whiche he maid no farther persuyte in that mater: and yitt, not the less, he bare it heavelie in harte,[3] and more heavelie then many wold have wissed.

The certaintie of the death foirsaid was signified unto us both by sea and land. By sea receaved Johnne Knox (who then had great intelligence both with the churches,[4] and some of the Courte of France) letteris, that the King was mortallye

[1] This projected alliance with Elizabeth was the chief object, as mentioned at page 130, for which the Parliament had sent ambassadors to the Court of England. This scheme being thus frustrated, the death of Francis the Second suggested a similar alliance with Queen Mary.

[2] Sir Hugh Campbell of Loudon, heritable Sheriff of the county of Ayr, had succeeded his father, Sir Hugh, in the year 1508. He survived till February 1561-2. His son and successor, Sir Matthew Campbell, was a zealous and decided supporter of the Reformation.

[3] The disappointment that attended his overtures of marriage with Queen Mary, seems to have preyed on the Earl of Arran's spirits, and before long to have unfitted him for all public employment.

[4] In MS. G, "the Kyrk."

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seak, and could nott weall eschap the death. Which letteris receaved, that same day at afternoon, he passed to the Duckis Grace, to his awin ludging at the Kirk of Feild,[1] [with] whome he fand the Lord James in conference togitther, (the Erle of Arrane was in Jedburgh,) to whome he opened such newis as he had receaved, and willed thame to be of good conforte; for, said he, the advertissare never hes yitt abused me: it is the same gentilman that first gave us knawledge of the slauchter of Hary King of France; and shew unto thame the letter, but wold nott expresse the manis name. Whill thei war reassonying in diverse purposes; and he upoun the one parte conforting thame, and thei upoun the other parte conforting him, (for he was in no small heaviness be reassone of the late death of his dear bedfellow, Marjorie Bowis,)[2] whill (we say) thei three war familiarlie commonyng togetther, thair came a messinger from the Lord Grey,[3] furth of Berwick, with letteris, assuring him of the death of the King of France. Which devulgat and noysed abrode, a generall Conventioun of the haill Nobilitie was appointed to be holdin at Edinburgh the fyvetene[4] day of Januare following, in the whiche the Booke of Discipline was perused newlie oure agane, for some pretended ignorance, be reassone thei had not heard it.

In that assemblie was Maister Alexander Andersone, subprincipall of Abirdene,[5] a man more subtill and craftye then

[1] The Kirk of Field was the name usually given to the Collegiate Church of St. Mary in the Fields, Edinburgh. It stood on the site of the College; and was the scene, as related in Book Fifth, of Darnley's Murder in 1566.

[2] In MS. G, she is erroneously named "Marie Bowes;" her death took place towards the end of December 1560.

[3] Lord Grey de Wilton: see *supra*, p. 65.

[4] In MS. G, "the fyft day." The 5th was a Sunday; the 15th Wednesday.

[5] Mr. Alexander Anderson, parson of Methlik, and vicar of Kinkell, was appointed Principal of King's College, Aberdeen, in the year 1550. The General Assembly having appointed a visitation of the College in 1568, Anderson, with the Sub-Principal, and three of the Regents or Professors, were summoned "as very obstinate Papists," and having refused to subscribe the Confession of Faith, and the Acts 1560, and 1567, they were deposed by order of the Lord Regent and Council, the

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ather learned or godlie, called, who refused to dispute in his fayth, abusing a place of Tertulliane to cloik his ignorance. It was ansuered unto him, That Tertulliane should nott prejudge the authoritie of the Holy Ghost, who, by the mouth of Peter, commandis us to geve reassone for our faith to everie one that requires the same of us. It was farther answered, That we neather required him neather yitt any man to dispute in any pointe concernyng our fayth, whiche was grounded upoun Godis word, and fully expressed within his holy Scriptures; for all that we belevit without contraversie. But we required of him, as of the rest of Papistis, that thei wald suffer thair doctrin, constitutionis, and ceremonies to come to tryall; and principallie, that the Messe, and the opinioun thairof by thame taught unto the people, mycht be laid to the squair-reull of Goddis worde, and unto the rycht institutioun of Jesus Christ, that thei mycht understand whither that thair Preacheris offended or nott, in that, that thei affirmed, "The actioun of the Messe to be expressedlye repugnyng unto the last Supper of the Lord Jesus; the sayar of it to committ horrible blasphemye, in usurping upoun him the office of Christ; the hearars to committ damnable idolatrie, and the opinioun of it conceaved to be derogatioun, and as it war, disanulling of Christis death." Whill that the said Maister Alexander denyed that the preast took upoun him Christis office, to offer for syne, as was alledged, a Messe book was produced,

sentence being pronounced by John Erskine of Dun, Superintendent of Angus and Mearns, 30th June 1569. (Calderwood's Hist. vol. ii. p. 491; Booke of the Kirk, vol. i. pp. 141-143.)

Bishop Lesley, who was personally concerned in the disputation mentioned by Knox, says, the Lords of the Congregation, (in the winter of 1560,) "Causit summone sindrie of the best learnit men out of all the partes of the Realme to cum to Edinburgh, to gif reasone of thair faith and professione of thair religeoune. Amangis the quhilkis thair was causit to compeir furth of the Universitie of Aberdene, Mr. John Leslye, Official of Aberdene, licentiat in boith the lawis, Mr. Alexander Anderson Principal of the College, Professor of Theologie, and sindrie utheris." He adds, that after "very sharpe and hard disputations," with Knox, Willock, and Goodman, "nothing was concludit, for everie ane of thame remanit constant in thair awin professione." (Hist. p. 298.)

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and in the begyning of the Canon war these wordis redd: *Suscipe, Sancta Trinitas, hanc oblationem, quam ego indignus peccator offero tibi vivo Deo et vero, pro peccatis meis, pro peccatis totius Ecclesiæ vivorum et mortuorum, &c.*[1] "Now, (said the reasonare,) yf to offer for the synnes of the haill Kirk was nott the office of Christ Jesus, yea, that office that to him onlie mycht, and may apparteane, lett the Scripture judge. And yf a vyle knave, whome ye call the preast, proudlie tackis the same upoun him, lett your awin book witnesse." The said Maister Alexander ansuered, "Christ offered the propitiatorie, and that could nane do but he; but we offer the remembrance." Whairto it was ansuered, "We praise God, that ye have denyed a sacrifice propitiatorie to be in the Masse; and yet we offer to prove, that in mo then a hundreth places of your Papisticall Doctouris, this propositioun is affirmed, 'The Messe is a sacrifice propitiatorie.' But, to the secound parte, whair ye allege that ye offer Christ in remembrance, we ask, first, Unto whome do ye offer him? and nixt, By what authoritie are ye assured of weall-doing? In God the Father, thair fallis no oblivioun: and yf ye will yitt schift and say, That ye offer it nott as God war forgetfull, but as willing to apply Christis merittis to his Churche; we demand of you, What power and commandiment ye have so to do? We know that our Maister, Christ Jesus, commanded his Apostles to do that whiche he did 'in remembrance of him;' but plane it is, that Christ took bread, gave thankis, braik bread, and gave it to his disciples, saying, 'Tak ye, eat ye; this is my body whiche is broken for you. Do this in remembrance of me,' &c. Here we fynd a commandiment to tak, to eat, to tak and to drink; but to offer Christis body eather for remembrance or applicatioun, we fynd not: and thairfoir, we say,

[1] That is, "Holy Trinity, accept this oblation, which I, an unworthy sinner, present to thee the living and true God for my own sins, and for the sins of the whole Church of the quick and the dead," &c.

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to tack upoun you ane office which is nott gevin unto you, is injust usurpatioun, and no lauchfull power." The said Maister Alexander being more then astonished, wold have schifted; but then the Lordis willed him to ansuer directlie. Whairto he ansured, "That he was better seane in philosophie, then in theologie." Then was commanded Maister Johne Leslie, (who then was Parsone of Une, and now Lord Abbote of Londoris,)[1] to ansuer to the formare argument: and he with grait gravitie begane to answer, "Yf our Maister have nothing to say to it, I have nothing; for I knaw nothing but the Cannoun Law: and the greatest reassone that ever I could fynd thair, is *Nolumus* and *Volumus*." And yitt we understand that now he is the onlie patrone of the Messe. But it is no mervall, for he understoode that he is a Preastis gett; and thairfoir we should nott wonder albeit that the auld trowane verse be trew, *Patrem sequitur sua proles*. The Nobilitie hearing that neather the one nor the other wold ansure directlie, said, "We have bene miserable deceaved heirtofoir; for yf the Messe may not obteane remissioun of synnes to the quick and to the dead, whairfoir war all the Abacyes so richelie doted with oure temporall landis?"

AND AFTER WAS MADE BYSCHOPE OF ROSS.

Thus much we thocht good to insert here, becaus that some Papistis ar nott eschamed now to affirme, That thei with thair reassonis could never be hearde; but that all that we did, we did by fyn force; when that the haill Realme knawis, that

THE LYEING DEANE OF RESTALRIG, CALLED SYNCLARE.[2]

[1] A short notice of Lesley, Bishop of Ross, will be given in the Appendix, under the head of Abbots of Lundores. But here it may be mentioned, that the words in the margin, "AND AFTER WAS MADE BYSCHOPE OF ROSS," are written in a different hand, (most likely by Knox himself,) and clearly-posterior to the rest of the page. By attending therefore to the dates of Lesley's successive appointments, this serves to fix the period when this portion of the History was written to the earlier part of the year 1566.

[2] This marginal note occurs in no other copy; and the words "now to affirme," were evidently written during Sinclair's life; and along with the similar mention of the Dean of Restalrig, in the Author's emphatic terms, "as a perfect hypocrite," (vol. i. p. 265,) it corroborates the supposition that the greater portion of this MS. must have been written in the year

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we ever requyred thame to speak thair judgmentis freelie, not onlie promissing unto thame protectioun and defense, but also that we should subscrive with thame, yf thei by Goddis Scriptures could confute us, and by the same word establisse thair assertionis. "But who can correct the leasingis of such as in all thingis schaw thame selves the sones of the Father of all lyes. Preserve us, Lord, from that perverst and malitious generatioun. Amen."

At this same Assemblie was the Lord James appoynted to go to France to the Quene oure Soverane;[8] and a Parliament was appointed to begyn the twenty of Maij nixt following; for at that tyme was the returne of the said Lord James looked for. And so was that Conventioun dissolved without any other thing of importance concluded. The said Lord James prepared him for his jornay; (for albeit he past in the publict effairis, he susteaned the charge of his awin expensses; and yit thair never past fra this Realme in the cumpanye of one man so many, and so honest, throwght England to France.) Befoir he departed, he was foirwarned asweill of the danger in France, as of the Quenis craft, (not that we then suspected her nature, but that we understoode the malice of hir freindis:) he was planelie premonisshed, that yf ever he condiscended

1566. It will be seen from the foot-notes on the passage referred to, that Mr. John Sinclair, Dean of Restalrig, was promoted to the See of Brechin in 1563, and became President of the Court of Session, 13th November 1565. He died at Edinburgh, 9th April 1566.

[8] Lord James Stewart was appointed to repair to Queen Mary, by the Convention, 15th January 1560-1. Chalmers is undoubtedly correct when he says, he had no authority, to persuade the Queen to return to Scotland. (Life of Queen Mary, vol. iii. p. 141.) But Lord James, as we are informed by Randolph, was in no hurry to depart "till he see what will be done at the ensuing Parliament." (Ib.) In a letter to Cecil, 7th February 1560-1, he desires a passport, "being ordered by the Nobility and Council, to our Sovereign, for declaration of our duty and devotion to her Highness." (Ib.) He left Edinburgh, on his way to France, 18th March, passing through England, where he was well entertained, and reached the town of Diziers, where Queen Mary was residing, on the 15th April 1561. (Bishop Lesley's History, p. 294.)

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that sche should have Messe publictlie or privatlie within the Realme of Scotland, that then betrayed he the caus of God, and exponed the religioun evin to the uttermoist danger that he could do. That sche should have Messe publictlie, he affirmed that he should never consent: but to have it secreatlie in hir chalmer, who could stopp hir? The danger was schawin; and so he departed.

The Electioun of the Superintendentis heirefter followed in this maner:[1]—

. . . . . .

[1] In the MS. 1566, of Knox's History, several blank pages occur after these words; but the deficiency, consisting of the "Forme and Order of the Election of Superintendents," &c., (ending at page 150 of the present volume,) has been supplied from the Glasgow MS., collated with a copy annexed to "The Ordour of Excommunication," &c., subjoined to an edition of the Psalms and Prayers, printed at Edinburgh, by Robert Charteris, 1596. It is also included in the "Collection of Confessions of Faith," &c., vol. ii. p. 625, Edinb. 1722. The Editor says, he has printed it according to an edition by Robert Lekprevik 1569; and that "it differs little from the ordinary copies that are printed with the old Psalms, but in the manner of spelling of words."

The Editor of the Collection of Confessions, thus mentions the Order of Election of Elders and Deacons: "It is uncertain when this was written; but it is in the Manuscript copy of Knox's History, which is in the College Library of Glasgow, and is printed at Edinburgh, with other publick papers, by Robert Lekprevik, Anno 1569, according to which this edition is printed. It is approved by the General Assembly, April 1582, Sess. 12, in these words,—'Concerning ane General Ordor of Admission to the Office of Eldaris, referris it to the Ordor usit at Edinburgh, quhilk we approve.'"

The Admonition or prayer at the end, (see page 154,) in its reference to the King and Regent, apparently fixes the date to the year 1568.

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THE FORME AND ORDOUR OF THE ELECTIOUN OF THE SUPERINTENDENTS, QUHILK MAY SERVE ALSO IN ELECTIOUN OF ALL UTHER MINISTERS. AT EDINBURGHE THE 9TH OF MERCHE 1560[1] YEIRIS, JOHNE KNOX BEING MINISTER.[2]

FIRST was made a Sermone, in the quhilk thir Heids war intreated. First, The necessity of Ministers and Superintendents. 2. The crymes and vyces that micht unable thame [of the ministrie]. 3. The vertues required in thame. And last, Quhidder sick as by publict consent of the Kyrk wer callit to sick Office, micht refuis the same.

The Sermone finisched, it was declared be the same Minister, (maker thareof,) that the Lords of Secrete Councell had given charge and power to the Kirkis of Lauthiane, to chuse MR. JOHNE SPOTTISWODE[3] Superintendent; and that sufficient warning was made be publict edict to the Kirks of Edinburghe, Linlythgow, Striveling, Tranent, Hadingtoun, and Dunbar; as also to Earles, Lords, Barones, Gentilmen, and uthers, having, or quho micht clame to have voite in Electioun, to be present that day, at that same hour: And, thare-

[1] That is, 9th March 1560-1.

[2] In some copies, "Moderator."

[3] Mr. John Spottiswood was born about the year 1510, and was educated at Glasgow. His name occurs in the University records, as incorporated in 1534, being designed "Servus domini Rectoris." In 1536 he had taken his degree as Master of Arts. He is said to have been in England from 1538 to 1543, and to have returned with the Earl of Glencairn. In 1548 he was presented to the Vicarage of Calder. Having early joined the Reformers, he was nominated as Superintendent of Lothian in July 1560, and was admitted, agreeably to the above form, 9th March 1561, without resigning his charge as minister of Calder. (Wodrow Miscellany, vol. i. p. 367.) He may, with much more truth, be said to have "continued in this holy function, with the approbation of all good men, till his death," than to "have exercised fully the power, and discharged faithfully the office of a Bishop, though under another style;" (Life prefixed to Spottiswood's History, Lond. 1655, folio.) The office of Superintendent was merely temporary; and he himself displayed no assumption of authority over his brethren in the ministry, nor aspired after Episcopal dignity. He died 5th December 1585. His eldest son, who became his successor as Minister of Calder, was ultimately Archbishop of St. Andrews, and Lord Chancellor of Scotland.

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fore, inquisitioun was made, Quho wer present, and quho wer absent.

Efter was called the said Mr. Johne, quho answering; the Minister demanded, Gif ony man knew ony cryme or offence to the said Mr. Johne, that mycht unabill him to be called to that office? And this he demanded thryis. Secundlie, Questioun was moved to the haill multitude, If thair was ony uther quhome they wald put in Electioun with the said Mr. Johne. The pepill wer asked, If they wald have the said Mr. Johne Superintendent? If they wald honour and obey him as Christis Minister? and comfort and assist him in every thing perteining to his Charge? They Answerit.—We will; and we do promeis unto him sick obedience as becumethe the scheip to give unto thair Pastour, sa lang as he remains faythfull in his office.

The Answers of the Pepill, and thair consents receaved, thir Questiouns wer proponit unto him that was to be elected.

Questioun.—Seing that ye hear the thrist and desyre of this people, do ye not think yourself bound in conscience befoir God to support thame that so earnestly call for your comfort, and for the fruit of your labours?

Answer.—If anie thing wer in me abill to satisfie thair desyir, I acknowledge myself bound to obey God calling by thame.

Questioun.—Do ye seik to be promoted to this Office and charge, for ony respect of warldly commoditie, riches or glory?

Answer.—God knawes the contrarie.

Questioun.—Beleve ye not that the doctrine of the Propheits and Apostles, conteined in the buiks of the Auld and New Testaments, is the onely trew and most absolute foundatioun of the universall Kirk of Christ Jesus, insamekill that in the same Scriptures ar conteined all things necessary to be beleved for the salvatioun of Mankind?

Answer.—I verely beleve the same, and do abhorre and

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utterly refuis all Doctrine alleged necessary to Salvatioun, that is not expressedly conteined in the same.

Questioun.—Is not Christ Jesus Man of Man, according to the flesche, to wit, the Sone of David, the Seid of Abrahame, conceaved by the Holy Ghost, borne of the Virgin Marie his mother, the onely Head and Mediatour of his Kirk?

Answer.—He is, and without him thair is nouther salvatioun to man, nor lyfe to angell.

Questioun.—Is not the same Lord Jesus, [the] onely trew God, the Eternall Sone of the Eternall Father, in quhome all that sall be saved wer elected befoir the foundatioun of the world was layd?

Answer.—I confes and acknawlege him in the unitie of his Godheid, to be God above all thingis, blessit for evir.

Questioun.—Sall not they quhome God in his eternall councell hes electit, be callit to the knawlege of his Sone, our Lord Jesus? And sall not they, quho of purpoise are elected in this lyfe, be justified? And is not justificatioun and free remissioun of sinnes obtained in this lyfe by free grace? Sall not this glorie of the sonnes of God follow in the generall resurrectioun, quhen the Sone of God sall appeir in his glorious majesty?

Answer.—I acknawlege this to be the doctrine of the Apostles, and the most singular comfort of God's childrein.

Questioun.—Will ye not contein yourself in all doctrine within the boundes of this foundatioun? Will ye not study to promote the same, alsweill by your lyfe as by your doctrine? Will ye not, according to the graces and utterance that God sall grant unto yow, profes, instructe, and mantene the purity of the doctrine, conteined in the sacred Word of God? And, to the uttermost of your power, will ye not ganestand and convince the gaynsayers and teichers of mennis inventiouns?

Answer.—That I do promeis in the presence of God, and of his congregatioun heir assembled.

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Questioun.—Knaw ye not, that the excellency of this office, to the quhilk God hes called yow, requires that your conversatioun and behaviour be sick, as that ye may be irreprehensible; yea, even in the eyis of the ungodly?

Answer.—I unfaynedly acknawlege, and humilly desyre the Kirk of God to pray with me, that my lyfe be not scandalous to the glorious Evangell of Jesus Christ.

Questioun.—Becaus ye are a man compassed with infirmities, will ye not charitably, and with lawlines of spirit, receave admonitioun of your Brethrein? And if ye sall happin to slyde, or offend in ony point, will ye not be subject to the Discipline of the Kirk, as the rest of your Brethrein?

The Answer of the Superintendent, or Minister to be elected.—I acknawlege myself to be a man subject to infirmity, and ane that hes neid of correctioun and admonitioun; and tharefoir I maist willingly submit and subject my self to the hailsume disciplin of the Kirk; yea, to the discipline of the same Kirk by the quhilk I ame now called to this office and chairge; and heir in God's presens and youris do promeis obedience to all admonitiones, secretly or publickly gevin; unto the quhilk, if I be found inobedient, I confes myself most worthie to be ejected not onely from this honour, bot also frome the society of the Faythfull, in cais of my stubburnnes: For the vocatioun of God to bear charge within his Kirk, makethe not men tyrantes, nor lordis, but appoynteth thame Servandis, Watchemen, and Pastoris of the Flock.

This ended, Questioun man be asked agane of the Multitude.

Questioun.—Require ye ony farther of this your Superintendent?

If no man answer, let the Minister proceid. Will ye not acknawlege this your Brother, for the Minister of Christ Jesus? Will ye not reverence the word of God that proceids fra his mouthe? Will ye not receave of him the sermone of exhor-

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tatioun with patience, not refuising the hailsome medicine of your saules, althocht it be bitter and unpleising to the flesche? Will ye not finally, mantene and comforte him in his ministry, against all sick as wickedly wald rebell against God and his holy ordinance?

The Peple answereth.—We will, as we will answer to the Lord Jesus, quho hes commandit his Ministeris to be had in reverence, as his ambassadours, and as men that cairfully watche for the salvatioun of our saullis.

Let the Nobility also be urged with this.—Ye have heard the dewty and professioun of this your Brother, by your consentis appointit to this charge; as also the dewty and obedience, quhilk God requireth of us towards him heir in his ministry: Bot becaus that neyther of bothe are abill to performe ony thing without the especiall grace of our God in Christ Jesus, quho hes promeised to be with us present, even to the consummatioun of the world; with unfayned hairtis, let us crave of him his benedictioun and assistance in this work begun to his glory, and for the comfort of his Kirk.

The Prayer.

O Lord, to quhome all power is gevin in heavin and in eirthe, thow that art the Eternall Sone of the Eternall Father, quho hes not onely so luifit thy Kirk, that for the redemptioun and purgatioun of the same, thow hes humilled thyself to the deyth of the Croce; and thareupoun hes sched thy most innocent bluid, to prepair to thyself a Spous without spott; bot also, to retein this thy most excellent benefite in memory, hes appointed in thy Kirk, Teichears, Pastores, and Apostles, to instruct, comfort, and admonische the same: Luk upoun us mercifully, O Lord, thow that onely art King, Teicher, and Hie Priest to thy awin flock; and send unto this our Brother, quhome in thy name we have chairged with the cheif cair of thy Kirk, within the boundis of Louthiane, sick portioun of

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thy Holy Spreit, as thareby he may rychtly devyde thy word to the instructioun of thy flocke, and to the confutatioun of pernitious erroures, and damnable superstitiones. Give unto him, gude Lord, a mouthe and wisdome, quhareby the enemies of thy truthe may be confounded, the wolfis expellit, and driven from thy fauld, thy scheip may be fed in the wholsum pastures of thy most holy word, the blind and ignorant may be illuminated with thy trew knawlege: Finally, That the dregis of superstitioun and idolatry quhilk yit restis within this Realme, being purged and removed, we may all not only have occasioun to glorifie thee our onely Lord and Saviour, but also dayly to grow in godlines and obedience of thy most holy will, to the destructioun of the body of synne, and to the restitutioun of that image to the quhilk we wer anes created, and to the quhilk, efter our fall and defectioun, we ar renewed by participatioun of thy Holy Spirit, quhilk by trew fayth in thee, we do profes as the blissit of thy Father, of quhome the perpetuall incres of thy graces we crave, as by thee our Lord and King, and onely Bischope, we are taucht to pray, saying, "Our Father that art in hevin, &c."

The prayer ended, the rest of the Ministers, if ony be, and Elders of that Kirk present, in signe of thair consents, sall tak the elected by the hand, and then the cheif Minister sall gif the benedictioun, as follows:—

God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, quho hes comanded his Evangell to be preiched, to the comfort of his Elect, and hes called thee to the office of a Watchman over his peple, multiply his graces with thee, illuminat thee with his Holy Spirit, comfort and strenthen thee in all vertewe, governe and guyde thy ministry, to the prayse of his holy Name, to the propagatioun of Christis kingdome, to the comforte of his Kirk, and finally, to the plain dischairge and assurance of thy awin conscience in the day of the Lord Jesus; to quhome,

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with the Father, and the Holy Ghost, be all honour, prayse, and glory, now and ever. So be it.

The last Exhortatioun to the Elected.

Take heid to thy self, and unto the Flock comitted to thy chairge; feid the same cairfully, not as it wer of compulsioun, bot of very love, quhilk thow bearest to the Lord Jesus. Walk in simplicity and purenes of lyfe, as it becumethe the trew servand and ambassadour of the Lord Jesus. Usurpe not dominioun nor tyrranicall impyre over thy brethrein. Be not discouraged in adversity, bot lay befoir thyself the example of Propheits, Apostles, and of the Lord Jesus, quho in thair ministry susteaned contradictioun, contempt, persecutioun and deyth. Feir not to rebuik the warld of sinne, justice, and jugement. If ony thing succeid prosperously in thy vocatioun, be not puft upe with pryde; nether yit flatter thy self as that the gude succes proceided from thy vertew, industry, or cair: Bot let ever that sentence of the Apostle remane in thy hairt; "Quhat hes thou, quhilk thou hes not receavit? If thou hes receivit, quhy gloriest thou?" Comfort the afflicted, support the puir, and exhort utheris to support thame. Be not solist for things of this lyfe, bot be fervent in prayer to God for incress of his Holy Spirit And finally, behave thyself in this holy vocatioun, with sick sobriety, as God may be glorified in thy ministry: And so sall thow schortly obtein the victory, and shall receave the crown promeised, quhen the Lord Jesus sall appeir in his glory, quhois Omnipotent Spirit assist thee and us unto the end. Amen.

Then sing the 23d Psalme.

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The Ordour of the Electioun of Elderis and Deaconis in the privie Kirk of Edinburgh, in the begynning, quhen as yet thair was no publict face of a Kirk, nor open Assemblies, bot secreit and privie Conventiounis in Houses, or in the Feilds.[1]

Befoir that thare wes ony publict face of a trew Religioun within this Realme, it pleised God of his grit mercie, to illuminat the hairts of mony privat persones, so that they did perceave and understand the abusses that wer in the Papisticall Kirk, and thareupoun withdrew thameselfis from participatioun of thare idolatrie. And becaus the Spirit of God will never suffer his awne to be idle and voyde of all religioun, men began to exercise thameselfis in reading of the Scriptures secreitly within thair awne houses; and varietie of persones culd not be keipt in gud obedience and honest fame, without Oversiers, Elders, and Deacones: And so begane that small flocke to put thameselfis in sick ordour, as if Christ Jesus had planely triumphed in the middes of thame by the power of his Evangell. And thay did elect sum to occupie the supreame place of exhortatioun and reading, som to be Elderis and helperis unto thame, for the oversight of the flocke: And some to be Deacones for the collectioun of almes to be distributed to the poore of thair awne bodie. Of this small begyning is that Ordour, quhilk now God of his grit mercie hes gevin unto us publictlie within this Realme. Of the principalls of thame that wer knowne to be men of gude conversatioun and honest fame in the privy Kirk, wer chosen Elders and Deacones to reull with the Minister in the publike Kirk; quhilk burdene thay patiently susteaned a yeir and mair: And then, becaus they could not (without neglecting of thair awen private houses) langer wait upoun the publict charge, they

[1] As stated at page 143, the following Order of the Election of Elders and Deacons is not contained in the MS. 1566, or in Vautrollier's edition; but, has been supplied from MS. G.

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desyred that they micht be releaved, and that uthers micht be burdeined in thair roume: Quhilk was thocht a petitioun ressonabill of the haill Kirk. And tharefore it was granted unto thame, that thay sould nominat and gif up in electioun sick personages as thay in thair consciences thocht maist apte and abill to serve in that charge; provyding that they sould nominate double moe personis then war sufficient to serve in that charge, to the end that the haill Congregatioun micht have thair free vote in thair Electioun.

And this Ordour hes bene ever observed sen that tyme in the Kirk of Edinburgh; that is, that the auld Sessioun befor thair departure, nominat twenty-four in Electioun for Elders, of quhom twelve ar to be chosen, and thirty-two for Deacounes, of quhome sixteen ar to be elected; quhilk persones ar publictly proclaimed in the audience of the haill Kirk, upoun a Sonday befoir none, efter sermone; with admonitioun to the Kirk, that if ony man knaw ony notorious cryme or caus that micht unabill ony of these persones to enter in sick vocatioun, that they sould notifie the same unto the Sessioun the next Thursday: Or if ony knaw any persones mair abill for that charge, they sould notifie the same unto the Sessioun, to the end that na man eyther present or absent (being ane of the Kirk) suld complayne that he was spoyled of his liberty in electioun.

The Sonday following befoir none, in the end of the Sermone, the hole Communicants ar commandit to be present efternone, to gif thair votes, as they will answer befoir God, to sick as they esteme most abill to beir the charge of the Kirk with the ministers. The votes of all being receaved, the scroles of all ar delyvered to any of the ministers, quho keips the same secreit fra the sicht of all men till the next Thursday; and then in the Sessioun he produces thame, that the voites may be counted, quhare the moniest voites, without respect of persones, have the first place in the Eldership, and

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so proceiding till the number of twelve be compleit; so that if a puir man exceid the riche man in votes, he preceids him in place; and it is called the first, secound, and thrid Elder, even as the votes answereth. And this same is observed in the electioun of Deaconis.

The Fryday efter the jugement is tane quhat persones ar elected for Elders and Deacones to serve for that yeir; the minister efter his sermone, reids the same names publictly, and gives commandment openly, that sick persones be present the next Sonday at sermone befoir none, in the place to be appointed for thame, to accept of that charge that God by plurality of votes had layd upoun thame. Quho being conveined, the Minister efter sermone reids the names publictly, the absents (if ony be) ar noted, and these quho ar present ar admonisched to consider the dignity of that vocatioun, quhareunto God hes called thame; the dewty that they aucht to the pepill; the danger that lyes upoun thame, if they be found negligent in thair vocatioun: And finally, the dewty of the people towards the persons elected. Quhilk being done, this Prayer is red:—

The Prayer in the Electioun of the Elderis.

O Eternall and everlasting God, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, quho, of thy infinite gudeness and mercy, hes chosin to thy self a Kirk of the lost seid of Adame, quhilk thow hes ever reulled by the inspiratioun of thy Holie Spirit; and yet not the less, hes always usit the ministry of men, alswell in preiching of thy word, and administratioun of thy sacraments, as in gyding of thy flock, and provyding for the puir within the same, as in the Law, Propheits, and in thy glorious Evangell we have witnesses: Quhilk ordour, O Lord, thow of thy mercie hes now restoired unto us agane efter that the publict face of the Kirk hes bene deformed by the tyrany of that Romane Antichrist. Grant unto us, O hevinly Father, hairts

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thankfull for the benefites quhilks we have receaved, and give unto these our brethrein, elected unto thir charges within thy Kirk, sick abundance of thy Holie Spirit, that they may be found vigilant and faythfull in that vocatioun, quharunto thow of thy mercy hes callit thame. And albeit, O Lord, these small begynings ar contemned of the proude world, yet, O Lord, do thow for thy awne mercies sake, bless the same in sick sorte that thy godlie name may be glorified, superstitioun and idolatry may be ruited out, and vertue may be planted, not onely in this generatioun, bot also in the posterity to cum. AMEN. Grant us this, mercifull Father, for Christ Jesus thy Sones saik, in quhose name we call unto thee, as he hes taucht us, saying, *Our Father*, &c.

And so efter the rehersall of the beleif, efter the quhilk sall be sung this portioun of the 103 Psalme, ver. 19. *The hevins his ar maid the seat*,[1] and so forth to the end of that Psalme. Efter the quhilk sall this schort Admonitioun be given to the elected:—

Magnifie God, quho hes of his mercy callit yow to ruill within his Kirk: Be thankfull in your vocatioun: Schaw yourselfis zealous to promote verity: Feir not the faces of the wicked, bot rebuik thair wickitnes: Be mercifull to the puir, and support thame to the uttermost of your power; and so sall ye receave the benedictioun of God, present and everlasting. God save the Kingis Majestie, and gif unto him the Spirit of sanctificatioun in his young age: Blesse his Regent, and sick as assist him in upricht counsaill, and eyther fruitfully convert, or suddanely confound the enemies of trew religioun, and of this afflicted Comoun-welthe. AMEN.

[1] That is, according to the old version of the Psalms, by Sternhold and others, which continued in public use in Scotland until the year 1650. The earliest edition is that printed at Edinburgh by Robert Lekprevik, 1565, along with the Common Prayers and Calvin's Catechism: See notices and extracts in the Appendix to Baillie's Letters and Journals.

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As the servandis of God uprychtlie travellit to haif vice punissit and verteu plantit, so did the Devill ever steir up some in the contrair of baith. Thair was a law maid aganis fornicatouris and adulteraris,[1] that the ane and the uther suld be cartit throcht the townis, and so banissit, till that thair repentance wes offerit and receavit. And albeit this wes nott the severitie of Goddis law, especiallie aganis adulteraris, yet wes it a greit brydill to malefactouris; quhairat the wickit did wonderouslie storme. It chancit that ane Sandersoun, a fleschour, wes deprehendit to haif put away his lauchfull wyffe, (under cullour that he was lauchfullie partit efter the maner of the Papisticall religioun,) and haid takin to him ane uther in [his] housse. The complaynt and sclander proponit to the Kirk, and tryall takin that he wes nott maryit with the secund woman, nather that he wes able to prove that he wes devorcit by any ordour of law from the first, he wes committit in the handis of the Magistratis, quha, according to the lawis, commandit him to be cartit. Bot the raschall multitude, enflambit be some ungodlie craftismen, maid insurrectioun, brake

[1] There were several Acts against immorality passed about this time, in Parliament, and in the Civil as well as Ecclesiastical Courts. One of these Acts of the Town Council of Edinburgh, when about to be enforced against a delinquent in the person of John Sanderson, Deacon of the Fleshers, led to the tumult to which Knox refers. On the 22d November 1560, "The quhilk day the Baillies and Counsale being convenit in the Over Counsale House of the Tolbuith of this burt. Comperit William Harlay, dekin of the Hammarmen, and certane uthir craftismen, and desyrit the decreit and sentence gevin aganis Jhone Sandersone, dekin of the Fleschouris, decernying him to be cartit throuch the town, and thairafter banischit the samyn, for his manifest adulterie committit with Margaret Lyell, to be continewit quhill the morne: Quhilk the Provost, Baillies, and Counsale foresaid grantit, and thairupoun the said William askit instrumentis."

On the following day the Council having adhered to their resolution that the sentence against Sanderson should be carried into effect; this was so much resented by the craftsmen of the town as a dishonour, that they assembled in a tumultuous manner, broke up the prison, and set him at liberty. The Magistrates having immediately complained to the Lords of the Secret Council, several persons connected with this tumult, were apprehended and imprisoned in the Castle of Edinburgh. There are several entries in the Town Council Records on this subject: see the account given in Maitland's History of Edinburgh, p. 20.

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the carte, boistit the officiaris, and tuke away the malefactour. This wes the begyning of farther evillis, as we will efter heir.

AMBASSADOUR FRA FRANCE, AND HIS DEMANDIS.

In the meantyme, quhill Lord James (we say) wes in France, thair came ane Ambassadour frome France,[1] subornit, na doubt, with all craft that mycht truble the Estait of the Religioun. His demandis wes 1. That the league betwix us and Ingland suld be broken: 2. That the ancient league betwix France and Scotland suld be renewit: And, 3. That the Bischops and Kirkmen suld be reponit in thair formair places, and be sufferit to intromet with thair levingis. The Counsall delayit answer to the Parliament appoyntit in May. In the meantyme the Papistis of Scotland practisit with him. The Erlis of Huntlie, Atholl, Bothwell, and utheris, intendit to haiff takin Edinburgh befoir the said Parliament. The haill Bischoppis assemblit, and held counsall in Striveling. Some quhispering thair wes, that the Duke and the Bischop of Sanctandrois were too familiare; and some feared that the auctoritie of the Quene suld haif bene usurpit, be ressone of her absence, and that the Duke wes secound persone, for thairat haid some of his preissit immediatlie efter the death of the King of France. The Protestantis thairof advertised, preventit thame, and came to Edinburgh. The Erle of Arrane stude constant with his brethrene. Thair war some that cairfullie and panefullie travellit that nathing prejudiciall to the Quenis auctoritie, suld be done in absence of the Lord James; to quhom the Quene hes recompensit evill for gude service. Maister James Makgill,[2] in that poynt did baith stoutlie and

[1] The Ambassador here spoken of was Mons. de Noailles, Master of Requests, who had formerly been Ambassador in England. (Hardwicke's State Papers, vol. i. p. 157.) He arrived on the 11th of March, and returned on the 7th of June 1561. (Diurnal of Occurrents, pp. 64, 282-3.)

[2] Mr. James Makgill or M'Gill, eldest son of Sir James Makgill, Provost of Edinburgh.

He was educated at St. Andrews, having been incorporated in St. Leonard's College in 1532. He probably took his Master's degree, and completed his studies at some foreign University. On the 1st March 1549-50, he was admitted an Advocate. On the 25th June

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treulie; for Johne Knox and he war than fallin in familiaritie, in quhilk thay yet contineu, 20 Octobris 1567,[3] be ressone that the said Maister James haid embrasit the Religioun, and professit it publiclie.

The Papistis and Bischoppis, dissapoyntit of thair principall purpose and interpryse did yet mak broillie for trouble; for the raschall multitude war stirred up to mak a Robene Hude,[4] quhilk enormitie wes of mony yeiris left and dampnit by statute and act of Parliament. Yit wald thay nott be forbiddin, bot wald disobey and truble the Towne, especiallie upone the nycht. Quhairat the Baillies offendit, tuke fra thame some swerdis and an enseynze, quhilk wes occasioun that thay that same nycht maid a mutinye, keippit the portis of the towne, and intendit to have persewit some men within thair awin housses; bot that, upoun the restitutioun of thair swerdis and enseynze, wes stayit. Bot yit thay ceassit nott to molest, alsweill the inhabitantes of Edinburgh as diverse countrey men, taking

1554, he was advanced to be Clerk-Register; and continued to be employed in various public affairs. He joined the Reformers, but on account of his concern in the murder of David Riccio, 9th March 1566, he fled from Edinburgh, and his situation as Clerk-Register was conferred upon Sir James Balfour. Upon a vacancy, in December 1567, after the accession of the Regent Murray to power, Makgill was restored, and he continued in office till 1577. He died in 1579. (Senators of the College of Justice, p. 99.)

[3] This date occurs in the text; and the set or quire in this place was no doubt transcribed about that time.

[4] During the festivities of the month of May, the games of Robin Hood were attended with so much disorderly license, that they were ordered to be suppressed by an Act of the Scotish Parliament in 1555. It is not easy, however, to abolish long continued customs; and complaints to the General Assembly for their continued observance were made until the close of the 16th century. Of the tumult that took place in Edinburgh, on the 21st of June 1561, a very minute and interesting account is preserved in the Diurnal of Occurrents, pp. 283-4.

Several persons were brought to trial on account of these riots. On the 20th July 1561, Robert Hannay, smith, and nine others were tried, as art and part in choosing George Durye in the month of April last, and calling him Lord of Inobedience, and for rioting on Sunday the 12th May. (See Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. i. p. 409.) And James Fraser, sadler, and five others, were tried on the 8th of August, on account of the riots in the month of July. (Ib. p. 410.)

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frome thame money, and threitnyng some with farder injureis. Quhairwith the Magistratis of the towne, heychtlie offendit, tuke mair diligent heid to suche as resortit to the towne, and so apprehendit ane of the principall of that misordour, namit Gillone,[1] a cordinare, quhome thai put to ane assisse; [and being convicted, for he could not be absolved,][2] (for he wes the cheif man that spoillit Johnne Mowbray of ten crownis of the Sone,) thai thocht to have execute jugement upone him, and so erected a jebbete beneath the Croce. But, quhidder it came by pactioun with the Provest and some uther, or by instigatioun of the Craftismen, quha ever haif bene bent too muche to mayntene suche vanitie and ryotousnes, we fullie knaw nott, but suddandlie thair did ryse a tumult; the Tolbuyth wes brokin up, and not onlie the said Gillone, quho befoir wes dampnit, wes violentlie takin furth, bot also all uther malefactouris wer set at fredome; the jebbete wes pullit downe, and dispitfullie brokin; and thairefter, as the Provest and some of the Counsall assemblit to the Clerkis[3] chalmer for consultatioun, the haill rascall [multitude] bandit togidder, with some knawin unhonest[4] craftismen, and intendit invasioun of the said chalmer. Quhilk perceavit, the Provest, and such as wer in his cumpany, past to the Tolbuyth, suspecting nothing that thai wald haif bene sa enragit that thai wald mak new persute, efter that thai had obtenit thair intent: Bot thai wer suddandlie deceavit, for from the Castelhill thai come with violence, and with stanis, gunnis, and such uther weaponis as thei had, began to assault the said Tolbuyth, ran at the dure of it, quhilk that parte by stanis cast from above, and partlie by a pystoll schott by Robert Norwell, quhilk hurt ane Twedy, thai wer repulsit [fra the door]; bot yit ceassit

SOME SAYIS HIS NAME IS KYLLONE.

[1] In MS. G, "Kyllone:" Vautr. edit. makes the name "Balon." In the Diurnal of Occurrents, he is called James Killone and Kellone, at p. 65, but James Gilloun and Gillone, at p. 283.

[2] The words enclosed in brackets, omitted in MS. 1566, are supplied from MS. G.

[3] Alexander Guthrie, city clerk.

[4] In MS. G, "and honest"

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not thai to cast and schute in at the wyndowis, threitnyng deith to all that war within. And in verray deid the malice of the craftismen, quho wer suspectit to be the occasioun of that tumult, bare na gude will to dyvers of thame that wes with the Provost.

The argumentis that the Craftis wer the caus of that uproire, besydis thair first misordour that thai haid usit befoir, in tackin Sandersoun from the exectioun of punishment, are twa. The formar, Archibald Dewar, Patrik Schange, with uther five deaconis [of the craftis] come to Johnne Knox, and willit him to solist the Provest and the towne to delay the executioun: quho did answer, "That he haid sa oft solistit in thair favouris, that his awin conscience accusit him, that thai usit his labouris for na uther end, bot to be a patrone to thair impietie." For he haid befoir maid intercessioun for William Harlaw, James Frissall, and utheris, that wer convict of the formare tumult. Thai proudlie said, "That gif it was not stayit, bayth he and the Baillies suld repent it." Quhairto he answerit, "He wald not hurt his conscience for ony feir of man." And sa thai departit; and the tumult (as said is) immediatlie thairefter did aryse. The secund argument is, the tumult continewit fra twa at efter none till efter aucht at nycht. The Craftismen wer requyrit to assemble them selfis togidder for deliverance of thair Provest [and Baillies]; bot thai past to thair foure houris penny, and in thair jesting said, "Thai will be Magistratis allone, latt thame reule the multitude allone." And sa, contrair to the ayth that thai haid maid, thai denyit thair assistance, counsall, and conforte to thair Provest and Baillies; quhilk ar argumentis verray probable, that the said tumult raise by thair procurement. The end heirof was, that the Provest[1] and

[1] Archibald Douglas of Kilspindie, filled the office of Provost of Edinburgh in the year 1561. By a special mandate from Queen Mary, dated 21st August, 1562, Douglas was again chosen Provost of the City. (Maitland's Hist. of Edinburgh, p. 24.)

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Baillies wer compellit to gif thair handwrittis, that thai suld never perseu ony of thame that war of that tumult, for ony cryme that wes done in that behalf. And this wes proclamet at the Croce efter nyne houris at nycht; and sa that truble quyetted. Bot the Nobilitie avowit, that thai suld not spare it; and sa a greit nomber of that factioun war absent frome the towne, till the arryvall of the Quene. The haill multitude wer haldin excomunicat, and war admittit to no participatioun of the sacramentis, unto suche tyme as thai satisfied the Magistratis, and maid humble sute unto the Kirk.

OF THE QUENE REGENTIS BURIALL.

Off the deith of the Quene Regent, we haif befoir spokin,[1] but of hir buriall wes nothing herd; and it may appeir that suche matteris are unworthy of remembrance. Bot and gif all thingis salbe rychtlie weyit, we sall perceave Goddis just jugementis, how secreit that ever thai be. Befoir, we herd[2] the barbarous inhumanitie that wes usit at Leyth by the Frenche, quha exponed the naked carcasis of the slane, as it war in a spectacle, dispiting God. We herd, that this Quene Regent rejosit at the sycht; bot hir joy was suddandlie turned in sorrow, as we haif herd. The questioun wes moved of hir buriall. The Precheouris boldlie ganestude, that ony superstitious rytes suld be usit within that Realme, quhilk God of his mercy had begun to purge. And sa conclusioun wes takin, that hir buriall suld be deferred till farther advisement; and sa scho wes lappit in a cope of leid, and keipit in the Castell, fra the nynt of Junij,[3] unto the nyntene of October, quhen scho by pynouris wes caryed to a schip, and sa caryed to France. Quhat pompe wes usit thair, we nather herd nor yit regard. Bot in it we se, that scho that delited that utheris lay without buryall, gat it nether sa sone, as scho hir self (gif scho haid

[1] See supra, page 71.

[2] Ib. page 68.

[3] The 10th of July is the day usually assigned for the Queen Regent's death: others say the morning of the 11th: See notices of the Queen's death and funerals in the Appendix to the present volume.

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bene on the counsall in hir lyff) wald have requyred it, nather yit sa honorable in this realme, as sometymes scho lukit for. It may chance be a prognostication that the Guisians blude can nocht haif lang rest within this Realme.

The Papistis, a little befoir the Parliament, resorted in diverse bandis to the towne, and began to brag, as that thai wald haif defaced the Protestantes. Quhilk thing perceaved, the brethrein assemblit togidder, and yeid[1] in such cumpanyes, and that in peciable maner, that the Bischoppis and thair bandis forsuyk the calsay. The brethrene understanding quhat the Papistis meant, convenit in counsall in the Tolbuyth of Edinburght, the xxvij of May, the yeir of God J^m V^c thre scoir and ane yeir; and efter consultatioun, concludit, that ane humble Supplicatioun suld be presentit unto the Lordis of Secreit Counsall, and unto the haill assemblie, that then wes convenit, in the quhilk suld thir subsequent heidis be required, and a law to pas thairupoun. NOTA.

First, That Idolatrie, and all monumentis thairof, suld be suppressit throwout the haill realme; that the sayaris, heiraris, mayntenaris, and usaris of the Messe, suld be punischit according to the Act of Parliament, as said is.

2. That speciall and certane provisioun be maid for the sustentatioun of the Superintendentes, Ministeris, Exhorters, and Readers. That Superintendentes and Ministeris suld be planted quhair nane war. That punyschment suld be appointed for suche as dissobeyid or contemned the Superintendentes in thair functioun.

3. That punischment may be appoynted for the abusaris of the sacramentis, and for the contempnaris of the same.

4. That na letteris of the Sessioun be gevin to answer or pay to ony persoun thair teyndis, without especiall provisioun, that the parrochinaris retene sa mekle in thair awin handis,

[1] In Vautr. edit. and MS. G, "and went."

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as is appoynted to the ministrey; and that all suche as ar ellis gevin be called in, and dischargit; and lykewise that na Schireffis gif preceptis to that effect.

5. That nather the Lordis of Sessioun, nor ony uther Jugis, proceid upone suche preceptis or warnyngis, past at the instance of thame that of lait haif obtenit fewis of vicaragis, and personagis,[1] manses, and kirkyardis; and that sex aikkeris (gif so muche thairbe) of the gleib, be alwayis reserved to the minister, according to the appointment of the Buke of Disciplyne; and that everie minister may haif letteris thairupoun.

6. That na letteris of the Sessioun, nor [any] utheris tak place, quhill the stipendis contened in the Buke of Disciplyne, for sustentatioun of the ministeris, be first consignat in the handis, at the leist, of the principallis of the parochinaris.

7. That punischement be appoyntit aganis sik as purchess, bringis hame, or executis within this Realme, the Paipis Bullis.

The tennour of the Supplicatioun wes this:—

Pleis your Honouris, and the wisdomes of suche as ar heir presentlie convenit with yow in Counsall, to understand, that by mony argumentis we perceave quhat the pestilent generatioun of that Romane Antichrist within this Realme pretendis; to wit, that thai wald of new erect thair idolatrie, tak upone thame to impyre abufe our conscience, and so to command us, the trew subjectis of this Realme, and suche as God of his mercy hes (under our Soverane) subjected unto us, in all thingis to obey thair appetitis. Honestie cravis, and conscience movis us, to mak the verray secreittis of oure hertis patent to youre Honouris in that behalf; quhilk is this, "That befoir that ever thai tyrantis and dumb doggis impyre abufe us, and abufe suche as God hes subjected unto us, that we the Barronis and Gentilmen professing Christ Jesus within this Realme, ar fullie determined to hasard lyffe, and quhatsoever

[1] In MSS. 1566, G, &c., and Vautr. edit. "personis."

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we haif receivd of our God in temporall thingis." Most humblie thairfoir beseiking your Honouris, that suche ordour may be takin, that we haif nott occasioun to tak agane the swerd of just defence into oure handis, quhilk we haif willinglie (efter that God hes gevin victorie, bayth to your Honouris and us) resignit ovir in your handis; to the end, that Goddis Evangell may be publiklie within this Realme preached; the trew Ministeris thairof resonabillie sustened; Idolatrie suppressed, and the committaris thairof punissit, according to the lawes of God and man. In doing whairof, your Honouris sall find us, nott onlie obedient unto yow in all thingis lauchfull, but also reddy at all tymes to bring under ordour and obedience, suche as wald rebell aganis your just authoritie, quhilk, in absence of our Soverane, we acknawlege to be in your handis. Beseiking your Honouris, with uprycht jugement and indifferencie, to luyk upone thir oure few Articles, and, by thir oure brethrein, to signifie unto us suche answer agane, as may declair your Honouris worthy of that place, quhairunto God (efter some dangeris sustened) in his mercy hes called yow. And lett thir ennemeis of God assure thameselfis, that gif your Honouris put nocht ordour unto thame, that we sall schortlie tak suche ordour, that thai salbe nather abill to do quhat thai list, nather yit to leif upone the sweit of the browis of suche as ar na debteris unto thame. Lett your Honouris conceave na thing of us, bot all humble obedience in God. Bott let the Papistis be yitt anys agane assured that thair pryid and idolatrie we will not suffer.

(Directed fra the Assemblie of the Kirk, the 28th[1] of Maij 1561, and send by thir brethrein,[2] the Maister of Linde-

[1] In MSS. 1566, G, &c. "the 18." Vautr. edit. gives the correct date, "28th:" see next page, note 4.

[2] The persons who formed this deputation from the General Assembly to the Lords of Secret Council, were, (1.) Patrick Master of Lindesay, who succeeded to the title of Lord Lindsay of Byres, on his father's death in 1563; (2.) John Gordon of Lochinvar, in Kirkcudbrightshire; (3.) Andrew Ker of Farnihurst, in Roxburghshire, ancestor to the Earls of Lothian; (4.) William Douglas of Whittingham, in East Lothian, a

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say, the Laird of Lochinvar,[3] the Laird of Pharnyhirst, the Laird of Quhittingham, Thomas Menzies Provest of Abirdene, and George Lowell burges of Dundee.)

Upone the quhilk requeist and Articles, the Lordis of Counsall foirsaid maid ane act and ordinance answering to everie heid of the foirsaid Articles,[4] and commandit letteris to be answerit thairupon, quhilk diverse ministeris raysit, as in the buykis of Secreit Counsall is yit to be found. And thus gat Sathan the secund fall, efter that he haid begun to truble the estait of the religioun, ones establissit by law. His first assault wes by the raschall multitude, opponying thame selfis to the punischement of vice: The secound wes, by the Bischoppis and thair bandis, in quhilk he thocht uterly to haif triumphit; and yit he in the end prospered wer[5] then ye haif herd.

For in this meyntyme, returnit fra France the Lord James,[6]

grandson of James second Earl of Morton, and afterwards one of the Senators of the College of Justice; (5.) Thomas Menzies of Pitfoddellis, who was Provost of Aberdeen, from 1547 to 1576, without interruption; and, (6.) George Lovell, burgess of Dundee, whose name has already occurred in Knox.

[3] In MS. 1566, "the Lard of Low'lewin."

[4] According to the "Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland," containing the Acts and Proceedings of the Assembly, the meeting was held on the 26th of May; and the persons abovenamed were appointed on the 28th to present the Supplication and Articles "tuitching the Suppressioun of Idolatrie." The result of the application is thus recorded:—

"Upoun the whilk Supplicatioun, Articles and sute thairof was grantit, and followit be the Lords of Secreit Counsell, and Act and Ordinance thairupon, with letters therupon, answering to every head of the said Articles and Supplicatioun, at length specified in the Act of Secreit Counsell made therupon; whilk is to be had in the hands of John Johnstone, scrybe therof, and letters and publicatioun past therupon."

[5] In MS. G, &c. "prosperit worse."

[6] Lord James Stewart (see page 142, note 3.) Queen Mary, in a letter to Throkmorton, dated at Nancy 22d April 1561, declares that Lord James who was then with her, had come without any special mission: "Quant à Lord James qui est devers moy, il y est venue pour son devoir, comme devers sa souveraine Dame, que je suis, sans charge ou commission qui concerne autre chose que son droit." She was anxious he should not return through England; and there can be no doubt, his conduct was too much influenced by the English Court. See the letters quoted by Mr. Tytler, vol. vi. pages 218 to 225. Lord James returned from France before the end of May 1561. The Diurnal of Oc-

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quha, besyid his greit expensis, and the lose of aue box quhairin wes his secreit poise, eschapit a desparit danger in Pareise: for, his returnyng from our Soverane (quha then lay with the Cardinall of Lorane at Reims) understood[7] of the Papistis at Pareise, thai haid conspired some tresonable act aganis him; for thai intendit ather to besett his hous by nycht, or ellis to have assaulted him and his company as thai walkit upoun the streittis. Quhairof the said Lord James advertist by the Ryngrave,[8] by ressone of auld familiaritie quhilk wes betwix thame in Scotland, he tuke purpoise suddenlie and in gude ordour to depart from Pareise; as that he did, the secund day efter that he arrived thair. And yit culd he not depart sa secreitlie, bot that the Papistis haid thair prevy ambusches; for upone the Pont of Change[9] thai haid prepared ane processioun, quhilk met the said Lord and his cumpany evin in the teith; and knawing that thai wald not do the accustumat reverence unto thame and thair idolis, thai thocht thairupone to haif picked a quarrell; and sa as ane part passed by, without moving of hatt to ony thing that wes

currents (p. 283) has the 19th of May; but according to a letter quoted by Mr. Tytler, it appears that Lord James was in London on the 20th of that month, but had reached Edinburgh on the 3d of June. (History, vol. vi. p. 225.)

[7] In MS. 1566, "at Reins) understand."

[8] The Count Rheingrave had the command of the German troops which formed one of the divisions of the French forces sent to Scotland in 1548. He distinguished himself at the sieges of Haddington and Dundee. (Lesley's History, pp. 206, 207, 219, 223.) He returned to France in 1549, but it seems doubtful whether he again visited this country. He appears to have settled in France. John Philip Rheingrave, Count Palatine of the Rhine, before 1554, married an heiress, Jean de Genoüillac, the widow of Charles Seigneur de Crussol, Vicomte d' Uzés. (Anselme, Hist. Geneal. vol. iii. p. 768.) In December 1562, "the Rhyngrave lost fourscore of his horsemen," or, "reisters," when Harfleur was taken by the English. (Wright's Queen Elizabeth, vol. i. pp. 119-120.)

[9] In MS. G, "upon the Change-brig;" Vautrollier's edition makes it, "upon the point of change." The place referred to was the principal bridge in Paris, across the river Seine, formerly known as the *Grand Pont*. It takes its name, *Pont au Change*, from the *changeurs* or money-brokers who resided there, so early as the 12th century; but the houses upon the bridge were finally removed in 1788, by order of Louis XVI.

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thair, thai haid suborned some to crye "Hugenottis," and to cast stanis. Bot God disapoynted thair interpryse; for the said Ryngraife, with other gentilmen, being with the Lord James, rebuykit the fulische multitude, and over raid some of the formaist; and sa the rest war dispersit; and he and his cumpany saiflie eschapit, and come with expeditioun to Edinburgh, quhill that yit the Lordis and assemblie wer togither, to the greit comfort of many godlie hertis, and to na litile astonischement of the wicked: for, fra the Quene oure Soverane he brocht letteris to the Lordis, praying thame to intertenye quyetnes, and to suffer na thing to be attemptit aganis the Contract of peace quhilk wes maid at Leyth, till her awin hame-cuming, and to suffer the religioun publictlie establissit to go fordward, &c. Quhairupone the saidis Lordis gaif answer to the Frenche Ambassadour, a negatyve to everie ane of his petitiouns.[1]

And First, That France haid not deserved at thair handis, that ather thai or thair posteritie, suld enter with thame agane in ony league or confideracie, offensive or defensive, seying that sa tratrouslie and crewallie, thai haid persecuted thame, thair Realme and liberteis, under pretense of amitie and mariage.

Secundlie, That besydis thair conscience, thai culd not tak suche a warldlie scheme, as without offence committit, to breke the league, quhilk in Goddis name thai haid maid with thame, quhom he haid maid instrumentis to set Scotland at fredome from the tyranny of the Frenche, at the leist of the Guisians and thair factioun.

And last, That suche as thai callit Bischoppis and Kirkmen, thai knew nather for pastouris of the Kirk, nather yit for ony just possessouris of the patrimonye thairof; bot understude thame perfitlie to be wolves, theaves, murtheraris, and idill-belleis: And thairfoir, as Scotland haid forsakin the

[1] See *supra*, page 156.

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Pape and Papistrie, sa culd thai not be debttouris to his foresworne vassallis.

With thir answeris departit the said Ambassadour.[1] And the Lordis of Secreit Counsall maid ane act, that all places and monumentis of ydolatrie suld be destroyit.[2] And for that purpose wes directed to the West, the Erle of Arrane, having joyned with him the Erlis of Argyle and Glencarne, togidder with the Protestantes of the West: quha burnt Paislay,[3] (the Bischope [of Sanctandrois, quha was Abbot thareof,[4]] narrow-

[1] Monsieur de Nouailles left Edinburgh on the 7th June 1561. (Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 64.)

[2] As Knox has enjoyed more than his full share of credit for destroying the ecclesiastical buildings of this country, I may be permitted to call the reader's attention to Dr. M'Crie's remarks on the "Alleged Excesses of the Reformers," in his notes to the Life of Knox, vol. ii. pages 450-456. But it might not be difficult to show that the actual devastations committed by the Reformers have been greatly exaggerated. The object they had in view was not to destroy the buildings, but to remove objects of idolatrous worship and superstition. It should also be remembered, that the revenues appropriated for keeping such buildings in repair, being diverted to other channels, these large and imposing edifices, more suited for the services of the Romish Church than the simpler forms of Presbyterian worship, were allowed to fall into utter ruin. When portions were restored to serve as parish churches, this was too often done but little in accordance with their original richly decorated style of architecture.

[3] The Monastery of Paisley, in the shire of Renfrew, was not wholly destroyed, as the nave of the church, with its aisles, remain very entire, and have continued to be used as the collegiate church of the Abbey Parish.

[4] The words inclosed within brackets, omitted in the MS. 1566, and in Vautr. edit., are supplied from MS. G.—In vol. i. p. 124, it is mentioned, that John Hamilton, who afterwards became Archbishop of St. Andrews, had obtained the Abbacy of Paisley in the year 1525. In 1544, he proposed to resign Paisley to his brother James, reserving to himself the whole fruits of the benefice, with a right to re-enter to it, should his brother predecease him. (Epist. Regum Scot. vol. ii. p. 212.) This arrangement probably was not confirmed; as the Abbot eventually resigned the Commendatorship to Lord Claud Hamilton, third son of James Duke of Chatelherault. This appears to have taken place in 1553, when Lord Claud was aged eleven years; the Archbishop still acting as Administrator in spiritual as well as temporal matters, till the Commendator had attained the age of twenty-three. In various deeds, so late as April 1565, the former continued to be styled "John, &c. Archbishop of Sanctandrois, Primat and Legat of the haill Realme of Scotland, and Abbot of the Abbay of Pasley." Lord Claud Hamilton was the ancestor of the Earls of Abercorn.

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lie eschapit,) kest doun Failfurd,[1] Kilwynnyng,[2] and a part of Corsragwell.[3] The Lord James wes appointed to the North, quhair he maid siek reformatioun, as nathing contentit the Erle of Huntlie, and yet seemed he to approve all thingis. And thus God sa potentlie wrocht with us, sa lang as we dependit upone him, that all the warld mycht se his potent hand to mayntene us, and to feght aganis oure ennemeis; yea, most to confound thame, quhen that thay promeat to thame selfis victory without resistance. "Oh! that we suld rychtlie considder the wonderouse werkis of the Lord oure God."

In the Treatye of Peace contracted at Leyth, thair war contened certane heidis that requyred the ratificatioun of baith the Quenis. The Quene of Ingland, according to hir promese, subscriptioun, and seill, without ony delay performit the same,[4] and sent it to oure Soverane by hir appoynted officiaris. Bot our Soverane (quhidder because hir awin craftie nature thairto moved hir, or that hir Uncles cheiff counsallouris sa wald, we knaw not) with mony delatouris frustrat the expectatioun of the Quene of Ingland; as by the copy of a Letter, sent from the Ambassadour of Ingland to his Soverane,[5] we may understand.

[1] Only some inconsiderable remains now exist of the Monastery of Failfurd, in the parish of Tarbolton, Ayrshire.

[2] Some portions of this stately building still exist, adjoining the Parish Church of Kilwinning.

[3] The Abbey of Crossraguel, in the parish of Kirkoswald, about two miles from Maybole, although in ruins, is preserved with great care, and is more entire than any other monastic building in the West of Scotland.

[4] The Treaty of Leith, as already noticed at pages 78-84, was ratified by Queen Elizabeth, 20th September 1560: The Ratification is printed in Rymer's Fœdera.

[5] Sir Nicholas Throkmorton:—His correspondence, addressed to Queen Elizabeth and Secretary Cecil, whilst English ambassador at the Court of France, includes much curious and interesting matter relating to Scotland. See in particular Dr. Forbes's Collection of State Papers, Lond. 1740, 1741, 2 vols. folio: unfortunately the intermediate portion of his Collections, from May 1560 to July 1562, was never published. Throkmorton returned from France in 1564, and was afterwards sent on more than one occasion to Scotland. He was made Chamberlain of the Exchequer; and died in 1570.

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At Parcis, the xxiij of Junij 1561.

"The xviij of this present Junij, I send Sommer[1] to the Quene of Scottis for audience, quha appoyntit me to come to hir the same day efter denner; quhilk I did. To hir I did [remember] youre Majesteis hertlie recommendations, and declarit unto hir your Majesteis lyik gladdesomnes of hir recoverye of hir lait seiknes, quhais want of helth, as it was grevouse unto youre Majestie, so did yow congratulat and greitlie rejoise of the gude termes of helth scho wes presentlie in. After these offices, I put hir in remembrance agane quhat haid passed from the begynning, in the mater of youre Majesteis demand of hir ratificatioun, according to the proporte[2] of the said Treatie, alsweill by me at the first, as efterwart by my Lord of Bedford at his being heir, and alsua followed sensyne agane be me in audience, and by my letter to hir being in Lorane: adding heirto youre Majesteis farther commandiment; and recharge to me agane, presentlie to renew the same demand, as befoir haid bene done."

The said Quene maid answer: "Monsieur l'Ambassadeur, I thank the Quene, my gude-sister, for this gentle visitatioun and congratulatioun of this my recoverye; and thocht I be not yit in perfite helth, yit I thank God I feill my self in verray gude[3] in the cuming to. And for ansuer to youre demand, (quod sche,) of my ratificatioun, I do remember all thai thingis that yow haif recited unto me; and I wald the Quene, my gude-sister, suld think that I do respect the resolute answer in this mater, and performyng thairof, untill suche tyme as I may have the advyses of the Noblis and Estaitis of my awin Realme, quhilk I trust sall not be lang a doing; for I intend to mak my voyage thither schortlie. And thocht

ANSUER.

CRAFTIE DEALLAR: THOU NEVER RESPECTED THEM FARTHER THEN THAI MYCHT SERVE TO THY CORRUPT AFFECTIONS.

[1] "Mr. Somer," or Sommers, was a confidential agent or messenger employed by Cecil, in his correspondence with the English Ambassadors at the Court of France.

[2] In MS. 1566, "prepertie."

[3] In Vautr. edit. "in very good health:" MS. G, (omitting the words, "I thank God,") is the same as the text.

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this mater (quod scho) dois twiche me principallie, yit dois it also twiche the Noblis and Estaitis of my Realme too; and thairfoir it salbe meit, that I use thair advyses thairin. Heirtofoir, thai haif semed to be greved that I suld do ony thing without thame; and now thai wald be mair offendit gif I suld proceid in this mater of my self, without thair advyses. I do intend (quod scho) to send Monsieur Dosell[1] to the Quene youre Maistres, my gude-sister, quho sall declair that unto hir from me, that, I trust, sall satisfie hir; by quhom I will gif hir to understand of my jurnay into Scotland. I meyne to embarque at Calice. The King hes lent me certane galeis and schippis, to convoy me hame; and I intend to requyre of my gude-sister those favouris that princes usis to do in those cases. And thocht the termes quhairin we haif heirtofoir [been], hes bene some quhat hard,* yet, I trust that from hensfurth we sall accord togidder as cousignes and gude nychtbouris. I meyne (quod scho) to reteir all the Frenche men furth of Scotland, quho hes gevin jelose to the Quene, my gude-sister, and miscontentment to my subjectis; so as I will leve nathing undone to satisfie all parties, trusting the Quene,

THIS WES A SECREIT LARDON.

SCHO MENT SCHO WALD SEIK A SAIF CONDUCT.

* EVER QUHILL THAT SCHO MAY SCHAW HIR EVILL WILL.[2]

GIF FRANCE WALD HAIF SUSTENIT THAM, THAI HAID NOT YIT DEPARTIT.

[1] The Seigneur D'Oysel: See notes in vol. i. pp. 328 and 355. Lord Clinton, in a letter to the Earl of Sussex, 8th August 1560, mentions that D'Oysel and Martigues, having 3500 French soldiers in their company, had then landed at Calais, on their return from Scotland. Queen Mary had purposed sending him again to Scotland in the spring of 1561. From letters of the time we learn he was not expected to reach Greenwich before the 8th of July, and Cecil on the 25th of that month says, "Monser d'Oyzell came from the Scottish Quene, with request that the Quene his Mistress might have a salve conduct to pass alongst our sea coast, and hymself to pass into Scotland to provide for her coming. Many reasons moved us to myslike her passadge, but this only served us for answer," &c., namely, her refusal to ratify the Treaty of Peace. It is added, "Monser d'Oyzell was also gently required to returne with this answer." (Wright's Queen Elizabeth, vol. i. pp. 43, 62, 66.) Mr. Tytler has shown, that D'Oysel "was altogether unworthy of the trust reposed in him," by his secret communications both to the English Ambassador and Queen Elizabeth. (Hist. vol. vi. p. 228.)

[2] This marginal note forms part of the text in MS. G. It evidently is one of those remarks of the author which form a kind of running commentary by Knox on this communication. They are contained in Vautrollier's edition; but not in MS. G, with the exception of this marginal addition.

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my gude-sister, will do the lyke, and that from hensfurth none of my disobedient subjectis (gif thair be ony suche) sall fynd ayd or supporte at hir handis." THE SECUND SECREIT LARDON.

I answered, "That I was nocht desyrous to fall in the discours how those hard termes first beganne, nor by quhat meanys thai wer nurischit; becaus thairin I most charge some partie with injurie, and perrel offered to the Quene my maistres, quhilk wes the verray ground of those materis: Bot I wes weill assured thair culd be no better occasioun offered to put the formar unkyndnes in forgetfulnes, than by ratifyeing the Treatie of Peace, for that suld repay all injureis past. And Madame, (quod I,) quhair it plesis yow to suspend the Ratificatioun, untill yow haif the advyses of the Nobles and Estatis of youre Realme, the Quene my maistres dois nothing doubt of thair conformitie in this mater, becaus the Treatie wes maid by thair consentis." THE ARMYS OF INGLAND WER UNURPIT.

The Quene answered, "Yea, by some of thame, but not by all. It will appeir, quhen I cum amangis thame, quhidder thai be of the same mynd that yow say thai wer than of, [or no:] Bot of this I assure yow, Monsieur l'Ambassadour, (quod scho,) I, for my parte, am verray desyrouse to haif the perfite and the assured amitie of the Quene, my gude-sister, and will use all the meanis I can to geve hir occasioun to think that I meane it in deid." YOUR PAPISTIS AND OURIS HAIF PRACTISIT. AND STILL PRACTISIS DEVISIOUN. SA THAT SCHO MYCHT HAIF INGLAND AND THE PAIPIS RELIGIOUN, I THINK SCHO LYET NOT.

I answered, "Madame, the Quene my maistres, yow may be assurit, will use the lyik towardis yow, to move yow to be of the same opinioun towardis hir."

"Than (said scho) I traist the Quene your maistres, will not support nor encurage none of my subjectis to continew in thair disobedience, nor to tak upone thame thingis that appertene not to subjectis."—[This we mon answer heir: It appertenis to subjectis to wirschip God as he hes commandit, and to suppres idolatrie, by quhomsoevir it be erected or mayntened.][1] THE FEIR OF GOD IN THE HERT OF HELIAS WAS DISOBEDIENCE TO CURSIT JESABELL.

[1] The words enclosed within brackets are evidently added by Knox.

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" Yow knaw, (quod scho,) thair is moche ado in my Realme about materis of religioun; and thocht thair be a greittar nomber of a contrarie religioun unto me then I wald thair war, yit thair is na ressone that subjectis suld gif a law to thair Soverane, and speciallie in materis of religioun, quhilk, I feare, (quod scho,) my subjectis sall tak in hand."—[Answer for the parte of Scotland: and gif sa thai haid done, thai haid eschapit Goddis indignatioun, quhilk hes bene felt, and still hingis over this Realme, for the idolatrie and other abominationis committit in the same, quhilk sall not ceise till that it be suppressit.][1]

GOD GEVIS HIS LAW ALSWEILL TO THE PRINCE AS TO THE SUBJECT.

I answerit, " Madame, youre realme is in na uther caise at this day, than all uther realmes of Christiandome ar; the prufe quhairof you see verefied in this realme: and you see quhat grit difficultie it is to gif ordour in this mater, thocht the King and all his Counsall be verray desyrouse thairunto. Religioun is of the grittest force that may be. You haif bene lang out of your awin realme, so as the contrarie religioun to youris hes wone the upper hand, and the grittest parte of youre realme. Youre Mother wes a woman of greit experience, of deip dissimulatioun, and keipit that Realme in quyetness, till scho begane to constraine[2] menis consciences; and as you think it unmeit to be constranit by your subjectis, so it may lyk you to considder, the mater is also intollerabill to thame to be constraynit by you in materis of conscience; for the dewtie deu to God can not be gevin to ony uther without offence of his Majestie." " Quhy, (said scho,) God dois command subjectis to be obedient to thair Princes, and commandis Princes to reid his law, and governe thairby thame selfis and the peple committit to thair chargis." Answer, " Yea, Madame, (quod I,) in those thingis that be not aganis his commandimentis." " Weill, (quod scho,) I will be plane with you: the Religioun that I profess, I tak to be maist acceptable to God: and, in deid,

THE CONSE-CRATIOUN OF THE CARDINALL WILL NOT SUFFER YOW.

[1] This is one of Knox's additions. [2] In MS. G, " to straynе."

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neither do I knaw nor desire to knaw any uther. Constancie dois become all folkis weill; but none better than Princes, and suche as have reull over Realmes, and speciallie in materis of Religioun." [The Turk is als constant in his Alcoram, as the Paip and his sect ar in his constitutionis.][1] "I haif bene brocht up, (quod scho,) in this Religioun; and quho mycht creditt me in ony thing gif I suld schaw my self lycht in this case; and thocht I be young and nott weill learned, yitt haif I herd this mater oft disputed by my Uncle my Lord Cardinall, with some that thocht thai could say somquhat in the mater; and I fand thairin na grit ressone to change my opinioun." [Neather yitt did Caiaphas, quhen Christ Jesus did reassone in his presence: Bot quhat wes the Cardinall compelled to confesse at Poysie?][2]

THE THRID LARDON, ACCUSING INGLAND OF INCONSTANCIE IN RELIGIOUN.

"Madame, (quod I,) gif you will juge weill in that mater, you mon be conversant in the Scriptures, quhilk ar the tuichstone to try the rycht from the wrang. Paradventure, you ar so partiallie affected to your Uncle's argument, that you culd not indifferentlie considder the uther partie. Yit this I assure you, Madame, (quod I,) your Uncle my Lord Cardinall, in conference with me about these materis, hes confessed, that thair be grit errouris and abuses come into the Kirk, and grit disordour in the Ministeris and Clargye; insomuche that he desyred and wisched that thair mycht be a reformatioun of the ane and of the uther." "I have oftyne tymes hard him say the lyik," (quod scho.) Than I said, "Weill, I trust God will inspyre all you that be Princes, that thair be some gude ordour tackin in this mater, so as thair may be one unitie in Religioun throcht all Christiandome."

BOT THE DEVILL WALD PUT ORDOUR TO HIM SELF.

"God grant, (quod scho,) bot for my parte, you may perceave I am none of those that will change my Religioun, everie yeir. And, as I tauld you in the begynnyng, I meyne to constrane none of my subjectis, bot wald wisché that thai

CHANGE IT NOT BEFOIR YOW HAVE IT; FOR DANSING AND HIR SISTER IS THE GROUND OF THAT QUHILK YITYE HAIF PROFESSIT.

[1] & [2] These words, enclosed, are remarks by Knox.

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wer all as I am; and I trust thai suld haif na supporte to constrane me. I will send Monsieur Dosell, (quod scho,) to you befoir he go, to knaw quhether you will ony thing into Ingland. I pray you, so ordour yourself in this mater, betwix the Quene my gud sister and me, that thair may be perfite and sure amitie betwix us; for I knaw, (quod scho,) Ministeris may do muche gude and harme."

I tauld hir, "I wald faithfullie and treulie mak declaratioun, of all that scho haid said unto me, unto your Majestie; and trusted that scho wald so satisfie your Majestie by Monsieur Dosell in all thingis, as I suld heirefter have no moir occasionis to treatie with hir of ony thingis bot of the encrease of amitie." Scho said, "Thair suld be no want thairin on hir behalf."

"This is the effect of the Quene of Scotlandis answer to youre Majesteis demand of hir said Ratificatioun, and of my negotiatioun with hir at this tyme."

These advertisementis somewhat exasperated the Quene of Ingland, and nott altogither without cause; for the armys of Ingland wer befoir usurpit by oure Soverane, and by hir husband Francis; and Elizabeth, Quene of Ingland, wes of the Gwysians reputed litill better then a bastard. It was appointed that this titill suld be renuncit. Bot heirof haid oure proude and vane glorious Quene no plesour, and especiallie efter that hir husband was deid; for, thocht scho, the toluyke of Ingland[1] sall allure mony wowaris to me. The Gwysians and the Paipistis of baith the Realmes did not a litill animat hir in that persute; the effect quhairof will sonar appeir then the godlie of Ingland wald desyre: And yit is scho that now reigneth ovir thame, neather gude Protestant, nor yit resolute Papist: Lat the warld juge quhilk is the thrid.

[1] In Vautr. edit., "the shew of England."

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Queyn Elizabeth,[1] we say, offendit with the former ansueris, wrait unto the Nobilitie and Estaittis of Scotland, in forme as followis:—

The Quene of Inglandis Letter to the Estaittis of Scotland.

Rycht trusty and rycht enteirlie belovit Cousingis, we greit yow. We doubt not, bot as oure menyng is, and hes bene alwayis sithence oure regne, in the sycht of Almichty God, streycht and direct towart the advancement of his honour and trewth in religioun, and consequentlie to procure peace and mayntene concord betwix baith thir Realmes of Ingland and Scotland; so also our outwarde actis have weill declared the same to the warld, and speciallie to yow, being oure nychtbouris, quho have taisted and proved in these oure friendschip and ernest gude will, mair then we think any of youre antecessouris have ever receaved from hence; yea, moir then a greit nomber of youre selfis culd weill houpe of us, all former examples being weill weyit and considered. And this we haif to rejoise of, and so may ye be glaid, that quhair, in the begynnyng of the trublis in that cuntrey, and of our succours ment for yow, the jelosie, or rather the malice of diverse, boith in that Realme and in uther cuntreis, wes suche, boith to deprave boith us in the yielding, and yow in requyring our aide, that we were noted to have meant the surprise of that Realme, by depryving of your Soverane the Quene of hir croune, and yow or the greittar parte of yow to haif intendit by our succour the lyik; and ather to prefer some other to the croune, or ellis to mak of that monarchie a commonweill: materis verray sclanderouse and false. Bot the end and determinatioun, yea, the haill course and process of the

[1] The remark on Queen Elizabeth, in the preceding paragraph, "And yet is scho," &c., is omitted in Vautrollier's edition; and the words that follow, read, "Let the world judge whether Queen Elizabeth, we say," &c., as above.

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actioun on boith oure partis have manifested, boith to the sclanderaris, and to all utheris, that no thing wes more meant and prosecuted, then to establish youre Soverane the Quene, our cousigne and sister, in hir estait and crowne, the possessioun quhairof wes in the handis of strangearis. And althocht no wordis culd then weill satisfie the malitious, yit our deids do declair, that no uther thing wes soucht, but the restitutioun of that Realme to the auncient libertie, and, as it wer, to redeme it frome captivitie. Off these oure purposes and deidis, thair remanis, amongis uther argumentis, gude testimonye by a solempne treatie and accord, maid the last yeir at Edinburgh, by Commissionaris sent boith from us and from your Quene, with full auctoritie in wryting, under boith our handis, and the Greit Seills of boith oure Realmes, in suche maner as uther Princes, oure progenitouris, have alwayes used. By quhilk treatie and accord, eather of us have fullie accordit with uther, to keip gude peace and amitie betwix oure selfis, oure countreis, and subjectis. And in the same also ane gude accord is maid, nott onlie of certane quarrellis happened betwix us, bot also of some differences betwix the Ministeris of the lait Frenche King, your Soveranis husband, and yow the Estaittis of that Realme, for the alteratioun of lawis and customes of that countrey attemptit by thame. Upone quhilk accord thair maid and concludit, hes hitherto followit, as yow knaw, suyrtie to your Soveranis estait, quyetnes to your selfis, and a better peace betwix boyth Realmes, then ever wes herd of in any tyme past. Nevertheless, how it happeneth we knaw not, [—We can: for scho in hir consait thinkis hir self Quene of boyth,][1] that your Soverane eather not knawing in this parte hir awin felicitie, or ellis dangerouslie seduced by perverse counsall, quhairof we wald be most sorye; being of lait at sundry tymes requyred by us, according to hir Band remanying with us, signed with hir awin hand, and sealled

THE PEACE CONTRACTIT AT LEYTH.

[1] Evidently a remark by Knox.

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with the Greit Seall of that Realme, and allowed by yow being the Estaittis of the same, to ratifie hir said Treatie, in like maner as we by wryting have done, and ar reddy to deliver[1] it to hir, [yet she] makketh suche delatorie answeris thairinto, as quhat we sall juge thairof, we perceave by hir answer, that it is meit to requyre of yow. For althocht scho hes alwayis answerit, since the deith of hir Husband, that in this mater scho wald first understand the myndis of certane of yow, befoir scho wald mak answer; and so having now of long tyme suspendit oure expectatioun, in the end, nochtwithstanding that scho hes haid conference boyth by messingeris, and by seme of your selfis being with hir, yit scho still delayis it, alledgeing to oure Ambassadour in Fraunce (quho said that this Treatie wes maid by your consentis) it was not by consent of yow all; and so wald have us forbeir, unto scho sall returne in that hir countrey. And now seing that hir answer dependis, as it suld seme, by hir wordis, upone your opiniounis, we can nott bot planelie latt yow all understand, that this maner of answer, without some moir fruta, can nott long content us. We have meant weill to our sister your Quene in tyme of offence gevin to us by hir. We did planelie, without dissimulatioun, charge hir in hir awin dowbtfull estait: quhylest strangearis possessit hir Realme, we stayed it from danger. And now, having promissed to keip gude peace with hir, and you hir subjectis, we have hitherto observed it; and salbe sorye gif eather scho or yow sall geve us contrary cause. In a mater so profitable to boyth the Realmes, we think it strange that your Quene hes no better advise: and thairfoir we do requyre yow all, being the Estaittis of that Realme, upone quhom the burthen resteth, to considder this mater deiplie, and to mak us answer

PRINCES LITTILL REGARD THAT.

I THINK THIS SENTENCE MANCK,[2] BUT I WILL ALTER NO WORD.

[1] In MS. G, "to declair."

[2] "Manck," or deficient; that is, "I think (says Knox) there is something deficient or wanting in this sentence, but I will not alter one word."

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quhairunto we may trust. And gif yow sall think meit scho sall thus leif the peace imperfite, by breking of hir solempned promeis, contrary to the ordour of all princes, we salbe weill content to accept your ansuer, and salbe als cairless to see the peace kepit, as ye sall gif us cause; and doubt nott, by the grace of God, bot quhosoever of yow sall first inclyne thairto sall soonest repent. Yow must be content with oure plane writing. And, on the uther syid, gif yow continew all of one mynd to have the peace inviolablie keipit, and sall so by your advise procure the Quene to ratifie it, we also planelie promisse yow, that we will also continew oure gude dispositioun to keip the same in such gude termes as now it is: and in so doing, the honour of Almychty God sall be dewly soucht and promoted in boyth Realmes; the Quene your Soverane sall enjoy hir stait with suyrtie; and your selfis possesse that quhilk yow have with tranquillitie, to the encreas of your families and posterities quhilk by the frequent warris heirtofoir your ancestouris never haid long in one estaite.

To conclude, We requyre yow to advertise us of quhat mynd yow be, speciallie gif yow all continew in that mynd, that yow meane to have the peace betwix boith the Realmes perpetuallie keipit. And gif yow sall forbeir ony long tyme to advertise us, ye sall geve to us some occasioun of doubt, quhairof moir hurt may grow than gude.

From, &c.

These letteris receaved and perused, albeit the Estatis culd nott be convened, yit did the Counsall, and some utheris also in particulare, returne ansures with resonable diligence. The tennour of oure Letteris was this:—

Pleis your Majestie,

That with jugement, we have advysed your Majesteis letteris; and albeit the haill Estaittis culd not suddandlie be

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assemblit, yit we thocht expedient to signifie somquhat of oure myndis unto your Majestie. Far be it frome us, that eather we tak upone us, that infamye befoir the warld, or grudge of conscience befoir oure God, that we suld lychtlie esteme the observatioun of that peace laitlie contractit betwix these two Realmes. By quhat motives oure Soverane delayeth the rati ficatioun thairof, we can nott tell: but of us, (of us, we say, Madame, that have in Goddis presence protested fidelitie in oure promeisses,) hir Grace hes none. Your Majestie can not be ignorant, that in this Realme thair ar mony ennemeis; and, farther, that oure Soverane hes Counsalouris, quhois jugementis scho in all suche cases preferreth to ouris. Oure allegeance bindeth us, nott onlie reverentlie to speik and write of oure Soverane, but also so to juge and think: and yit your Majestie may be weill assured, that in us salbe noted no blame, gif that peace be nott ratifiet to your Majesteis contentment: for God is witness, that oure cheiff cair in this earth, nyxt the glorie of oure God, is, that constant peace may remane betwix these two Realmes; quhairof your Majestie and realme sall have suyre experience sa lang as oure counsall or votes may stay the contrarie. The benefite that we haif receaved is so recent, that we can nott suddandlie bury it in forgetfulnes. We wald desyre your Majestie rather to be perswaded of us, that we to oure powaris will studye to leave it in remembrance to oure posteritie. And thus, with lauchfull and humble commendatioun of oure service, we committ youre Majestie to the protectioun of the Omnipotent.

Of Edinburgh, the 16 of Julij 1561.

Thair war some utheris that answered some of the ministeris of Ingland somequhat more scharplie, and willed thame nott to accuse nor threatten sa scharplie, till that thai war able to convict suche as haid promised fidelitie of some evi-

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dent cryme; quhilk, althocht thai war able to lay to the charge of some, yit respect wald be haid to suche as long haid declared thame selfis constant procureris of quyetnes and peace.

The suddane arryvall of the Quene maid grite alteratioun evin in the Counsall, as efter we will heir. In this meantyme, the Papistis by surmising, trublit quhat thai mycht: thair postis, letteris, and complaintis wer from day to day direct, some to the Paipe, some to the Cardinall of Lorane, and some to oure Quene. The principall of these curriouris war, Maister Stevin Wilsoun,[1] Maister Johnne Leslie, called *Nolumus* and *Volumus*,[2] Maister James Thorntoun,[3] and

[1] Mr. Stephen Wilson, who probably held some preferment in the Romish Church, was an active partisan of Queen Mary. He had also been in the service of her mother, the Queen Regent. On the 11th February 1559-60, the Treasurer paid, "be the Quenis Grace speciale command to Maister Stevin Wilsone, passand of Edinburgh throuch Ingland, in the Quenis Grace effairis in France," the sum of £80. Randolph, in a letter to Cecil, 7th February 1565-6, referring to a Band or Confederacy "to maintayne Papistrye throughout Christendome," but more especially directed against Queen Elizabeth and the Protestants in Scotland, which had been sent from France to be signed by the Queen of Scots; he says, it was "to be returned very shortlie, as I heare, by Mr. Steven Wilson, a fit minister for such devilish devices." Killegrew, in a letter to Lord Burghley, written from Edinburgh, 4th March 1573, says, "Stephen Wilson, that carried letters from the Erle of Argile into France, is returned, and taken by the Regentis commandment. To-morrow he shall be examined." (Wright's Queen Elizabeth, vol. i. pp. 220, 470.) His intercepted correspondence is also mentioned in Killegrew's letter, on the 9th March, quoted by Mr. Tytler, vol. vii. p. 340.

[2] See page 141, and foot-note to page 139.

[3] Mr. James Thornton became one of the dignified clergy, and enjoyed the parsonage of Alves, and the vicarage of Lanbryde, as Chantor of Murray. In 1559, he was at Rome employed with John Row, (who afterwards became the Protestant minister of Perth,) in transacting some ecclesiastical matters. In 1562, when the Rentals of the Benefices were given in to the Commissioners, he made several of the returns in the diocese of Murray. One of these was the Chantorie of Murray, rendered by "Maister James Thorntoun in name and behalf, and as procurar of his Eme (uncle) Maister John Thornetoun eldar, quha is in titell of the said Chantorie." Another was the parsonage of Adwy, given in by him, "in name and as procurar for *his brother*, Maister Johnne Thornetoun younger, possessor and titular of the samyn." He appears to have been an active and confidential agent of James Beaton, Archbishop of Glasgow, (who had retired to France,

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utheris, suche as leved, and still leve, by the trafique of that Romane harlott.

The Preachearis vehementlie exhorted us to establische THE BUKE OF DISCIPLINE, by ane Act and publict Law; affirmyng, that and gif thay suffered thingis to hing in suspence, quhen God haid gevin unto thame sufficient power in thair handis, thai suld efter sobb for it, bot suld nott get it.

And now,[4] because that diverse tymes heirtofoir we haif maid mentioun of the said Buke, we have thocht expedient to insert the haill in this parte of oure HISTORIE,[5] to the end that the Posteriteis to come may juge alsweill quhat the

after the establishment of the Reformation,) in carrying on his negotiations with this country. Queen Mary addressed a letter to Queen Elizabeth, 27th May 1565, requesting a safe conduct "for Maister James Thorntoun, Secretair to the Archbishop of Glasgo, as Ambassatour in France." In 1566 he brought from France the Bond mentioned in the preceding note. It was about this time that he obtained, probably as his uncle's successor, the titular appointment of Chantor of Murray.

[4] The whole of this concluding sentence, and the Book of Discipline itself, are omitted in the Glasgow MS. In such of the later MSS. of Knox as contain the Book of Discipline, it is literally copied from Calderwood's printed edition in 1621; in small 4to, pp. [xvi.] and 92.

[5] Archbishop Spotiswood, in his History of the Church of Scotland, (edit. 1655, pp. 152-174,) has also introduced a copy of the Book of Discipline, and assigns the following reason for doing so: "In the Convention kept at Edinburgh in January preceding [1560-1], a form of Church-policy was presented, and desired to be ratified. Because this will fall to be often mentioned, and serveth to the clearing of many questions which were afterward agitated in the Church; I thought meet word by word here to insert the same, that the Reader may see what were the grounds laid down at first for the Government of the Church, so we shall the better decerne of the changes that followed." (Hist. p. 152.)

Spotiswood does not state from what authority he has given it; but it is undeniable that he has curtailed various passages which will be pointed out in the Appendix, in the note on the Book of Discipline. At the conclusion he adds,—"This was the Policy desired to be ratified: It had been formed by JOHN KNOX, partly in imitation of the reformed Churches of Germany, partly of that he had seen in Geneva; whence he took that device of annuall Deacons for collecting and dispensing the Church rents, whereof in the sixth head he speaketh; I cannot say." (Ib. p. 174.)

It is scarcely necessary to remark, that the Second Book of Discipline, forming part of Calderwood's edition, was of a subsequent date, having been agreed upon in the General Assembly 1578, inserted in the Registers of the Assembly 1581, and recognised by Parliament in 1592.

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warldlingis refused, as quhat Policie the godlie Ministeris requyred; that thai (gif God grant unto thame occasioun and libertie) may eather establishe a more perfite, or ellis imitat that quhilk avaritiousnes wald nott suffer this corrupt generatioun to approve.

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THE PREFACE

TO THE BUKE OF DISCIPLINE.[1]

To the Great Counsall of Scotland now admitted to [the] Regiment, by the Providence of God, and by the commoun consent of the Estaittis thairof, your Honouris humble Servitouris and Ministeris of Christ Jesus within the same, wishe Grace, Mercy, and Peace from God the Father of oure Lord Jesus Christ, with the perpetuall encrease of the Holye Spirite.

Frome youre Honouris we receaved a charge, daittit at Edinburgh, xxix of Aprile, in the yeir of God J^m V^c thre scoir yeiris, requyring and commanding us, in the name of the

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THE FIRST AND SECOND BOOKE OF DISCIPLINE

Together with some

ACTS OF THE GENERALL ASSEMBLIES,

Clearing and confirming the same: And

AN ACT OF PARLIAMENT.

Exod. 25. 9.

According to all that I shew thee, after the paterne of the Tabernacle, and the paterne of all the instruments therof, even so shall yee make it.

Printed Anno 1621.

[1] There is no separate title either in the MS. 1566, or in Vautrollier's edition, which contains the earlier portion of the Book of Discipline. (See note 1, page 197.) The edition 1621, quoted in the foot-notes, was published anonymously by David Calderwood the historian, and was evidently printed in Holland. A copy of the title-page is herewith annexed. It was reprinted in the "Collection of Confessions of Faith," &c., with a separate title-page, dated 1721, but the volume ii. (pp. 515-608,) containing it, was not completed until 1722. The Editor says, "This edition is according to that which was printed in 1621," correcting typographical errors, and supplying "from other copies some words which probably have been omitted by the printer." It is to

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Eternall God, as we will ansuer in his presence, to committ to writing, and in a Buke to deliver unto your Wisdomes oure jugementis tuiching the Reformatioun of Religioun, quhilk heirtofore in this Realme, (as in utheris,) hes bene utterlie corrupted. Upone the recept quhairof, sa mony of us as wer in this Toune, did convene, and in unitie of mynd do offer unto your Wisdomes these Headis subsequent for commoun ordour and uniformitie to be observed in this Realme, concernyng Doctryne, administratioun of Sacramentis, [election of Ministers, Provision for their sustentation,[2]] Ecclesiasticall Discipline, and Policye of the Kirk:[3] Most humilie requyring your Honouris, that as ye luke for participatioun with Christ Jesus, that nather ye admitt ony thing quhilk Goddis plane word sall not approve, nather yit that ye sall reject suche ordinances as equitie, justice, and Goddis word do specifie: For as we will nott bynd your Wisdomes to oure jugementis, farther then we be able to prove the same by Goddis plane Scripturis; so must we most humblie crave of yow, evin as ye will ansuer in Goddis presence, (befoir quhom boyth ye and we must appeir to rander accomptis of all oure factis,) that ye repudiat na thing for pleasour nor[4] affectioun of men, quhilk ye be not abill to improve by Goddis writtin and revealled Word.

be regretted that he should not have specified what "other copies" he made use of. But one of these, no doubt, was Spotiswood's, referred to in note 2, page 181.

[2] Omitted in MS. 1566, but contained in Vautr. edit. and edit. 1621.

[3] In Vautr. edit., and edit. 1621, "Church" is used throughout the earlier portion of the Book of Discipline in place of "Kirk:" see note 2 to page 201.

[4] In edit. 1621, "pleasure and."

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The First Head, of Doctrine.[1]

Seeing that Christ Jesus is he quhom God the Father hes commandit onlie to be herd, and followed of his scheip, we urge it necessarie, that his Evangell[2] be trewlie and openlie preached in everie Kirk and Assemblie of this Realme; and that all doctrine repugnyng[3] to the same be utterlie suppressed[4] as damnabill to mannis salvatioun.

The Explicatioun of the First Head.

Least upone this our[5] generalitie ungodlie men tak occasioun to cavill, this we adde for explicatioun. By preching of the Evangell, we understand nott onlie the Scripturis of the New Testament, bot also of the Auld; to wit, the Law, Propheittis, and Histories, in quhilk Christ Jesus is no les conteaned in figure, then we have him now expressed in veritie: And, thairfoir, with the Appostill we affirme, that "All Scripture inspired of God is profitable to instruct, to reprove, and to exhorte." In quhilk buykis of Auld and New Testamentis we affirme, that all thingis necessarie for the instructioun of the Kirk, and to mak the man of God perfite, is conteaned and sufficientlie expressed.

By the contrarie Doctrine, we understand quhatsoever men, by Lawis, Counsallis, or Constitutionis have imposed upone the consciences of men, without the expressed commandiment of Goddis word; suche as be [the] vowis of chastitie, foirswering of marriage, bindyng of men and wemen to severall and disagysed apparrellis, to the superstitious observatioun of fasting dayis, difference of meit for conscience saik, prayer for the deid; and keping of holy dayis of certane Sanctis commandit

[1] In edit. 1722, Chap. I.

[2] In Vautr. edit., and edit. 1621, "Evangell" is always rendered "Gospell."

[3] In edit. 1621, "repugnant."

[4] In Vautr. edit., and edit. 1621, "repressed."

[5] In edit. 1621, "Lest that upon," and omits "our."

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by man, suche as be all those that the Papistis have invented, as the Feistis (as thai terme thame) of Appostillis, Martyres, Virgenis, of Christmess, Circumcisioun, Epiphany, Purification, and uther found[1] feistis of our Lady: Quhilk thingis, becaus in Goddis Scripturis thai nather have commandiment nor assurance, we juge thame utterlie to be abolischet from this Realme; affirmyng farther, that the obstinat mayntenaris and teachearis of suche abhominationis aucht not to eschaip the punyschement of the Civile Magistrat.

The Secound Head, of Sacramentis.[2]

THE NOMBER OF SACRAMENTIS.

To Christ Jesus his holie Evangell trewlie preached, of necessitie it is, that his holie Sacramentis be annexit, and trewlie ministred, as scallis and visible confirmationis of the spirituall promisses contened in the wourd: And thai be two, to wit, Baptisme, and the Holie Supper of the Lord Jesus: quhilk ar then rychtlie ministred, quhen by a lauchfull Minister the pepill, befoir the administratioun of the same, ar planelie instructed, and put in mynd of Goddis free grace and mercy, offered unto the penitent in Christ Jesus; quhen Goddis promisses ar rehersit, the end and use of the Sacramentis declared,[3] and that in suche a toung as the pepill dois understand; quhen farther to thame is nothing added, from thame no thing diminissit, and in thair practise nathing changit besydis the institutioun of the Lord Jesus, and practise of his holie Apostles.

And albeit the Ordour of Geneva,[4] quhilk now is used in some of oure kirks, is sufficient to instruct the diligent reader, how that boyth these Sacramentis may be rychtlie ministred; yit for ane uniformitie to be keipit, we have thocht gude to adde this as superaboundand.

[1] In Vautr. edit., and edit. 1621, "other fonde" and "fond feastes."

[2] In edit. 1722, Chap. II.

[3] In Vautr. edit., and edit. 1621, "preached and declared."

[4] See note infra, page 210.

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In Baptisme, we acknawlege nothing to be used except the element of wattir onlie, (that the wourd and declaratioun of the promisses aucht to preceid we haif said befoir.) Quhairfoir, quhosoevir presumeth in baptisme to use oyle, salt, wax, spattill,[1] conjuratioun, or croceing, accuseth the perfyte institutioun of Christ Jesus of imperfectioun; for it wes void of all suche inventionis devysed by men:. And suche as wald presume to alter Christis perfite ordinance yow aucht seveirlie to punische.

The Tabill of the Lord is then most rychtlie ministred, quhen it approacheth most ney to Christis awin actioun: But plane it is, that at that Supper, Christ Jesus sat with his discipillis, and thairfoir do we juge, that sitting at a table is most convenient to that holie actioun: that breid and wyne aucht to be thair; that thankis aucht to be gevin; distributioun of the same maid; and commandiment gevin that the breid suld be tackin and eittin; and that all suld likewise drink of the cowp of wyne, with declaratioun quhat boyth the one and the other is, we suppoise no godlie man will doubt. For as tuiching the dampnabill erroure of the Papistis, quho can[2] defraude the commoun pepill of the one parte of that holie Sacrament, to wit, of the coupe of the Lordis blude, we suppois thair errour to be so manifest, that it needeth no confutatioun; nather yit intend we to confute any thing in this oure simple confessioun; but to offer publict disputatioun to all that list oppung any thing affirmed by us.

That the Minister break the breid, and distribute the same to those that be nyxt unto him, commanding the rest, every one with reverence and sobrietie, to breake with other, we think it nyest to Christis actioun, and to the perfite practise [of the Apostles,] as we reid it in Sanct Paull. During the quhilk actioun, we think it necessarie, that some comfortable

[1] In Vautr. edit., and edit. 1621, "spittle."

[2] In Vautr. edit., and edit. 1621, "who dare."

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places of [the] Scripturis be red, quhilk may bring in mynd the deith of Christ Jesus, and the benefite of the same; for seing that in that actioun we aucht chieflie to remember the Lordis deith, we juge the Scripturis macking mentioun of the same most apt to stear up our dull myndis then, and at all tymes. Lett the discretioun of the ministeris appoint the places to be red as thai think gude. Quhat tymes we think most convenient for the administratioun of the one and of the other of these Sacramentis, salbe declared in the Policie of the Kirk.

The Thrid Head, tuiching the Abolissing of Idolatrie.[1]

As we require Christ Jesus to be trewlie preached, and his holie Sacramentis to be rychtlie ministerit; so can we not cease to requyre Idolatrie, with all monumentis and places of the same, as Abbayis, monkeries,[2] freireis, nunreis, chapellis, chantreis, cathedrall kirkis, channounreis, colledges, uthers then presentlie are paroche Kirkis or Sculis, to be utterlie suppressed in all boundis and places of this Realme (except onlie the Palacies, mansionis, and dwelling places adjacent thairto, with orchartis and yardis of the samyn): As also that Idolatrie may be removed from the presence of all personis of quhat estait or conditioun that ever thai be, within this Realme.

For latt your Honouris be assuredlie persuaded, that quhair Idolatrie is mayntened or permitted quhair it may be suppressed, that thair sall Goddis wraith reigne, not onlie upone the blind and obstinat idolater, but also upone the negligent sufferaris [of the same;] especiallie gif God have armed thair handis with power to suppress suche abhominatioun.

By Idolatrie we understand, the Messe, Invocatioun of Sanctis, Adoratioun of Ymagis, and the keping and retenying

[1] In edit. 1722, Chap. III.

[2] In MS. 1566, "monkis, freiris."

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of the same: and finallie all honoring of God, not conteaned in his holie Word.

The Foure Head, concernyng Ministeris and thair Lauchfull Electioun.[1]

In a Kirk reformed or tending to reformatioun, none aucht [to] presume eather to preache, eather yit to minister the Sacramentis, till that ordourlie thai be callit to the same. Ordinarie vocatioun consisteth in Electioun, Examinatioun, and Admissioun. And becaus that Electioun of Ministeris in this cursed Papistrie hes altogither bene abused, we think expedient to intreat it moir largelie.

It apperteneth to the Pepill, and to everie severall Congregatioun, to Elect thair Minister: And in caise that thai be fundin negligent thairin the space of fourty dayis, the best reformed kirk, to wit, the churche of the Superintendent with his Counsall, may present unto thame a man quhom thai juge apt to feade the flock of Christ Jesus, who must be examinated alsweill in lyiff and maneris, as in doctryne and knawlege.

And that this may be done with moir exact diligence, the personis that ar to be examinated must be commanded to compeir[2] befoir men of soundest jugement, remanying in some principall towne nyxt adjacent unto thame; as thai that be in Fyffe, Anguss, Mernyss, or Straytherne, to present thame selfis in Sanctandrois; those that be in Lowthiane, Merse, or Teviotdaill, to Edinburgh; and likewise those that be in other countreis mon resorte to the best reformed citeis or townis, that is, to the citie[3] of the Superintendent; quhair first in the scoillis, or failling thairof in open assemblie, and befoir the congregatioun, thai most geve declaratioun of thair

[1] In edit. 1722, Chap. IV.

[2] In Vautr. ed., and ed. 1621, "appeire."

[3] In edit. 1621, "the best reformed citie and toune, that is, to the towne."

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giftis, utterance, and knawlege, by interpreting some place of Scripture to be appointed be the ministerie. Quhilk being ended, the persone that is presented, or that offered him self to the administratioun of the kirk, must be examined by the ministeris and elderis of the kirk, and that opinlie and befoir all that list to hear, in all the cheif pointes that now lie in contraversie betwix us and the Papistis, Anabaptistis, Arrians, or other suche ennemies to the Christiane religioun. In quhilk gif he be found sound, abill to persuade by hailsome doctryne, and to convince the gaynsayaris, then must he be directed to the Kirk and Congregatioun quhair he suld serve, that thair, in oppin audience of his flock, in diverse publict sermonis, he may gif confession of his faith in the articles of Justificatioun, of the office of Christ Jesus, of the nomber, effect, and use of the Sacraments; and, finallie, of the hoill religioun, quhilk heirtofoir hath bene corrupted by the Papistis.

Gif his doctrine be found holesome, and able to instruct the simple, and if the Kirk justlye can reprehend nothing in his lyiff, doctryne, nor utterance, then we juge the Kirk, quhilk befoir wes destitute, unreasonabill if thai refuse him quhom the Kirk did offer; and that thai suld be compelled, by the censure of the Counsall and Kirk, to receive the persone appoynted and approvin by the jugement of the godlie and lerned; unless that the same Kirk have presented a man better or alsweill qualifeid to the examinatioun, befoir that this foirsaid tryell wes takin of the persone presented by the counsall of the hoile Kirk. As, for example, the Counsall of the Kirk presentis to any kirk a man to be thair minister, not knawing that thai ar utherwayis provided: in the meyntyme, the Kirk is provided of ane uther, sufficient in thair jugement for that charge, quhom thai present to the lerned Ministeris and next reformed Kirk to be examinated. In this case the presentatioun of the Pepill, to quhom he suld be appointed pastour, must be

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preferred to the presentatioun of the Counsall or greater Kirk; unless the persone presented by the inferiour Kirk be juged unabill for the regiment by the lerned. For altogither this is to be avoided, that any man be violentlie intrused[1] or thrust in upoun any Congregatioun. But this libertie with all cair must be reserved till everie severall Kirk, to have thair votis and suffragis in electioun of thair Ministeris. But violent intrusioun we call nott, quhen the Counsall of the Kirk, in the feare of God, and for the salvatioun of the pepill, offereth unto thame a sufficient man to instruct thame; quhom thai sall not be forced to admitt befoir just examinatioun, as befoir is said.

II. Quhat may unable ony persoun, that he may nott be admitted to the Ministerie of the Kirk.

It is to be observed that na persone, noted with publict infamye, or being unabill to edifie the Kirk by hailsome doctrine, or being knawin of corrupt jugement, be eather promoted to the regiment of the Kirk, or yit receaved[2] in Ecclesiasticall administratioun.

Explicatioun.

By publict Infamye we understand, nott the commoun synnes and offences quhilk any hes committit in tyme of blindnes, by fragilite; (gif of the same, by a better and more sober conversatioun, he hath declared him self verielie penitent;) but suche capitall crymes as the civile swerd aucht and may punishe with deith by the wourd of God. For besydis that the Apostill requyreth the lyif of Ministeris to be so irreprehensible, that thai have a gude testimonye from those that be without; we juge it a thing unseimlie and dangerouse, that he sall have publict authoritie, to preiche to utheris the lyiff

[1] In Vautr. edit., and edit. 1621, "intruded."

[2] In Vautr. edit., and edit. 1621, "or yet retained."

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everlasting, from quhom the civile Magistrat may tak the lyiff temporall for a cryme publictlie committed: And gif ony object, That the Prince hes pardoned his offence, and that he hes publictlie repented, and so is not onlie his lyiff[1] in assurance, but also that he may be receaved to the Ministerie of the Kirk; we answer, That repentance dois nott tak away the temporall punishment of the law, neither doth the pardon of the Prince remove his infamye befoir man.

That the lyiff and conversatioun of the persone presented, or to be elected, may be the more cleirlie knawin, publict Edictis must be[2] directed to all partis of this Realme, or at the leist to those partis quhair the persone hath bene most conversant: as quhair he wes nurischit in letteris, or quhair he contineuit from the yeiris of infancie and childhood war passed. Strait commandiment wald be gevin, that if any capital crymes wer committit by him, that thai suld be notified; as, gif he hath committit wilfull murther, adulterie, a commoun fornicatour, gif he war[3] a theiff, a druncard, a feychtar, brawlar, or contentious persone. These Edictis aucht to be notified in the cheiff cities, with the lyik charge and commandiment, with declaratioun that suche as concealled his synnes knawin, did deceave and betray (so far as in them lay) the Kirk, quhilk is the spous of Jesus Christ, and did communicate with the synnes of that wicked man.

III. Admissioun [of Ministers.]

The admissioun of Ministeris to thair offices, must consist in consent of the pepill and Kirk quhairto thai salbe appointed, and in approbation of the learned Ministeris appointed for thair examinatioun.

We juge it expedient, that the admissioun of Ministeris be

[1] In edit. 1621, "and so not only his life is."

[2] In edit. 1621, "should be."

[3] In edit. 1621, the words transposed, "if he were a common fornicator." Vautr. edit. corresponds with the text.

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in opin audience; that some especiall Minister mak a sermon tuiching the deutie and office of Ministeris, tuiching thair manneris, conversatioun, and lyif; as also tuiching the obedience quhilk the Kirk aw[1] to thair Ministeris. Commandiment suld be gevin alsweill to the Minister as unto the peple, boyth being present, to witt, that he with all cairfull diligence attend upone the flock of Christ Jesus, over the quhilk he is appointed preacher:[2] that he [will] walk in the presence of God so synceirlie, that the graces of the Holie Spreit may be multiplyed into him; and in the presence of men so sobirlie and uprychtlie, that his lyiff may confirme, in the eyis of men, that quhilk by toung and wourd he persuaded unto utheris. The people wald be exhorted to reverence and honour thair Ministers chosin, as the servandis and ambassadouris of the Lord Jesus, obeying the commandiments quhilk thai pronunce from Goddis mouth and buyk,[3] evin as thai wald obey God him self; for quhosoevir heareth Christis Ministeris heareth him self, and quhosoevir rejecteth thame, [and] dispyseth thair ministerie and exhortatioun, rejecteth and dispyseth Christ Jesus.

Other ceremonie then the publict approbatioun of the peple, and declaratioun of the cheiff minister, that the persone thair presented is appoynted to serve that Kirk, we can nott approve; for albeit the Apostillis used the impositioun of handis, yet seing the mirakle is ceassed, the using of the ceremonie we juge is nott necessarie.

The Minister elected or presented, examinated,[4] and, as said is, publictlie admitted, man neather leave the floke at his plesour, to the quhilk he hes promissit his fidelitie and lawbouris; neather yit may the floke reject nor change him at thair appetite, unless thai be abill to convict him of suche crymes as deserve depositioun; quhairof we sall after speik.

[1] In Vautr. edit., and edit. 1621, "which the church oweth."

[2] In edit. 1621, "pastor."

[3] In edit. 1621, "they pronounce from God's word."

[4] In edit. 1621, "examined."

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We meane nott bot that the hole Kirk, or the most parte thairof, for just considerationis, may transfer a Minister frome one kirk to another; neather yit meane we, that men quho now do serve as it wer of benevolence may nott be appointed and elected to serve in other places; but onis being solemndlie elected and admitted, we can not approve that thai suld change at thair awin plesour.

We are not ignorant, that the raritie of godlie and learned men sall seme to some a just reassone quhy that so strait and scharpe examinatioun suld not be takin universallie; for so it sall appeir, that the most parte of [the] Kirkis sall haif no Minister at all: But let these men understand, that the lack of able men sall nott excuse us befoir God, gif by oure consent unable men be placed over the floke of Christ Jesus; as also that amangis the Gentilles, godlie, learned men war als rare[1] as thai be now amangis us, quhen the Apostill gave the same reul to try and examyne Ministeris, quhilk we now follow: And last, lat thame understand that it is alike to have no minister at all, and to have an idole in the place of a treu minister, yea and in some case, it is worse; for those that be utterlie destitute of ministeris wilbe diligent to search for them; but those that have a vane schaddow, do commonlie without farther cair content thame selfis with the same, and so remane thai continewallie deceaved, thinking that thai have a Minister, quhen in verray deid thai have none. For we can nott juge him a dispensatour of Goddis mysteries, that in no wyise can breke the breid of lyif to the faynting and hungrie saulis; neather juge we that the Sacramentis can be rychtlie ministred by him, in quhais mouth God hes put no sermon of exhortatioun.

The cheiffest remedy left till your Honouris and to us, in all this raritie of trew ministeris, is fervent prayer unto God, that it will pleis his mercye to thrust out faithfull warkmen in

[1] In edit. 1621, "and learned men were also rare."

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this his harvest;[1] and nyxt, that your Honouris, with consent of the Kirk, are bound by your authoritie to compell suche men as have giftis and graces able to edifie the Kirk of God, that thai bestow thame quhair greittest necessitie salbe knawin; for no man may be permittit to leve idill, or as thame self list, but must be appointed to travell quhair your Wisdomes and the Kirk sall think expedient.

We can nott prescryve unto your Honouris certane reull how that ye sall distribute the ministeris and lerned men, quhom God hes alreddy send unto you. But heirof we ar assured, that it greitlie hindereth the progress of Christis Evangell within this poore Realme, that some altogither abstract thair lawbouris from the Kirk, and utheris remane togither[2] in one place, the most parte of thame being idill. And thairfoir of your Honouris we requyre in Goddis name, that by your auctoritie quhilk ye have of God, ye compell all men to quhom God hes gevin ony talent to persuade, by holsome doctrine, to bestow the same, gif thai be called be the Kirk to the advancement of Christis glorie, and to the conforte of his trublit flock; and that ye, with the consent of the Kirk, assigne unto your cheiffest workmen, not onlie townis to remane into, but also provinces, that be thair faithfull lawbouris kirkis may be erected, and ordour established, quhair none is now. And gif on this maner ye will use your power and auctoritie, cheiflie seiking Goddis glorie, and the conforte of your brethrein, we doubt not but God sall bliss you and your interprisses.

IV. For Readaris.

To the Kirkis[3] quhair no ministeris can be haid presentlie, must be appointed the most apt men, that distinctlie can read

[1] In edit. 1621, "to thurst forth faithfull workmen into this his harvest."

[2] In edit. 1621, "altogether."

[3] In edition 1621, "Kirk" and "kirkis," are uniformly "Church" and "churches," throughout a considerable portion of this book; but see note 2, page 201.

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the Commoune Prayeris[1] and the Scripturis, to exercise boyth thame selfis and the kirk, till thai growe to greattar perfectioun; and in process of tyme he that is but ane Readar may atteane to the further gree,[2] and by consent of the kirk and discreit ministeris, may be permittit to minister the sacramentis; but not befoir that he be able somequhat to persuade by holsome doctrine, besydis his reading, and be admitted to the ministerie, as before is said. Some we knaw that of long tyme have professed Christ Jesus, quhose honest conversatioun deserved praise of all godlie men, and quhose knawledge also mycht greatlie help the simple, and yit thai onlie content thame selfis with reading. These must be animated, and by gentle admonitioun incuraged, by some exhortatioun to conforte thair brethrein, and so thai may be admitted to administratioun of the sacramentis. But suche Readeris as neather have haid exercise, nor continuance in Christis trew religioun, must abstene from ministratioun of the sacramentis, till thai geve declaratioun and witnessing of thair honestie and farther knawlege.

* ADDITIO. *For The Lordis thinkis, That nane be admitted to preche,[3] but thai that ar qualifiet thairfoir, but rather be reteaned readaris; and sick as ar prechearis alreaddy, not fundin qualifiet thairfoir be the Superintendent, be placed to be readaris.

THE FYFT HEID, CONCERNYING THE PROVISIOUN FOR THE MINISTERIS, AND FOR THE DISTRIBUTIOUN OF THE RENTIS AND POSSESSIONIS JUSTLIE APPERTENYNG TO THE KIRK.[4]

Seing that of our Maister Christ Jesus and his Apostle Paule, we have, "That the warkman is worthy of his reward,"

[1] That is, the Prayers that were usually printed with the Book of Common Order, and the Psalms in metre.

[2] In edit. 1621, "to a farther degree;" Vautr. edit. is the same as the text.

[3] The edit. 1621, takes no notice of this sentence having been added; and thus connects it with the preceding words, "honestie and further knowledge, that none be admitted to preach," &c. Vautr edit. is nearly the same with the text.

[4] In edit. 1722, Chap. V.

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and that, "The mouth of the lawboring oxe aucht nott to be muzilled," of necessitie it is, that honest provisioun be maid for the Ministeris, quhilk we requyre to be suche, that thai haif neather occasioun of sollicitude, neather yit of insolencie and wantoness. And this provisioun must be maid not onlie for thair awin sustentatioun, during thair lyiffes, but also for thair wiffis and childrene efter thame. For we juge it a thing most contrariouse to reassone, godlines, and equitie, that the wedow and childrene of him, quho in[1] his lyiff did faithfullie serve[2] the Kirk of God, and for that caus did not cairfullie mak provisioun for his familie, suld, efter his deith, be left confortles of all provisioun.

*Provisioun for the Wyffis of Ministeris efter thair deceise, to be remittit to the discretioun of the Kirk.[3] *ADDITIO.

Difficill it is to appoint a severall stipend to everie Minister, be reassoun that the chargis and necessitie of all will not be licke; for some wilbe contenewaris in one place, some wilbe compellit to travell, and oft to change dwelling place, (gif thai sall have charge of diverse kirkis.) Amangis these, some wilbe burdened with wyiff and childrein, and one with mo then ane other; and some perchance wilbe single men: Gif equall stipendis suld be appointed to all those that in charge ar so inequall, eather suld the one suffer penurie, or ellis suld the uther have superfluitie and too muche.

*We juge, thairfor, that everie Minister have sufficient quhairupoun to keip ane house, and be sustened honestlie in all thingis necessarie, alsweill for keiping of his house, as claithis, flesche, fische, buykis, [fewell,] and other thingis necessarie, [furth] of the rentis and thesaurie[4] of the kirk, *ADDITIO.

[1] Vautrollier's suppressed edition breaks off at the foot of page 560, with these words, "the widow and the children of him who in." See vol. i. pp. xxxi. xxxix.-xlii.

[2] In edit. 1621, "serve in."

[3] This addition is in the margin of the MS. It is taken into the text in edit. 1621, without notice, and reads as follows: "be left comfortles of all provision; which provision for the wives," &c., "is to be," &c.

[4] In MS. 1566, "the same;" in edit. 1621, "and treasurie."

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[where he serveth,] at the discretioun of the congregatioun, conforme to the qualitie of the persone and necessitie of the tyme. Quhairin it is thocht [good] that everie Minister sall have at leist fourtie bollis meill, and twenty-six bollis malt, to find his house breid and drink; and mair, sa mekill[1] as the discretioun of the Kirk findis necessarie; besydes money for buying of uther provisioun to his house, and other necessaries, the modificatioun quhairof is referred to the jugement of the kirk, to be maid everie yeir at the chosing of the eldaris and deaconis of the kirk. Providing alwayis, that thair be advanced to everie minister sufficient provisioun for ane quarter of ane yeir befoir hand of all thingis.

To him[2] that travelleth from place to place, quhom we call Superintendentis, quho remane as it war a moneth or less in one place, for the establishing of the kirk, and for the same purpoise changeing to ane uther place, must farther[3] consideratioun be haid. And, thairfoir, to suche we think sax chalder beir, nyne chalder meill, thre chalder aittis for his horse, v^c markis[4] money, to be eikkit and pared at the discretioun of the Prince and Counsall of the Realme; to be payit to him yeirlie, in maner foirsaid.

The children of the Ministeris must have the liberties of the citeis next adjacent, quhair thair fatheris lawbored, frelie granted. Thai must[5] have the privileges in sculis, and bursis[6] in collegis; that is, that thai salbe susteaned at learnyng, gif thai be found apt therto; and failing thairof that thai be put to some handycraft, or exercised in some verteouse industrie, quhairby thai may be profitable membres in a commoun wealth.

* ADDITIO. *And the same we requyre for thair douchteris; to wit,

[1] In edit. 1621, "and more so much."
[2] In edit. 1621, "But to him."
[3] In edit. 1621, the words "place," and "farther," are omitted.
[4] The edit. 1621, omits the words "for his horse;" and makes it "six hundreth merkes money."
[5] In MS. 1566, "must," is usually written "most."
[6] In edit. 1621, "bursissis."

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that thai be verteouslie brocht up, and honestlie doted quhen thai come to maturitie of yeiris, at the discretioun of the Kirk.

And this in Goddis presence we witness, we requyre nott so muche for oure selfis, or for any that till us apperteneth, as that we do for the encrease of vertew and learnyng, and for the proffeit of the posteritie to come. It is nott to be supposed that all man[1] will dedicat him self and childrene so to God, and to serve his kirk, that thai luyke for no warldlie commoditie. But this cankered nature quhilk we beare, is provokit to follow vertew quhen it seith honour and profeit annexit to the same;[2] as, contrairlie, then is vertew of mony despised, quhen verteouse and godlie men leve without honour. And sorye wuld we be that povertie suld discourage men from studye, and from following the way of vertew, by the quhilk thai mycht edifie the kirk and flock of Christ Jesus.

Nothing have we spokin of the stipend of Readaris, becaus, gif thai can do nothing but reade, thai neather can be called nor jugit trew ministeris: And yit regard must be haid to thair lawbouris; but so that thai may be spurred fordwart to vertew, and nott by a stipend appointed for thair reading, to be reteaned still in that estait. To a Readare thairfor that is laitlie enterit, we think fourty markis, or mair or less, as the Parochenaris and Readaris can agree, sufficient: providing that he teiche the childrene of the parische, quhilk he must do, besydis the reading of the Commoun Prayeris,[3] and buykis of the New and Auld Testamentis. Gif frome Reading he begin to Exhorte[4] and explane the Scriptures, then aucht his stipend to be augmented; till finallie he come to the honour of a Minister: But and gif he be found unable efter two yeiris, then must he be removed from that office, and dischargit of all stipend, that another may be provin als lang.

[1] In edit. 1621, "any man."

[2] In edit. 1621, "when it seeth profite and honour thereto annexed; and."

[3] See note 1, page 196.

[4] There were persons styled Exhorters, employed in the Church about this time: see next paragraph.

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For this alwayis is to be avoyded, that none quho is jugit unabill to come at ony tyme to some reasonable knawlege, quhairby he may edifie the Kirk, sall perpetuallie be nurisshed[1] upone the charge of the kirk. Farther, it must be avoided, that no child or persone within aige, that is, within xxj yeir of aige, be admitted to the office of a Readare; but Readaris aucht to be endewed with gravitie, witt, and discretioun, lest be thair lychtness the Prayeris or Scripturis read be of less price and estimatioun. It is to be noted, that the Readaris be putt in by the Kirk, and admissioun of the Superintendent.

NOTA. The other sorte of Readaris, quho have long continewed in godliness, and have some gift of Exhortatioun, quho are in hope to atteane to the degree of a minister, and teche the childrene; we think ane hundreth markis, or mair[2] at the discretioun of the Kirk, may be appointed; so that difference, as said is, be betwix thame and the ministeris that openlie preche the Word, and minister the Sacramentis.

Restis yit other two sortis of peple to be provided for, of that quhilk is called the patrimonye of the Kirk; to wit, the Poore, and Teachearis of the youtheid. Every severall Kirk must provide for the poore within the self; for fearful and horrible it is, that the poore, quhom nott onlie God the Father in his law, but Christ Jesus in his evangell, and the Holie Spreit speaking by Sanct Paule, hath so earnestlie commended to oure cayre, ar universallie so contempned and dispysed. We ar nott patronis for stubburne and idill beggaris, quho, rynning from place to place, mak a craft of thair beggyng, quhom the Civile Magistrat aucht to punyshe;[3] but for the wedow and fatherless, the aiged, impotent, or laymed, quho neather can nor may travell for thair sustentatioun, we say, that God commandeth his pepill to be cairfull; and thairfor, for

[1] In edit. 1621, "shall be perpetually sustained."

[2] In edit. 1621, "or mair or less."

[3] The edit. 1722, supplies the words, "ought to [compell to work, or then] punish."

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suche, as also for personis of honestie fallin in[to] decay and penuritie,[1] aucht suche provisioun[2] be maid, that [of] oure aboundance should thair indigence be releaved. How this most convenientlie and most easilie may be done in everie citie, and uthir partis of this Realme, God shall schaw you wisdome and the meanis, so that youre myndis be godlie thairto inclyned. All must not be suffered to beg that gladlie so wald do; neather yit most beggeris remane whare thei chuse;[3] but the stout and strong beggar must be compelled to wirk, and everie persoun that may nocht wirk, must be compelled to repair to the place whare he or scho was born, (unles of long continuance thai have remaned in one place,) and thair reassonable provisioun must be maid for thair sustentatioun, as the Churche shall appoint. The ordour nor soumes, in oure judgementis, can nott be particularlie appointed, unto suche tyme as the poore of everie citie, toun, or parrishe, be compelled to repair to the places whaire thei war borne, or of thair residences, whaire thair names and nomber must be tackin and put in roll; and then may the wisdome of the Kirk appoint stipendis accordinglye.

I. Off the Superintendentis.[4]

Becaus we have appointed ane largear stipend to these that shalbe Superintendentis then to the rest of the Ministeris, we have thocht goode to signifie unto your Honouris, suche reas-

[1] In edit. 1621, "fallen into decay and poverty."

[2] In this place of the MS. 1566, a blank space occurs, at the conclusion of one of the re-written quires, with the catchword "*such provi-*," in connexion with the top of the next quire, which is written in a kind of official square hand, and was probably a portion of the copy laid before the Convention, in January 1561. Instead of "Kirk," it will be observed that the word "Church" is now employed; and curiously enough, in Calderwood's edition, 1621, this is reversed, and "Church," which had hitherto been used, gives place to "Kirk."

[3] In edit. 1621, "where they would."

[4] In edit. 1621, "The Head of the Superintendents." In edit. 1722, Chap. VI.

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sonis as moved us to mak difference betwix preachearis at this tyme; as also how many Superintendentis we think necessarie, with thair boundis, office, [the manner of their] electioun, and causses that may deserve depositioun frome that charge.

We considder that yf the Ministeris whome God hath endewed with his [singular] graces amangis us, should be appointed to severall and certane placis, thair to mak thair continuall residence, that then the greatest part off this Realme should be destitute of all doctrine; whiche should not onlie be occasioun of greate murmure, but also should be dangerus to the salvatioun of manye. And thairfore we have thocht it a thing most expedient for this tyme, that frome the whole nomber of godlie and learned [men], now presentlie in this Realme, be selected twelf or ten, (for in sa mony Provincis have we divideit the hoill,) to whome charge and commandiment shalbe gevin[1] to plant and erect churches, to set ordour and appoint ministeris (as the formar Ordour prescribeth) to the contreis that sall be appointed to thair cayre whaire none ar now; and by these meannis [your] luff and common caire ower all the inhabitantis of this Realme (to quhome ye ar equall debttouris) shall evidentlie appeare; as also the simpill and ignorant (who perchance have never heard Christ Jesus trewlie preached) shall come to some knawlege, by the which manye that now be deid in superstitioun and ignorance shall atteane to some fealling of godlynes, by the whiche thei may be provocked to searche and seik farther knawledge of God, and his trew religioun and wirschipping. Whaire be the contrarie, yf thei shalbe neglected, thei shall not onlie grudge, but also thei shall seik the meanis whairby thei may continew in thair blindnes, or returne to thair accustumed idolatrie. And thairfore no thing desire we more earnistlie, then that Christ Jesus be universallie once preached throuchout this Realme; whiche shall not suddanlie be unles that by you, men be appointed

[1] In edit. 1621, "ten or twelve," &c., and "and should be given."

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and compelled faithfullie to travell in suche Provinces as to thame shall be assignit.

II. The Names of the Placis of Residence, and severall Diocesses of the Superintendentis.

Imprimis, the Superintendent of Orknay: whose Diocesye shalbe to the Ylis of Orknay, Sheitland, Caithnes,[1] and Straythnaver. His residence to be in the Toun of Kirkwall.

2. The Superintendent of Ross; whose Diocesye shall comprehend Ross, Suthirland, Murray, with the North Ylis of the Sky, and the Lewis, with thair adjacentis. His residence to be in Channonrie of Ross.

3. The Superintendent of Ergile; whose Diocesye shall comprehend Argile, [Kyntyre,] Lorne, the South Ylis, Arrane [and] Bute, with thair adjacents, with Lochquhaber. His residence to be in [Argyle.]

4. The Superintendent of Abirdene; whose Diocesye is betwix Dee and Spay, conteanand the schirefdome of Abirdene and Bamff. His residence to be in Auld Abirdene.

5. The Superintendent of Brechin; whose Diocesye shalbe the hole schirefdomes of Mearnis and Anguss, and the Bray of Mar to Dee. His residence to be in Brechin.

6. The Superintendent of Sanctandrois; whose Diocesye shall comprehend the hoill schirefdome of Fyffe[2] and Fotheringhame, to Striveling; and the hoill schirefdome of Perth. His residence to be in Sanctandrois.

7. The Superintendent of Edinburght; whose Diocesye shall comprehend the hoill schirefdomes of Lowthiane, and Striveling on the south syde of the Watter of Forth;[3] and thairto is added, by consent of the hoill Churche, Mersse, Lauderdaill, and Weddell. His residence to be in [Edinburgh.]

[1] In edit. 1621, "whose diocesse shall comprehend the Isles Orknay, Zetland, and Caithnes," &c.

[2] In edit. 1621, part of this sentence is omitted: it reads "The Superintendent of Fiffe and Fotheringhame to Stirling."

[3] See following note, page 204.

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8. The Superintendent of Jedburgh; whose Diocesye shall comprehend Thevedaill, Tweddell, Liddisdaill,[1] with the Forrest of Ethrick. His residence to be [Jedburgh.]

9. The Superintendent of Glasgow; whose Diocesye shall comprehend Cliddisdale, Renfrew, Menteith, Levinax, Kyle, and Cunynghame. His residence to be in Glasgow.

10. The Superintendent of Dumfriese; whose Diocesye sall comprehend Galloway, Carrik, Niddisdaill, Annanderdaill, with the rest of the Daillis in the West. His residence to be in Drumfreise.

Those men must not be sufferred to leave as your idill Bischopis have done heirtofore; neather most thei remane whaire gladlie thei wald: But thei must be preachearis thame selves, and suche as may mak no long residence in ony one place, till thair Churches be[2] planted and provided of Ministers, or at the leist of Reidaris.

Charge must be gevin to thame that thei remane in no one place above twenty or threttye[3] dayis in thair visitatioun, till thei have passed throucht thair hoill boundis. Thei must thryise everie weake at the least preache; and when thei returne to thair principall town and residence, thei must be likewise exercisit in preacheing and in edificatioun of the Churche thaire; and yet thei must not be suffered to continew thair so long, as thei may seame to neglect thaire uthir Churches: but efter that thei have remaned in thair cheif toun thre or four monethis at most, thei shall be compelled (onles be seiknes onlie thei be reteaned,) to re-enter in visitatioun, in which thei shall not onlie preache, but also examyn the life, diligence, and behaviour of the Ministeris; as also the

[1] The words after "the Watter of Forth," in clause 7, are transferred to this clause, in edit. 1621: it reads, "whose Diocesse shall comprehend the whole Tivitdail, Tweedaill, Liddisdail, and thereto is added by consent of the whole Kirk, the Merse, Lawderdaill and Weddaill, with the Forrest of Ettrick."

[2] In edit. 1621, "may not make long residence in any place till thair kirkis."

[3] The words "or threttye," (thirty,) omitted in edit. 1621.

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ordour of thaire Churches, [and] the maneris of the people. Thei must farther consider how the poore be provided: how the youth be instructed: thei must admonische whaire admonitioun neidith, dresse suche thingis as by goode counsall thei be able to appease: and, finalie, thei must note suche crymes as be haynouse, that by the censure of the Church the same may be corrected.

Yf the Superintendent be fund negligent in any of these cheaf pointis of his office, and especiallie yf he be noted negligent in preacheing of the word, and in visitatioun of his Churches; or yf he be convict of ony of those crymis, which in the common Ministeris ar dampned, he must be deposit, without respect of his persoun or office.

III. Off the Electioun of Superintendentis.

In this present necessitie, the nominatioun, examinatioun, and admissioun of Superintendentis, can not be so strait as we require, and as afterward it must be.

For this present, thairfore, we think sufficient that eathes your Honouris, by your selves, nominat sa mony as may serve the fore-written provincis; or that ye gyff commissioun to suche men, as in whome ye suppoise the feir of God [to be] to do the same; and that the same men being called in your presence shalbe by you, and by suche as your Honouris please call unto you for consultatioun in that case, appointed to thair provinces. We think it expedient and necessarie, that als weill the gentilmen, as burgesses of everie diocese, be maid privie at the same tyme to the electioun of the Superintendent, alsweill to bring the Churche in sum practise of hir libertie, as to mak the pastor better favorit of the flocke whome thame selves have chosin. Yff your Honouris can not find for this present sa many able men as the necessitie requireth, then, in our judgementis, more proffitable it is that those provincis vaik till God provide better, than that men unabill to edifie and

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goverue the Churche be suddanlie placit in that charge. For experience hath taught us,[1] what pestilence hath bene engendred in the Church by men unabill to discharge thair offices.

When, thairfore, after thre yeiris any Superintendent shall departe, or chance to be deposed, the cheaf town within that province, to wit, the Ministeris, Elders, and Deaconis, with the Magistrat and Counsall of the same town, shall nominat, and by publict edictis proclame, alsweill to the Superintendent, as to twa or thre provinces nixt adjacent, two or thre of the most learned and most godlie Ministeris within the hole realme, that frome amangis thame, one with publict consent may be electit and appointed to the office then vaiking: and this the cheaf Town shall be bound to do within the terme of twenty dayis. Whiche being expired and no man presented, then shall thre of the nixt adjacent provincis, with consent of thair Superintendentis, Ministeris, and Elderis, enter in into the rycht and priviledgeis of the cheaf town, and shall present everie one of thame one, or two yf thei list, to the cheaf town, to be examinated as the Ordour requireth. As also, it shalbe lauchfull for all the churches of the Diocesye to nominat within the same tyme suche personis as thei think worthye to stand in electioun; which man be put in edict.[2]

After the nominationis be maid, publict edictis must be send, first warnyng all men that have any objectioun[3] againis the personis nominatit, or against ony ane of thame, to be present in the cheaf toun at day and place affixit, to object what thei can against the electioun of any one of thame. Threttye dayis we think sufficient to be assigned thairto; thretty dayis, we meane, after that the nominatioun be maid.

Whiche day of electioun being come, the hoill Ministeris of

[1] In edit. 1621, "hath teached us."
[2] In edit. 1621, "Electioun, who all must be put in an Edict."
[3] In edit. 1621, "sent forth, warning all men that have any exception."

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that Province, with thre or mo[1] of the Superintendentis nixt adjacent, or that sall thairto be named,[2] shall examyn not onlie the learnying, but also the maneris, prudence, and habilitie to governe the Churche, of all those that ar nominat; that he who shallbe fund most worthye, may be burdened with the charge. Yff the Ministeris of the whole Province should bring with them the voitis of those that war committit to thair caire, the electioun should be the more fre; bot alwayis, the voitis of all those that convene must be requirit.[3] The examinationis must be publictlie maid; those that stand in electioun must publictlie preache; and men must be chargeit in the name of God, to voit according to conscience, and not efter affectioun. Yf ony thing be objectit against any that stand[4] in electioun, the Superintendentis and Ministeris must considder whether the objectioun be maid of conscience or of malice, and thei must ansueir accordinglie. Other ceremonies then scharp examinatioun, approbatioun of the Ministeris and Superintendentis, with the publict consent of the Elderis and People, then present,[5] we can not allow.

The Superintendent being electit, and appointed to his charge, must be subjected to the censur and correctioun of the Ministeris and Elderis, not onlie of his cheaf Toun, but also of the hoill Province over the whiche he is appointed oversear.

Yf his offencis[6] be knawin, and the Ministeris and Elderis of his Province[7] be negligent in correcting him, then the nixt one or two Superintendentis, with thair Ministeris and Elderis, may convene him, and the Ministeris and Elderis of his cheaf toun, (provideit that it be within his awin Province or cheaf toun,) and may accuse and correct alsweale the Superinten-

[1] In edit. 1621, "with three or foure."

[2] In edit. 1621, "or that shall be thereto nominated."

[3] In edit. 1621, "the votes of them that convene should be required."

[4] In edit. 1621, "against him that standeth."

[5] Edit. 1621, omits "the present."

[6] In edit, 1621, "his offence."

[7] In edit. 1621, "Elders of the Toun and Province."

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dent in those thingis that ar worthy of correctioun, as the Ministeris and Elderis for thair negligence and ungodlie tollerance of his offencis.

Whatsoever cryme deserve correctioun or depositioun of any other minister, deserveth the samin in the Superintendent, without exceptioun of persoun.

After that the Churche be establischeit,[1] and thre yeiris be passed, we require that na man be callit to the office of a Superintendent, who hath not tuo yeiris at the leist gevin declaratioun of his faithfull lawbouris in the ministerie of some churche.[2]

No Superintendent may be transferrit at the plesour or requeist of ony one Province; no, not without the consent of the whole counsall of the Churche, and that for grave causses and considderationis.

Off one thing, in the end, we must admonische your Honouris, to wit, that in appointing Superintendentis for this present, ye disappoint not your cheaf Tounis, and whair learning is exercised, of suche ministeris as more may proffit be residence in one place, than be continewall travell frome place to place: For if ye so do, the youth in those placis shall lacke the profound interpretatioun of the Scripturis; and so shall it be long before that your gardenis send furth many plantis; whair by the contrarie, yf one or tuo tounis be continewallie exercised as thei may, the Commoun-wealth shall schortlie taist of thair fruct,[3] to the confort of the godlie.

For the Schollis.[4]

Seeing that the office and dewtie of the godlie Magistrat is nocht onlie to purge the Churche of God from all supersti-

[1] In edit. 1621, "Kirk is established."
[2] In edit. 1621, "in the ministrie of the same Kirk."
[3] In edit. 1621, "feast of their fruit."
[4] In edit. 1722, "Chap. VII. Of Schools [and Universities.]"

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tioun, and to set it at libertie from bondage of tyrranis;[1] but also to provide, to the uttermost of his power, how it may abide in the same puritie to the posteriteis[2] following; we can not but frelie[3] communicat our judgementis with your Honouris in this behalf.

I. The necessitie of Schollis.[4]

Seing that God hath determined that his Churche heir in earth, shallbe tawght not be angellis but by men; and seing that men ar born ignorant of all godlynes; and seing, also, now God ceassith[5] to illuminat men miraculuslie, suddanlie changeing thame, as that he did his Apostlis and utheris in the Primitive Churche: off necessitie it is that your Honouris be most cairfull for the virtuous educatioun, and godlie upbringing of the youth of this Realme, yf eathir ye now thirst unfeanedlie [for] the advancement of Christis glorie, or yit desire the continewance of his benefits to the generatioun following. For as the youth must succeed till us, so aucht we to be cairfull that thei have the knawlege and eruditioun, to proffit and confort that whiche aucht to be most deare to us, to wit, the Churche and Spouse of the Lord Jesus.

Off necessitie thairfore we judge it, that everie severall Churche have a Scholmaister[6] appointed, suche a one as is able, at least, to teache Grammer and the Latine toung, yf the Toun be of any reputatioun. Yf it be Upaland, whaire the people convene to doctrine bot once in the weeke, then must eathir the Reidar or the Minister thair appointed, take cayre

[1] In edit. 1621, "from tyranny and bondage."

[2] In edit. 1621, "in some purity in the posterity."

[3] In edit. 1621, "we can but freely."

[4] In the present edition, the subdivisions have been numbered, I., II., &c. The Editor of the Collection of Confessions, in 1722, has not only numbered the chapters and sub-divisions, but also the paragraphs of each chapter.

[5] In edit. 1621, "ignorant of God and of all godliness, and seing also he ceasses."

[6] In edit. 1621, "Kirk have one."

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over the children and youth of the parische, to instruct them in thair first rudimentis, and especiallie in the Catechisme,[1] as we have it now translaited in the Booke of our Common Ordour, callit the Ordour of Geneva.[2] And farther, we think it expedient, that in everie notable toun, and especiallie in the toun of the Superintendent, [there] be erected a Colledge, in whiche the Artis, at least Logick and Rethorick, togidder with the Tongues, be read be sufficient Maisteris, for whome honest stipendis must be appointed: as also provisioun for those that be poore, and be nocht able by them selfis, nor by thair freindis, to be sustened at letteris, especiallie suche as come frome Landwart.

The frute and commoditie heirof shall suddanlie appeare. For, first, the youtheid and tender children sall be nurischit and brocht up in virtue, in presence of thair freindis; by whose good attendence many inconvenientis may be avoided, in the which the youth commonlie fallis, eathir by too muche[3] libertie, whiche thei have in strange and unknawin placis, whill thei can not rule them selfis; or ellis for lacke of gude attendence, and of suche necessiteis as thair tender aige requireth. Secoundarlie, The exercise of the children in everie Churche shall be great instructioun to the aigeit.[4]

Last, The great Schollis callit Universiteis, shallbe repleanischit with those that be apt to learnyng; for this must

[1] That is, the translation of Calvin's Catechism: see subsequent note.

[2] It was so named from having been compiled for the use of the English congregation at Geneva, while Knox was minister there. It bears this title: "The Forme of Prayers and Ministration of the Sacraments, &c., used in the English Churche at Geneva," &c. From Knox's share in this book of Common Order, it will be included in a subsequent volume of his Works. Having been subsequently approved and received by the Church of Scotland, the Geneva edition of 1558 was reprinted at Edinburgh in 1562; and it continued with occasional alterations, to be prefixed to most editions of the old metrical version of the Psalms, printed in this country. The translation of Calvin's Catechism, first reprinted at Edinburgh in 1564, was also usually adjoined to the volume.

[3] In edit. 1621, "over much."

[4] In edit. 1722, "to the aged and unlearned."

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be cairfullie provideit, that no fader, of what estait or conditioun that ever he be, use his children at his awin fantasie, especiallie in thair youth-heade; but all must be compelled to bring up thair children in learnyng and virtue.

The riche and potent may not be permitted to suffer thair children to spend thair youth in vane idilnes, as heirtofore thei have done. But thei must be exhorted, and by the censure of the Churche compelled to dedicat thair sones, by goode exercise,[1] to the proffit of the Churche and to the Common-wealth; and that thei must do of thair awin expensses, becaus thei ar able. The children of the poore must be supported and sustenit on the charge of the Churche, till tryell be tackin, whethir the spirit of docilitie be fund in them or not. Yf thei be fund apt to letteris and learnyng, then may thei not (we meane, neathir the sonis of the riche, nor yit the sonis of the poore,) be permittit to reject learnyng; but must be chargeit to continew thair studie, sa that the Commoun-wealthe may have some confort by them. And for this purpose must discreit, learned, and grave men be appointit to visit all Schollis for the tryell of thair exercise, proffit, and continewance; to wit, the Ministeris and Elderis, with the best learned in everie toun, shall everie quarter tak examinatioun[2] how the youth hath proffitted.

A certane tyme must be appointed to Reiding, and to learning of the Catechisme; ane certane tyme to the Grammar, and to the Latine toung; ane certane tyme to the Artis, Philosophie, and to the [other] Toungis; and a certane to that studie in which thei intend cheaflie to travell for the proffit of the Commoun-wealth. Whiche tyme being expired, we meane in everie course, the children must eathir proceid to farther knawledge, or ellis thei must be send to sum handie-craft, or to

[1] In edit. 1722, "their sonnes, by training them up in good exercises."

[2] In edit. 1621, "the Minister and Elders, and the rest of learned men in every town, shall in every quarter make examination."

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sum othir proffitable exercise; provideit alwayis, that first thei have the forme of knawledge[1] of Christiane religioun, to wit, the knawledge of Goddis law and commandimentis; the use and office of the same; the cheaf articulis of our beleve; the richt forme to pray unto God; the nomber, use, and effect of the sacramentis; the trew knawledge of Christ Jesus, of his office and natures, and suche otheris,[2] as without the knawledge wheirof, neathir deservith [any] man to be named a Christiane,[3] neather aught ony to be admittit to the participatioun of the Lordis Tabill: And thairfore, these principallis aught and must be learned in the youth-heid.

II. The tymes appointed to everie Course.

Two yearis we think more then sufficient to learne to read perfitelie, to answer to the Catechisme, and to have some entresse in the first rudimentis of Grammar; to the full accomplischement whairof, (we meane of the Grammar,) we think other thre or foure yearis at most, sufficient. To the Artis, to wit, Logick and Rethorick, and to the Greik toung, foure yeiris; and the rest, till the aige of twenty-foure yearis to be spent in that studye, whairin the learnar wald proffit the Churche or Commoun-wealth, be it in the Lawis, or Physick or Divinitie: Whiche tyme of twenty-foure yearis being spent in the schollis, the learnar most be removed to serve the Churche or Commoun-wealth, unless he be fund a necessarie Reidare in the same Colledge or Universitie. Yf God shall move your heartis to establische and execut this Ordour, and put these thingis in practise, your hole Realme, (we doubt nott,) within few yearis, shall serve the self of trew preacharis, and of uther officiaris necessarie for your Common-wealth.

[1] In MS. 1566, "have the formar knawledge;" in edit. 1621, "that they have further knawledge."

[2] In edit. 1621, "such other points."

[3] In edit. 1621, "neither any man deserves to be called a Christian."

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III. The Erectioun of Universitis.

The Grammar Schollis and of the Toungis being erectit as we have said, nixt we think it necessarie thair be three Universities in this whole Realme, establischeit in the Tounis accustumed.[1] The first in Sanctandrois,[2] the secound in Glasgow,[3] and the thrid in Abirdene.[4]

And in the first Universitie and principall, whiche is Sanctandrois, thair be thre Colledgeis. And in the first Colledge, quhilk is the entre of the Universitie, thair be four classes or saigeis: the first, to the new Suppostis, shalbe onlie Dialectique; the nixt, onlie Mathematique;[5] the thrid, of Phisick onlie; the fourt of Medicine. And in the secound Colledge, twa classes or seigeis: the first, in[6] Morall Philosophie; the secound in[6] the Lawis. And in the thrid College, twa classes or seigeis: the first, in[6] the Toungis, to wit, Greek and Hebreu; the secound, in[6] Divinitie.

IV. Off Reidaris, and of the Greis, off Tyme, and Studye.[7]

Item, In the first College, and in the first classe, shallbe ane Reidar of Dealectique,[8] wha shall accomplische his course thairof in one yeare. In the Mathematique,[8] whiche is the secound classe, shalbe ane Reidar who shall compleit his course of Arithmetique,[8] Geometrie, Cosmographie, and Astro-

[1] In edit. 1621, "in three Townes."—It will be observed that this was in 1560; and that the University of Edinburgh was not founded till the year 1582; and Marischall College and University of Aberdeen till 1593.

[2] The University of St. Andrews, founded in the year 1411.

[3] The University of Glasgow, founded in 1450.

[4] The University and King's College of Aberdeen, founded in 1494.

[5] In edit. 1621, "Dialecticæ," and "Mathematicæ."

[6] In edit. 1621, "of."

[7] In edit. 1621, "Of Readers, and of the Degrees, and time of Study;" to this the edition 1722 adds, "and of Principals and Rector, and of Bursars."

[8] In edit. 1621, "Dialectica, Mathematica, Arithmetica." In that edition, throughout this chapter, most of these names of the branches of study are in like manner given in a Latin form.

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logie, in ane yeare. In the third classe, shalbe ane Reidar of Naturall Philosophie, who shall compleit his course in a yeare. And wha efter thir thre yearis, by tryell and examinatioun, shall be fund sufficientlie instructit in thir aforesaid sciences, shall be Laureat and Graduat in Philosophie. In the fourt classe, shall be ane Reidar of Medicine, who shall compleit his course in five years: after the study of the whiche tyme, being by examinatioun fund sufficient, thei shall be graduat in Medicine.

THE FIRST GRIE.

SECOND DEGRIE.

Item, In the Secound Colledge, in the first classe, one Reader onlie in the Ethicques, Œconomicques, and Politiques, who shall compleit his course in the space of one yeare. In the secound classe, shall be tuo Reidaris in the Municipall and Romane Lawis, who sall compleit thair coursses in four yeares; after the whiche tyme, being by examinatioun fund sufficient, thei shalbe graduat in the Lawis.

THIRD DEGRIE.

Item, In the third Colledge, in the first classe, ane Reidar of the Hebreu, and ane uther of the Greek toung, wha sall compleit the grammeris thairof in half ane yeare,[1] and the remanent of the yeare, the Reidar of the Hebreu shall interpreit ane booke of Moses, the[2] Propheitis, or the Psalmes; sa that his course and classe shall continew ane yeare. The Reidar of the Greek shall interpreit some booke of Plato, togidder with some place of the New Testament. And in the secound classe, shalbe tuo Reideris in Divinitie, that ane in the New Testament, that uthir in the Auld, who sall compleit thair course in five yearis. After whiche tyme, who sall be fund by examinatioun sufficient shall be graduat in Divinitie.

FOURTH DEGRIE.

Item, We think expedient that nane be admittit unto the first Colledge, and to be Suppostis of the Universitie, onles he have frome the Maister of the Schole, and the Minister of the toun whair he was instructed in the toungis, ane testimoniall of his learnyng, docilitie, aige, and parentage; and likewayis

[1] In edit. 1621, "in three moneths." [2] In edit. 1722, "or of the."

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triall to be tane[1] be certan Examinatouris, deput be the Rectour and Principallis of the same, and yf he be fund sufficientlie instructit in Dialectick,[2] he shall incontinent, that same yeare, be promoted to the classe of Mathematicque.

Item, That nane be admittit to the classe of the Medicine bot he that shall have his testimoniall of his tyme weall spent in Dialecticque, Mathematique, and Phisicque, and of his docilitie in the last.

Item, That nane be admittit unto the classe of the Lawis, but he that shall have sufficient testimoniallis of his tyme weill spent in Dialecticque, Mathematique, Phisique, Ethick, Œconomiques, and Pollitiques, and of his docilitie in the last.

Item, That nane be admittit unto the classe and seige of Divines[3] bot he that shall have sufficient testimonialles of his tyme weill spent in Dialecticque, Mathematicque, Phisique, Ethique, Œconomique, Morall Philosophie,[4] and the Hebreu toung, and of his docilitie in the Morall Philosophie and the Hebreu toung. But neathir shall suche as will applye them to hear the Lawis, be compelled to heir Medicine; neathir suche as applye them to hear Divinitie be compellit to hear eathir Medicine or yit the Lawis.

SECUND UNIVERSITIE.

Item, In the Secound Universitie, whiche is GLASGU, shalbe twa Colledgeis alanerlie. In the first shalbe ane classe of Dialecticque, ane uther in Mathematicque, the thrid in Phisique, ordourit in all sortis as Sanctandrois.

Item, In the Secound Colledge, four classes; the first in Morall Philosophie, Ethiques, Œconomiques, and Pollitiques; the secound of the Municipale and Romane Lawis; the thrid of the Hebreu toung; the fourt in Divinitie: Which shall be ordourit in all sortis, conforme to it we have writtin in the ordour of the Universitie of Sanctandrois.[5]

[1] In edit. 1621, "triall be taken."
[2] In edit. 1621, "in the Dialectica."
[3] In edit. 1621, "Seage of Divinity."
[4] In edit. 1621, "and Politica."
[5] The Editor in 1722, says, "There is here no mention made of Medicine or

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THIRD UNIVERSITIE.

The Thrid Universitie of ABIRDENE shall be conforme to this Universitie of Glasgou, in all sortis.

Item, We think neidfull, that thair be chosin of the body of the Universitie to everie Colledge a man[6] of learnyng, discretioun, and diligence, who shall resave the haill rentis of the Colledge, and distribute the same according to the erectioun of the Colledge, and shall dalie hearkin the dyet comptis; adjoynyng to him oulklie ane of the Readeris or Regentis, above whome he shall [take] attendence upoun thair diligence, alsweill in thair reading, as exercitioun[7] of the youth in the mater taught; upoun the polecye and uphold of the place; and for punischement of crymes, shall hald ane oulklie[8] conventioun with the haill memberis of the Colledge. He shall be comptabile yearlie to the Superintendent, Rectour, and rest of the Principallis convened, about the first of November. His electioun shalbe in this sort: Thair shalbe thre of the maist sufficient men of the Universitie, (not Principallis alreaddie,) nominat by the memberis of the College, sworne to follow thair conscience, whais Principall is departed, and publictlie proponed throu the whole Universitie. Efter the whiche tyme eght dayis, the Superintendent, by him self or his speciall Procuratour, with the Rectour and rest of the Principallis, as ane chaptour convened, shall conferme ane of the three thei think maist sufficient, being afore sworne to do the same with singill ee,[9] but respect to feid or favour.

Item, In everie Colledge, we think neidfull at the least ane Steward, ane Cooke, ane Gardnar, ane Portar, wha shall be subject to discipline of the Principale, as the rest.

Item, That everie Universitie have ane Beddale subject to

Greek; but it is probable that a Professor of Greek was designed both for Glasgow and Aberdeen for the reason given in the remark on 25 ℣ of this chapter:" (Note 2, page 219.)

[6] In edit. 1621, "a principal man:" in the edit. 1722, "a Principall, who must be a man of learning."

[7] In edit. 1621, "as exercising."

[8] In edit. 1621, "hold a weekly."

[9] In edit. 1621, "with a single eye."

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serve at all tymes throuchout the whole Universitie, as the Rectour and Principallis shall command.

Item, That everie Universitie have ane Rectour chosin from yeare to yeare as shall follow. The Principallis being convened with the haill Regentis chaptourlie, shall be sworne, that everie man in his roume shall nominat suche one as his conscience shall testifie to be maist sufficient to beare suche charge and dignitie; and thre of them that shalbe oftest nominat shalbe put in edict publictlie, fiftene dayis afore Michaelmess; and then shall on Michaelmess Evin convene the hoill Principallis, Regentis, and Suppostis that ar graduat, or at the least studyit thair tyme in Ethiques, Œconomiques, and Pollitiques, and na utheris youngare; and everie natioun, first protestand in[1] Goddis presence to follow the sinceir ditement of thair consciences, shall nominat ane of the said thre; and he that hes monyest votis shall be confermit be the Superintendent and Principall, and his dewitie with ane exhortatioun proponed unto him: And this to be the 28 day of September; and thairefter aithis to be takin,[2] *hinc inde*, off his just and godlie governement, and of the remanentis lauchfull submissioun and obedience. He shall be propyned[3] to the Universitie at his entre, with ane new garment, bearing *Insignia Magistratus;* and be halden monethlie to visie everie Colledge,[4] and with his presence decore and examyn the lectionis and exercitioun thairof. His assessoris shalbe ane laweir and ane theolog, with whois advise he shall decide all questionis civill, betwix the memberis of the Universitie. Yf ony without the Universitie persew ane member thairof, or be persewit be ane member of the samin, he shall assist the Provest and Baillies in thei casses, or uthir judgeis competent, to see justice be ministred. In likewise, yf ony of the Universitie be crimi-

[1] In edit. 1621, "and everie one having first protested."

[2] In edit. 1621, "tryall to be taken."

[3] In MS. 1566, "proposed."

[4] The Editor in 1722, says, "Some copies have *Insignia Magistratus* being born before him, he shall visite every Colledge monethly," &c.

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nallie persewit, he shall assist the Judgeis competent, and so that justice be ministred.

SUMMA OF BURSARIS IN THE THRE UNIVERSITEIS.

Item, We think it expedient, that in everie Colledge in everie Universitie, thair be twenty-four bursaris,[1] divided equalie in all the classes and seigeis, as is above exprimit: that is, in Sanctandrois, seventie-tua bursaris; in Glasgou, fourtye-eyght bursaris; in Abirdene, fourty-eyght; to be sustened onlie in meit upon the chargeis of the Colledge; and be admitted at the examinatioun of the Ministerie and chaptour of Principallis in the Universitie, alsweill in docilitie of the personis offerit, as of the habillitie of thair parentis to sustene thame thair selvis, and nocht to burding the Common-wealth with thame.

V. Off Stipendis and Expensses necessarie.

Item, We think expedient, that the Universiteis be doted with temporall landis, with rentis and revenewis of the Bischopriks temporalitie, and of the Kirkis Collegiat, sa far as thair ordinarie chargeis shall require; and thairfore, that it wald please your Honouris, be advise of your Honouris Counsall and voit of Parliament, to do the samin. And to the effect the same may be schortlie expediat, we have recollected the soumes we think necessarie for the samin.

Imprimis, For the ordinarie Stipend of the Dialecticiane Reidar, the Mathematiciane, Phisitiane, and Morall Philosophie, we think sufficient ane hundreth pundis for everie ane of thame.

Item, For the Stipend of everie Reader in Medicine and Lawis, ane hundreth threttie thre pundis, vi s. viij d.

Item, To everie Reidar in Hebrew, Greik, and Divinitie, twa hundreth pundis.

Item, To everie Principall of a Colledge, ij lb.

Item, To everie Stewart, sextene pundis of fie.

[1] In reckoning the number of Bursaries, it was proposed that the University of St. Andrews should consist of three Colleges; and Glasgow and Aberdeen of two each; thus making 72 for the former, and 48 for each of the latter.

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Item, To everie Gardnar, to everie Cuke, and Portar, ilkane, ten markis.

Item, To the Burde of everie Bursar, without the Classes of Theologie and Medicine,[1] . . . twenty pundis.

Item, [To every Bursar] in the Classe of Theologie, whiche will be onlie twelf personis in Sanctandrois, . . 24 lib.

Summa of yeirlie and ordinarie expensses in the Universitie of Sanctandrois, extendis to	3796 lib.
Summa of yearlie and ordinarie expensis of Glasgow,[2]	2922 lib.
Abirdene, alsmekill, ...	2922 lib.
Summa of the Ordinarie Chargis of the hoill,	9640 lib.

Item, the Beddellis Stipend shalbe of everie entrant and suppost of the Universitie, ii. schillingis; off everie ane graduat in Philosophie, thre schillingis; off everie ane graduat in Medicine or Lawis, 4 schillingis; in Theologie, 5 schillingis; all Bursis being exceptit.

Item, We have thocht gude for building and uphald of the placis, ane general collect be maid; and that everie Erlis sone, at his entre to the Universitie, shall gif fourtye schillingis, and sicklike at everie graduatioun, 40 schillingis. *Item*, Everie Lordis sone sicklike at ilk tyme, 30 schillingis; ilk fre halding Baronis sone, twentye schillingis: everie Fewar and substantious Gentilmannis sone, ane mark. *Item*, Everie substantious Husband and Burges sone, at ilk tyme, ten schillingis: *Item*, Everie ane of the rest, (excepting[3] the Bursaris,) 5 schillingis at ilk tyme.

And that this be gathered in ane commoun box, put in keiping to the Principall of the Theologeanes, everie Principall

[1] In edit. 1621, the words, "and Medicine" are omitted.

[2] The Editor in 1722, remarks, "The ordinary expenses of Glasgow or Aberdeen extend only to 2722 Pounds and one Merk, so that probably it was designed that these two Universities should have had each of them a Professor of Greek, whose salary was to have been 200 Pounds."

[3] In edit. 1621, "not excepting."

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havand ane key thairof, to be comptit ilk yeare anis, with the relictis of the Principallis to be layed into the samin, about the fivetene day of November, in presence of the Superintendent, Rectour, and the hoill Principallis; and, at thair hoill consent, or at the least the most part thairof, reservit and employit onlie upoun the building and uphalding of the placis, and repairing of the same, as ever necessitie shall require. And thairfore, the Rectour with his assistance shall be haldin to visite the placis ilk yeir anis, incontinent efter he be promoted, upoun the last of October, or thairby.

VI. Off the Privilege of the Universitie.

Seing we desire that Innocencie shall defend us rather than Privelege, we think that ilk persoun of the Universitie shuld answeir before the Provest and Baillies of ilk town whaire the Universities ar, of all crymes whairof thai ar accusit, onlie that the Rectour be Assesour to thame in the saidis actionis. In civill materis yf the questioun be betwix memberis of the Universitie on ilk side, making thair residence and exercitioun thairin for the tyme, in that case the partie callit shall not be haldin to answer, but onlie before the Rectour and his Assesouris heirtofore expremit. In all uthir casses of civill persute, the generall reule of the Law to be observit, *Actor sequatur forum rei, &c.*

Item, That the Rectour and all inferiour memberis of the Universitie be exempted frome all taxationis, impostis, chargeis of weir, or ony othir charge that may onerat or abstract him or thame from the cair of thair office; suche as Tutorie, Curatorie, Deaconrie, or ony siclike, that ar establischeit, or heirefter shall be established in our Common-wealth; to the effect, that but trubill, that ane may wait upoun the upbringing of the youth in learnyng, that othir bestow his tyme onlie in that most necessarie exercitioune.

All othir thingis tuiching the bookes to be red in ilk classe, and all suche particular effaires, we refer to the dis-

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cretioun of the Maisteris, Principallis, and Regentis, with thair weill advisit Counsallis; not doubting but yf God sall grant quietnes, and gif your Wisdomes grace to set fordward letteris in the sort prescribed, ye shall leave wisdome and learnyng to your posteritie, ane treasure more to be estemed nor ony earthlie treasure ye ar abill to provide[1] for thame; whiche, without wisdome, ar more abill to be thair ruyne and confusioun, than help or confort. And as this is most treu, so we leave it with the rest of the commoditeis to be weyit by your Honouris wisdome, and set fordwart by your authoritie to the most heigh advancement of this Common-wealth, committed to your charge.

The Sext Heid, of the Rentis and Patrimony of the Kirk.[2]

These twa sortis of men, that is to say, the Ministers[3] and the Pure, togidder with the Schollis, when ordour sall be takin thairanent, must be sustened upoun the chargeis of the Churche: And thairfore provisioun must be maid, how and of whome suche soumes must be lifted. But befoir we enter in this heid, we must crave of your Honouris, in the name of the Eternall God and of his Sone Christ Jesus, that ye have respect to your pure brethren, the lauboraris and manuraris of the ground; who by these creuell beastis the Papistis have bene so oppressit,[4] that thair life to thame have bene dolorus and bitter. Yf ye will have God author and approver of youre reformatioun, ye must nott follow thair futesteppis; but ye must have compassioun upoun your brethren, appointing thame to pay so reasonabill teyndis, that thei may feill[5] sum benefit of Christ Jesus, now precheit unto thame.

With the greaf of our hertis we heare, that sum Gentilmen

[1] In edit. 1621, "to amasse."
[2] In edit. 1722, Chap. VIII.
[3] In edit. 1722, "ministers of the Word."
[4] In edit. 1621, "have before been oppresst."
[5] In edit. 1621, "may find."

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are now als creuell over thair tennentis as ever war the Papistis, requiring of thame whatsoever before thay payit to the Churche;[1] so that the Papisticale tirrannye shall onlie be changeit in the tirrannye of the lord or of the laird. We dar not flatter your Honouris, neathir yit is it proffitabill for you that so we do: if you permit suche creualtie[2] to be used, neather shall ye, who by your authoritie aucht to ganestand suche oppressioun, neathir thei that use the same, escheip Goddis hevy and feirfull judgementis. The Gentilmen, Baronis, Earlis, Lordis, and utheris, must be content to live upon thair just rentis, and suffer the Churche to be restorit to hir libertie, that, in hir restitutioun, the poore, who heirtofore by the creuall Papistis have bene spoilled and oppressit, may now resave sum confort and relaxatioun.

* ADDITIO. * CONCLUDIT BE THE LORDIS:[3] That thir teyndis and uthairis exactionis, to be clene discharged, and never to be tackin in tyme cuming; as, the uppermost Claith, the Corps-present, the Clerk-maill, the Pasche offeringis, Teynd Aill, and all handlingis Upaland, can neathir be required nor resavit of godlie conscience.

Neathir do we judge it to proceade frome justice, that one man sall possess the teyndis of ane uther; but we think it ane thing most reasonabill, that everie man have the use of his awin teyndis, provideit that he ansueir to the Deaconis and Thesauraris of the Churche, off that whiche justlie sall be appointit unto him. We require Deaconis and Thesauraris rathir to resave the rentis, nor the Ministeris them selvis; because that of the teyndis must not onlie the Ministeris be sustened, but also the Poore and Schollis. And thairfore we think it most expedient that commoun Thesauraris, to wit, the Deaconis, be appointed frome yeare to yeare, to resave the hoill

ADDITIO. THE LORDIS AGGREIS WITH THIS HEID OF THE RESAVING OF THE DEACONIS.[4]

[1] In edit. 1621, "whatsoever they afore payed to the Kirk."

[2] In edit. 1621, "if we permit cruelty."

[3] These words, "Concludit be the Lordis," are omitted in the later copies.

[4] This addition is omitted in the later copies.

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rentis appertenyng to the Churche; and that commandiment be given, that na man be permitted eather to resave, eather yit to intromet with, any thing appertenyng to the sustentatioun of the personis foresaidis, but suche as by commoun consent of the Churche ar thairto appointed.

Yf any thinkis this prejudiciall to the tackis and assedationis of those that now possessis the teyndis, let them understand that ane injust possessioun is no possessioun before God; for those of whome thei receaved thair titill and presupposed richt, war and ar thevis[1] and murtheraris, and had no power so to alienat the patrimonye and commoun-gude of the Churche. And yit we ar not so extreme, but that we wische just recompence to be maid to suche as have debursed soumes of money to those injust possessouris (so that it hes not bene of lait dayis in prejudice of the Churche:) but suche as ar fund and knawin to be done of plane collusioun in no wise aucht to be mantened of you. And for that purpose, we think it most expedient that whosoever have assedatioun of teyndis or churches be openlie warnit to produce thair assedatioun and assurance, that cognitioun being tackin, the just tackisman may have ane just and reasonable recompence for the yearis that ar to ryn, the proffit of the yearis passed being considderit and deducted; and the injust and surmised may be servit accordinglie: So that the Churche, in the end, may recover hir libertie and fredome, and that onlie for releaf of the Poore.

Your Honouris may easilie understand, that we speake not now for our selvis, but in favouris of the Poore and[2] the laboraris defraudit and oppressed by the Preastis, and by thair confederat pensionaris. For quhill that the Preistis Pensionare his idill bellye is delicatlie fed, the Poore, to whome a portioun of that appertenis, was pyned with hunger; and

[1] In edit. 1621, "presupposed right or warrant, were thevis."

[2] In the edit. 1621, the words "the poore and," are omitted.

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moirover the trew laboraris was compelled to pay that whiche [he] aught not: for the lauborar is nouthir dettar to the dum dog called the Bischop, neathir yit unto his hyred pensionare; but is debtour onlie unto the Churche: And the Churche is onlie bund to susteno and nourische off her chargeis, the personis before mentionat, to wit, the Ministeris of the word, the Poore, and the Teacharis of the youth.

But now to returne to the formare Heade. The soumes abill to susteane thir forenamit personis, and to furnische all thingis appertenyng to the preservatioun of gude ordour and polecie within the Churche, must be lifted of the teyndis,[1] to wit, the teynd cheaf, teynd hay, teynd hempt, teynd lint, teynd fischeis, teynd calf, teynd fole, teynd lambe, teynd woll, teynd cheise, &c. And becaus that we knaw that the tythes reasonabillie tackin, as is before expressed, will not suffice to discharge the formar necessitie; we think that all thingis doted to Hospitalitie, all annualrentis, both in burgh and land, perteanyng to Preastis, Chanterie, Colledgeis, Chaplanryis, and to Freiris of all Ordouris, to the Sisteris of the Scanis,[2] and to all utheris of that Ordour, and suche utheris within this Realme, be receaved still to the use of the Churche or Churches within the tounis or parrischeis whaire thai war doted. Furthermore to the uphald[ing] of the Universiteis, and sustentatioun of the Superintendentis, the hoill revenew

[1] In the edit. 1621, "off the tenths; to wit, the tenth sheafe, hay, hemp, lint, fishes, tenth calfe, tenth lamb, tenth wooll, tenth folle, tenth cheese."

[2] The Sisters of the Sheens, Senys, or Sciennes, were Nuns of the Predicant Order of St. Dominick. Their Convent, consecrated to St. Katherine of Sienna, an erection of so late a date as 1517, was situated a short distance to the south of Edinburgh. The name of the Sciennes, still designates the locality. King James the Fifth, soon after his assuming the government, granted to the "Sisters of the Senys," an annual pension of £24; and from the Treasurer's Accounts, it appears that this sum was continued until 1558, to be paid by the Queen Regent, Mary of Guise. A volume printed for the Abbotsford Club, in 1841, entitled "Liber Conventus S. Katherine Senensis prope Edinburgum," includes the "Constitutiones Sororum," &c., along with the several Charters that could be recovered relating to this Convent.

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of the temporalitie of the Bischopis, Deanes, and Archdeanes landis, and all rentis of landis pertenyng to the Cathedrall Churcheis whatsoever. And farther, merchandis and riche craftismen in fre Burghis, who have no thing to do with the manuring of the ground, must mak sum provisioun in thair citeis, tounis, or dwelling placis, for to support the neid of the Churche. AGGREIT ALSUA BE THE LORDIS.

To the Ministeris, and failzeing thairof the Reideris, must be restorit thair manses and thair gleibis; for ellis thei can not serve thair flock at all tymes as thair dewtie is. Yf any gleibe exceid sex aikeris of land, the rest to remane in the possessouris handis, quhill ordour be tackin thairin.

THE LORDIS CONDISCENDIS THAT THE MANSE AND YAIRDIS BE RESTORIT TO THE MINISTERIS: AND ALL THE LORDIS CONSENTIS THAT THE MINISTERIS HAVE SEX AIKERIS OF LANDIS, EXCEPT MERSCHEALL, MORTOUN, GLENCARNE, AND CASSILLIS, QUHAIR MANSSES AR OF GRET QUANTITIE.[1] [ADDITIO.]

The receaveris and collectouris of these rentis and dewiteis must be the Deaconis or Thesauraris appointit from yeare to yeare in everie churche, and that by common consent and fre electioun of the churche. The Deaconis may distribute no part of that whiche is collected, but by commandiment of the Ministeris and Elderis; and thei may command no thing to be deliverit, but as the Churche before hath determined: to wit, the Deaconis shall of the first pay the soumes, either quarterlie, or frome half yeare to half yeare, to the Ministeris whiche the Kirk hath appointed. The same thei shall do to the Schoolmaisteris, Readeris, and Hospitalis, (gif any be,) alwayis receaving acquettances for thair discharge.

Yf any extraordinar soumes lie to be delivered, then must the Ministeris, Elderis, and Deaconis consult whethir the deli-

[1] This paragraph is added on the margin of the MS. 1566, and is omitted in all the editions. It affords a proof of the discussion that took place on some of the Heads in the Book of Discipline.

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verance of thei soumes doeth stand with the common utilitie of the Churche or not; and yf thei do universalie aggree and condescend eathir upoun the affirmative or the negative, then becaus thei ar in credit and office for the yeare, thei may do as best seameth unto thame: But yf thair be contraversie amangis thame selfis, the whole Churche must be made privie; and efter that the mater be exponed, and the reasonis hearde; the judgement of the Churche with the Ministeris consent shall prevaill.

The Deaconis shall be bund and compelled to mak accomptis to the Ministeris and Elderis of that which thei have receaved, als oft as the Polecie shall appoint; and the Elderis whan thei ar changeit, (which must be everie yeare,) must clear thair comptis before suche auditouris as the Churche shall appoint: And both the Deaconis and Elderis being changeit, shall deliver to thame that shalbe now elected, all soumes of money, cornis, and other proffits resting in thair handis; the tickettis whairof must be delivered to the Superintendentis in thair visitatioun, and by thame to the gret Counsall of the Churche, that alsweill the aboundance as the indigence of everie churche may be evidentlie knawin, that a reasonable equalitie may be had throughout the hoill Realme. Yf this ordour be preciselie keipit,[1] corruptioun can not suddanlie enter. For the frie and yearlie electioun of Deaconis and Elderis shall suffer none to usurpe a perpetuall dominioun[2] over the Churche; the knawledge of the rentall shall suffice[3] thame to receave no more then whairof thei shall be bund to mak accomptis; the deliverance of the money to the new officiaris shall not suffer privat men [to] use in thair private besynes, that whiche apperteyneth to the publict effaires of the Churche.

[1] In edit. 1621, "be perfectly kept."
[2] In edit. 1621, "domination."
[3] In edit. 1621, "shall suffer."

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The Sevint Heid, of Ecclesiasticall Discipline.[1]

As that no Commoun-wealth can flurische or long indure without gude lawis, and scharp executioun of the same; so neathir can the Churche of God be brocht to puritie, neathir yit be retained in the same, without the ordour of Ecclesiasticall Discipline, whiche standis in reproving and correcting off these faltis, which the civill sweard doeth eather neglect, eather may not punische: Blasphemye, adulterie, murthour, perjurie, and uthir crymes capitall, worthie of death, aucht not properlie to fall under censure of the Churche; becaus all suche oppin transgressouris of Goddis lawis aucht to be tackin away be the civill swearde. But drunkynnes, excesse, (be it in apparell, or be it in eating and drinking,) fornicatioun, oppressioun of the poore by exactionis, deceaving of thame in buying or selling be wrang met or measure, wantoun wordis and licentious leving tending to sklander, do propirlie appertene to the Churche of God, to punische the same as Goddis word commandeth.

But becaus this accursit Papistrie hath brocht in suche confusioun in the warld, that neather was virtu richtlie praysit, neathir vice severlie punished; the Churche of God is compelled to draw the swearde whiche of God scho have receaved, aganis suche oppin and manifest offendaris,[2] cursing and excommunicating all suche, alsweall those whome the civill swearde aucht to punische as the uthiris, frome all participatioun with hir in prayeris and sacramentis, till oppin repentence manifestlie appeare in thame. As the ordour of Excommunicatioun and proceiding to the same aucht to be grave and slow, so being onis pronunced aganist any persoun, off what estait and conditioun that ever thay be, it must be keipit with all severitie. For lawis maid and nocht keipit engendereth contempt of virtu, and bringis in confusioun and

CONSENTED ON BE THE COUNSALL.

[1] In edit. 1722, Chap. IX. [2] In edit. 1621, "contemners."

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libertie to syn: And thairfore this ordour we think expedient to be observit before and efter excommunicatioun.

First, yf the offence be secreit and knawin to few,[1] and rathir standis in suspitioun than in manifest probatioun, the offender aucht to be privatlie admonischeit to abstene frome all appearance of evill; whiche yf he promissis to do, and to declair him self sober, honest, and one that feareth God, and feareth to offend his brethren, than may the secreit admonitioun suffice for his correctioun. But gif he athir contempn the admonitioun, or efter promis maid, do schaw him self no more circumspect than he was before, than must the Minister admonische him; to whome yf he be fund inobedient, thei must proceid according to the reule of Christ, as efter sall be declairit.

Gif the cryme be publict, and suche as is haynouse, as fornicatioun, drunkynnes, fechting, commoun sweiring, or execratioun, than aucht the offendar to be callit in the presence of the Minister, Elderis, and Deaconis, whair his syn and offence[2] aucht to be declared and aggredgeit, so that his conscience may feale how far he hath offended God, and what sklander he hath rasit in the Churche.[3] Yf signis of unfeinyeit repentence appeare into him, and gif he require to be admitted to publict repentence, the Ministerie may appoint unto him a day whan the hoill Churche convenith togidder, that in presence of all he may testifie the repentence whiche before thame he professed: Whiche yf he accept, and with reverence do, confessing his syn, and dampnyng the same,[4] and earnestlie desiring the Congregatioun to pray to God with him for mercy, and to accept him in thair societie, nochtwithstanding his formar offence: than the Churche may, and aught resave him as a penitent; for the Churche aught to be no more seveir than God declarith him self to be, who witnessith, that

[1] In edit. 1621, "or known to few men."

[2] In edit. 1621, "and trespass."

[3] In edit. 1621, "Kirk."

[4] In edit. 1621, "and with reverence confesse his sinne, doing the same."

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"In whatsoever hour ane synner unfeynedlie repenteth, and turnis from his wickit way, that he will nocht remember ane of his iniquiteis." And thairfore the Churche aught deligentlie to advert that it excommunicat not those whom God absolvith.

Yf the offendar callit before the Ministerie be fund stuburne, hard-hertit, or one in whome no signe of repentence appeareth, than must he be demissed with ane exhortatioun to considder the dangerus estait in whiche he standis; assuring him, yf thei find into him no uthir tokin of amendment of lyfe, that thai will be compelled to seake a farther remedie. Yf he within ane certane space schaw his repentence to the Ministrie, thei must present him to the Churche as before is said.

But gif he continew in his impenitence, than must the Churche be admonisched[1] that suche crymes are committed amangis thame, whiche by the Ministerie hath bene reprehendit, and the personis provocked to repent; whairof becaus no signis appeareth unto thame, thei could not but signifie unto the Churche the crymes, but not the persoun, requiring thame earnistlie to call to God to move and tuiche the heartis of the offenderis, so that suddanlie and earnistlie thei may repent.

Yf the persoun maligne, than the nixt day of publict assemblie; the cryme and the persoun must be both notifyed unto the Churche, and thair judgement must be requirit, yf that suche crymes aught to be suffered unpunischeit amangis thame: Requeast also wald be maid to the most discreit and to the nearest freindis of the offendare to travell with him to bring him to knawledge of himself, and of his dangerus estait, with ane commandiment gevin to all man to call to God for the conversioun of the impenitent. Yf ane solempned and ane speciall prayer war maid and drawin for that purpose, the thing shuld be the more gravelie done.[2]

[1] In edit. 1621, "If he continue not in his repentance, then must the Kirk be advertised."

[2] This was afterwards done, in the Order of Excommunication and of Public Repentance.

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The thrid Sunday, the Minister aught to require yf the unpenitent have declared ony signis of repentence to ony of the Ministerie; and yf he hath, then may the Minister appoint him to be examinated be the hoill Ministerie; eathir then instantlie, or at ane uther day affixed to the consistorie: and yf repentence appeare, alsweill of the cryme, as of his long contempt, then may he be presented to the Churche, and mak his confessioun, and to be accepted as before is said. But yf no man signifie his repentence, then aught he to be excommunicat; and by the mouth of the Minister, consent of the Ministerie, and commandiment of the Churche, must sick a contempnar be pronunced excommunicat from God, and from the societie of his Churche.

After whiche sentence may no persoun, (his wife and familie onlie excepted,) have ony kynde of conversatioun with him, be it in eiting and drinking, buying or selling, yea, in saluting or talking with him; except that it be at the commandiment or licence of the Ministerie for his conversioun; that he by suche meanis confoundit, seing him self abhorrit of the faythfull and godlie, may have occasioun to repent and be so savit. The sentence of his Excommunicatioun must be publischeit universalie throwhout the Realme, least that any man sould pretend ignorance.

His children begottin or borne efter that sentence and before his repentence, may nocht be admitted to baptisme, till eathir thei be of aige to require the samin, or ellis that the Moder, or sum of his especiall freinds, members of the Churche, offer and present the child, abhorring and dampnyng the iniquitie and obstinat contempt of the impenitent. Yf ony think it seveir,[1] that the child suld be punischeit for the iniquitie of the Fader; let thame understand that the sacramentis appertene onlie to the faithfull and to thair seade: But suche as stuburnlie contempt all godlie admonitioun, and

[1] In edit. 1621, "If any man should think it severe."

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obstinatlie remane in thair iniquitie, can nocht be accompted amangist the faithfull.

II. The Ordoure for Publict Offendaris.

We have spokin no thing of those that commit horrible crymis, as murtheraris, man-slayaris, and adulteraris; for suche (as we have said) the Civill swearde aught to punische to death: But in case thei be permitted to leve, than must the Churche, as before is said, draw the swearde whiche of God scho hath receaved, halding thame as accursed evin in thair [very] fact. The offendar being first called, and ordour of the Churche used aganis him, in the same maner as the personis that for obstinat impenitence ar publictlie excommunicat: So that the obstinat impenitent efter the sentence of excommunicatioun, and the murtherar or adulterar stand in one case as concernying the judgement of [the Churche]; that is, neathir of both may be receaved in the fellowschip of the Churche to prayeris or sacramentis, (but to heiring of the word thei may,) till first thei offer thame selfis to the Ministerie, humblie requiring the Ministeris and Elderis to pray to God for thame; and alsua to be intercessouris to the Churche, that thei may be admitted to publict repentence, and so to the fruitioun of the benefitis of Christ Jesus, distributed to the memberis of his body. CONSENTED TO BE THE LORDIS.

Yf this requeist be humilie maid, then may not the Ministeris refuise to signifie the same unto the Churche, the nixt day of publict preaching,[1] the Minister geving exhortatioun to the Churche to pray to God to performe the work whiche he appearit to have begun, wirking in the heart of the offendare unfeyned repentence of his grevous cryme, and the sence[2] and fealing of his great mercy, by the operatioun of his Holie Spirit. Thairefter ane day aucht publictlie to be assignit unto him to gif oppin confessioun of his offence and contempt,

[1] In MS. 1566, "publict praying." [2] In edit. 1621, "cryme and offence."

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and sa to mak ane publict satisfactioun to the Churche of God. Whiche day the offenderis must appeare in presence of the hoill Churche, and with his awin mouthe dampne his awin impietie, publictlie confessing the same; desiring God of his grace and mercy, and his congregatioun, that it will please thame to accept him in thair societie, as before is said. The Minister must examinat him diligentlie whethir he find a haitrent and displesour of his syn, alsweill of his cryme as of his contempt:[1] whiche yf he confesse, he must travell with him, to se what hope he hath of Goddis mercy.

And gif he find him reasonabillie instructed in the knawledge of Christ Jesus, in the virtu of his death; than may the Minister confort him by Goddis infallibill promisses, and demand of the Churche yf thei be content to resave that creature of God, whome Sathan before have drawin in his nettis, in the societie of thair body, seing that he declairis him self penitent. Whiche yf the Churche grant, as thai may not justlie deny the same, than aught the Minister in publict prayer to commend him to God, confesse the syn of that offendar, and of the whole[2] Churche, desiring mercy and grace for Christ Jesus saik. Whiche prayer being endit, the Minister aught to exhort the Churche to resave that penitent brothir in thair favouris, as thay require God to resave thame selfis, whan thay have offendit; and in signe of thair consent, the Elderis and cheaf men of the Churche sall tak the penitent by the hand, and one or two in name of the whole shall kiss and imbrace him with all reverence and gravitie, as a member of Christ Jesus.

Whiche being done, the Minister shall exhort the reconcilled[3] to tak diligent heid in tymes cuming, that Sathan trap him nocht in suche crymes, admonissing him that he will nocht cease to tempt and trye [by] all meanis possibill to

[1] In edit. 1621, the words "cryme," and "contempt," are transposed.

[2] In edit. 1621, "before the whole."

[3] In edit. 1621, "the received."

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bring him frome that obedience whiche he hath gevin to God, and to the ordinance of his Sone Christ Jesus. The exhortatioun being ended, the Minister aught to gif publict thankis unto God for the conversioun of that thair brothir, and for the benifittis quhilk we resave by Jesus Christ, praying for the increase and continewance of the same.

Yf the penitent, efter that he have offered him self to the Ministerie, or to the Churche, be fund ignorant in the principall pointis of oure religioun, and cheaflie in the article of Justificatioun, and of the office of Christ Jesus, than aucht he to be exactlie instructed before he be receaved: For ane mocking of God it is to receave thame in repentence, who knoweth not whairin standis thair remeid, whan thai repent thair syn.

III. Persons subject to Discipline.

To Discipline must all Estaitis within this Realme be subject, yf thay offend,[1] alsweil the Reullaris as thay that are reulit; yea and the Preachearis thame selfis, alsweill as the poorest within the Churche. And becaus the eye and mouth of the Churche aught to be most single and irreprehensibill, the life and conversatioun of the Ministers aucht most diligentlie to be tryed. Whairof we shall speake, efter that we have spokin of the electioun of Elderis and Deaconis, who must assist the Ministeris in all public effaires of the Churche, &c.[2]

CONSENTED TO LIKEWISE.

The Eyght Heid, tuiching the Electioun off Elderis and Deaconis, &c.[3]

Men of best knawledge in Goddis word, of cleanest life, men faithfull, and of most honest conversatioun that can be fund in the Churche, must be nominated to be in electioun; and

[1] The words, "yf they offend," are omitted in edit. 1621.

[2] In edit. 1621, "of the Kirk."

[3] In edit. 1722, Chap. X.

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the names of the same must[1] be publictlie red to the whole Kirk by the Minister, geving thame advertisement, that frome amongest these must be chosin Elderis and Deaconis. Yf anye of the nominated be noted with publict infamye, he aught to be repelled; for it is not seamlie that the servand of corruptioun shall have authoritie to judge in the Churche of God. Yf anye man knowis utheris of better qualiteis within the Churche then these that beis nominated, lat thame be put in electioun, that the Church may have the choise.

WHAT CHURCHES MAY BE JOYNED LAT THE POLECIE JUDGE.

Yf churcheis[2] be of smaller nomber than that Seniouris and Deaconis can be chosin frome amangis thame, then may thay weill be joyned to the nixt adjacent Churche: For the pluralitie of churcheis, without ministeris and ordour, shall rathir hurt than edifie.

The electioun of Elderis and Deaconis aught to be used everie yeare once, (whiche we judge to be most convenient the first day of August;) least that by long continuance of suche officiaris, men presume upoun the libertie of the Churche. It hurtis not that one man be reteaned in office mo yearis than one, so that he be appointed yearlie, by common and fre electioun; provideit alwayes, that the Deaconis, thesauraris, be not compelled to receave the office againe for the space of three yearis.

How the voitis and suffreigeis may be best receaved, so that everie man may gyf his vote frelie, everie severall Churche may tack such ordour as best seameth to thame.

The Elderis being elected, must be admonischeit of thair office, which is to assist the Minister in all publict effares of the Churche; to wit, in judgeing and decernyng[3] causses; in geving of admonitioun to the licentious lever; in having of respect to the manneris and conversatioun of all men within thair charge; for by the gravitie of the Seniouris aught the

[1] In edit. 1621, "and their names."
[2] In edit. 1621, "If the kirk."
[3] In edit. 1621, "to wit, in determining and judging."

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licht and unbridillit life of the licentious be corrected and bridillit.

Yea, the Seniouris aught to tak heyde to the life, manneris, deligence, and studye of thair Ministeris. Yf he be worthie of admonitioun, thei must admonische him; of correctioun, thei must correct him: And yf he be worthy of depositioun, thay with consent of the Churche and Superintendent may depose him, so that his cryme so deserve. Yf a Minister be licht in conversatioun, by his Elderis and Seniouris, he aught to be admonisched. Yf he be negligent in studie, or one that vaketh not upoun his charge and flocke, or one that proponeth not frutefull doctrine, he deservith scharpear admonitioun and correctioun. To the whiche yf he be fund stubburne and inobedient, than may the Seniouris of one Churche complaine to the Ministerie of the two nixt adjacent churcheis, whaire men of greater gravitie are; to whois admonitioun yf he be fund inobedient, he aught to be discharged frome his ministerie till his repentence appeare, and a place be vaking for him.

Yf any Minister be deprehendit in any notable cryme, as huredome, adulterie, murther, man-slauchter, perjurie, teaching of heresie, or ony such as deserve death, or [that] may be ane note of perpetuall infamye, he aught to be deposed for ever. By Heresie, we meane pernitius doctrine planelie taught, and obstinatlie defended, aganis the foundatioun and principallis of our faith: and such a cryme we juge to deserve perpetuall depositioun frome the ministrie; for most dangerus we know it to be, to commit the flock to ane man infected with the pestilence of heresye.

Some crymes deserve depositioun for ane tyme, and whill the persoun gyf declaratioun of gretar gravitie and honnestie: as yf a minister be deprehendit dronk, in brawling or fechting, ane oppin sklanderar, ane infamer of his nychtbour, factious and sawar of discord, he may be commandit to cease from his ministrie, till he declair the signis of repentence; upoun the

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whiche, the Churche sall abide him the space of twentye dayis or farther, as the Churche shall think expedient, before that thay proceed to ane new electioun.

Everie inferiour Churche shall by one of thair Seniouris and one of thair Deaconis, onis in the year, notifie unto the ministerie of the Superintendentis churche, the life, maneris, studye, and deligence of thair Ministeris, to the end that the discretioun of some may correct the lenitie of otheris.

Not onlie may the life and maneris of the Ministeris cum under censure and judgement of the Churche, bot also of thair wiffes, children, and familie; judgement must be tackin, that he neather live riotuslie, neathir yit avaritiuslie; yea, respect must be had how thay spend the stipend appointed to thair leving. Yf ane reasonabill stypend be appointed, and thay leve avariciuslie, thai must be admonisched to live so as thay resave; for as excesse and superfluitie is nocht tollerabill in ane minister, so is avarice and the cairfull sollicitude of money and geir[1] utterlie to be damned in Christis servandis, and especialie in those that are fed upoun the charge of the Church. We judge it unseamlie and not tollerabill that ministeris shall be burdeit in commoun aill-housses or tavernis.

Neathir yit must ane Minister be permitted to frequent and commonlie hant the Court, onless it be be for a time, when he is eathir send be the Churche, eathir yit called for by the Authoritie for his counsall and judgement. Neathir yit must he be one of the counsall in Civill effaires, be he never judgeit so apt for that purpose; but eathir must he cease frome the ministerie (whiche at his awin plesour he may not do,) or ellis from bearing charge in Civill effaires, onles it be to assist the Parliament yf he be[2] called.

The office of the Deaconis, as is before declared, is to receave the rentis, and gadder the almous of the Churche, to keip and distribute the same, as by the ministerie of the Kirk shall be

[1] In ed. 1621, the words "and geir," omitted. [2] In MS. 1566, "if thay be."

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appointed. Thay may also assist in judgement with the Ministeris and Elderis, and may be admitted to read in the assemblie yf thei be required, and be fund abill thairto.

The Elderis and Deaconis, with thair wiffeis and houshaldis must be under the same censure that is prescribit for the Ministeris: for thay must be cairfull over thair office; and seing that thay ar judgeis to the maneris of uthiris, thair awin conversatioun aught to be irreprehensible: Thay must be sober, humill, luifaris and interteinaris of concord and peace; and, finalie, thay aught to be the exempill of godlines till otheris. And yf the contrarie thairof appeare, thay must be admonisched by the Minister, or by some of thair brethren of the ministerie, yf the falt be secreit; and gif it be oppin and knawin, it must be rebucked before the ministerie, and the same ordour keipit against the Seniour or Deacon, that before is describit aganis the Minister.

We think it nott necessarie that ony publict stypend shall be appointed, eathir to the Elderis, or yit to the Deaconis, becaus thair travell contineuis bot for ane yeare; and alsua becaus that thay are not so occupyed with the effares of the Churche, but that reasonabillie thay may attend upoun thair domesticall besynes.

The Nevt Heade, concernyng the Policie of the Churche.[1]

Policie we call ane exercise of the Churche[2] in suche thingis as may bring the rude and ignorant to knawledge, or ellis inflambe the learned to greater fervencie, or to reteane the Churche in gude ordour. And thairof thair be two sortis: the one utterlie necessarie; as that the word be treulie preched, the sacramentis richtlie ministrat, common prayeris publictlie

[1] In edit. 1722, Chap. XI.

[2] In edit. 1621, "Policie wee call an exercise of the Kirk."

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maid; that the children and rude personis be instructed in the cheaf pointis of religioun, and that offences be corrected and punischedt; these thingis, we say, be so necessarie, that without the same thair is no face of ane visible Kirk. The other is proffitable, bot not of mere necessitie; as, that Psalmes suld be sung; that certane placis of the Scripturis suld be red whan thair is no sermon; that this day or that day, few or many in the weeke, the churche suld assemble. Off these and suche utheris we can not se how ane certane ordour can be established. For in some churcheis the Psalmes may be convenientlie sung; in utheris, perchance, thay can not. Some churcheis may convene everie day; some thryise or twise in the weeke; some perchance bot onis. In these and such like must everie particular Churche, by thair awin consent, appoint thair awin Polecie.

In greit Tounis we think expedient that everie day thair be eathir Sermon, or ellis Common Prayeris, with some exercise of reiding the Scripturis. What day the publict Sermon is, we can neathir require or gretlie approve that the Commoun Prayeris be publictlie used, least that we shall eathir fostar the peple in superstitioun, wha come to the Prayeris as thay come to the Messe; or ellis give thame occasioun to think that those be no prayeris whiche ar maid before and efter Sermon.

In everie notable Toun, we require that one day besydis the Sunday, be appointed to the Sermone and Prayeris; whiche, during the tyme of Sermone, must be keipit fre frome all exercise of laubour, alsweill of the maister as of the servandis. In smaller tounis, as we have said, the commoun consent of the Churche must put ordour. But the Sunday must straitlie be keipit, both before and efter noon, in all tounis. Before noon, must the word be preached and sacramentis ministered, as also Mariage solempnissed, yf occasioun offer: After noon must the young children be publictlie examinated in thair Catechisme in audience of the pepill, in doing whairof the

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Minister must tak gret deligence, alsweill to cause the Pepill to understand the questionis proponed, as the ansueiris, and the doctrine that may be collected thairof. The ordour[1] and how much is appointed for everie Sunday, is alreaddy distinctit in oure buke of Common Ordour;[2] whiche Catechism is the most perfite that ever yit was used in the Churche. At efter noon also may Baptisme be ministered, whan occasioun is offered of great travell before noon. It is also to be observit, that prayeris be used at after noon upoun the Sunday, whair thair is neathir preching nor catechisme.

It apperteaneth to the Policie of the Churche to appoint the tymes whan the Sacramentis shall be ministered. Baptisme may be ministrat whensoever the word is preached; but we think it more expedient, that it be ministered upoun the Sunday, or upoun the day of prayeris, onlie after the sermon; partlie to remove this gross errour by the which many deceaved, think[3] that children be dampned yf thay die without Baptisme; and partlie to mak the people assist the administratioun of that sacrament with greater reverence than thei do.[4] For we do see the people begyn alreddie to wax weary be reasoun of the frequent repetitioun of those promisses.

Foure tymes in the yeare we think sufficient to the administratioun of the Lordis Tabill, which we desire to be distincted, that the superstitioun of tymes may be avoided so far as may be. Your Honouris ar nocht ignorant how superstitiouslie the people ryn to that actioun at Pasche, evin as [if] the tyme gave virtue to the Sacrament; and how the rest of the hoill yeare thai ar cairles and negligent, as [if] that it ap-

[1] The Editor in 1722, has given this sentence as follows:—"The Order to be kept in teaching the Catechism, and how much of it is appointed for every Sunday, is already distinguished in the Catechism printed with the Book of our Common Order."

[2] See note 2, page 210.

[3] In edit. 1621, "many are deceived, thinking."

[4] In edit. 1621, "to make the people have greater reverence to the administration of the Sacraments then they have."

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perteaneth not unto thame but at that tyme onlie. We think thairfore most expedient, that the first Sunday of Marche be appointed for one [time]; the first Sunday of Junij for ane uther; the first Sunday of September for the thrid; and the first Sunday of December for the fourt. We do not deny but that any severall churche, for reasonable causses, may change the tyme, and may minister ofter; but we study to suppresse[1] superstitioun. All Ministeris must be admonisched to be more cairfull to instruct the ignorant than readdie to satisfie[2] thair appetiteis, and more scharp in examinatioun then indulgent, in admitting to that great Mysterie[3] such as be ignorant of the use and virtu of the same: and thairfore we think that the administratioun of the Table aught never to be without that examinatioun pass before, especiallie of those whose knawledge is suspect. We think that none ar apt to be admitted to that Mysterie who can not formalie say the Lordis Prayer, the Articles of the Beleif, and declair the soume of the Law.[4]

Farthir, we think it a thing most expedient and necessarie, that everie Churche have a Bibill in Inglische, and that the people be commanded to convene to heir the plane reiding or interpretatioun of the Scripturis, as the Churche shall appoint; that be frequent reiding this gross ignorance, whiche in the cursit Papistrie hath overflowne all, may partlie be removit. We think it most expedient that the Scripturis be red in ordour, that is, that some one buke of the Auld and the New Testament be begun and ordourlie red to the end. And the same we judge of preching, whair the Minister for [the] maist part remaneth in one place: For this skipping and divagatioun frome place to place of the Scripture, be it in

[1] In edit. 1621, "minister oftner, but we studie to represse."

[2] In edit. 1621, "to serve."

[3] In edit. 1621, "thir great mysteries."

[4] The Editor, in 1722, supplies, at the end of this paragraph: "And understandeth not the use and virtue of this holy Sacrament."

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reiding, or be it in precheing, we judge not so proffitabill to edifie the Churche, as the continewall following of ane text.

Everie Maister of houshald must be commandit eathir to instruct, or ellis caus [to] be instructed, his children, servandis, and familie, in the principallis of the Christiane religioun; without the knawledge whairof aught none to be admitted to the Tabill of the Lord Jesus: for suche as be so dull and so ignorant, that thei can neathir try thame selfis, neathir yit know the dignitie and misterie of that actioun, can not eat and drink of that Tabill worthelie. And thairfore of necessitie we judge it, that everie yeare at least, publict examinatioun be had by the Ministeris and Elderis of the knawledge of everie persoun within the Churche; to wit, that everie maister and maistres of houshald cum thame selvis and thair familie so many as be cum to maturitie, before the Ministeris and Elderis, to gyf confessioun of thair faith, and to ansueir to such cheaf points of Religioun as the Ministeris shall demand. Such as be ignorant in the Articulis of thair Faith;[1] understand not, nor can not rehearse the Commandimentis of God; knaw not how to pray; neathir whairinto thair richtuousnes consistis, aught not to be admitted to the Lordis Tabill. And gif thay stuburnlie continew,[2] and suffer thair children and servandis to continew in wilfull ignorance, the discipline of the Churche must proceid against them unto excommunicatioun; and than must the mater be referred to the Civill Magistrat. For seing that the just levith be his awin faith, and that Christ Jesus justifieth be knawledge off him-self, insufferable we judge it that men shall be permitted to leve and continew in ignorance as memberis of the Churche of God.[3]

Moreover, men, wemen, and children wald be exhorted to exercise thame selvis in the Psalmes, that when the Churche

[1] Nearly two lines in this place are omitted in the editions 1621 and 1722.

[2] In edit. 1621, "stubburnly contemne."

[3] In edit. 1621, "to live as members of the Kirk, and yet to continue in ignorance."

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convenith, and dois sing, thai may be the more abill togither with commoun heart and voice to prayse God.

In private housses we think it expedient, that the most grave and discreate persoun use the Commoun Prayeris at morne and at nycht, for the confort and instructioun of uthiris. For seing that we behald and se the hand of God now presentlie striking us with diverse plagues, we think it ane contempt of his judgementis, or ane provocatioun of his anger more to be kendillit against us, yf we be not movit to repentence of oure formar unthankfulnes, and to earnist invocatioun of His name, whois onlie power may, (and great mercy will,) yff we unfeynedlie convert unto him, remove from us these terribill plagues whiche now for our iniquiteis hing oure our headis. "Convert us, O Lord, and we shall be converted."

For Preacheing,[1] and Interpreting off Scripturis, &c.

To the end that the Churche of God may have a tryell of mennis knawledge, judgementis, gracis, and utterancis; and also, that suche as somewhat have proffited in Goddis worde, may from tyme to tyme grow to more full perfectioun to serve the Churche, as necessitie shall require: it is most expedient that in everie Toune, whaire Schollis and repair of learned Men ar, that thair be one certane day everie weake appointed [to] that Exercise, which Sanct Paull calleth prophecieing; the ordour whairof is expressed by him in these words:

Cor. 14. 29. "Let two or thre propheitis speik; and lat the rest judge: But yf any thing be reveilled to him that sitteth by, lat the formar keip silence: [For] ye may, one by one, all prophecie, that all may learn, and all may receave consolatioun. And the Spreittis (that is, the judgementis) of the Propheitis, are subject to the propheitis." Off whiche wordis of the Apostle, it is

[1] In edit. 1722, Chap. XII., and the title is, as in the edit. 1621, "For Prophecying, or Interpreting of the Scriptures."

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evident that in Corinthus, whan the Churche did assemble[1] for that purpose, sum place of Scripture was red; upoun the whiche, first one gyf his judgement to the instructioun and consolatioun of the auditouris; after whome did one uthir eathir conferme what the formare had said, or did add what he had omitted, or did gentillie correct or explane more properlie whair the hoill veritie was not reveilled to the formar. And in case sum thingis war hid frome the one and frome the uthir, libertie was gevin to the thrid to speik his judgement for edificatioun of the Churche. Above the whiche nomber of three, (as appereth,) thay passed not, for avoiding of confusioun.

These Exercisses, we say, ar thingis most necessarie for the Churche of God this day in Scotland; for thairby (as said is) shall the Churche have judgement and knawledge of the gracis, giftis, and utterances of everie man within thair awin body; the simple, and suche as have sumwhat proffited, shall be encurageit dalie to study and proceid in knawledge; the Churche shall be edifyed; (for this Exercise must be patent to suche as list to heir and learne,) and everie man shall have libertie to utter and declair his mynd and knawledge to the confort and edificatioun of the Churche.

But least that of a proffitable Exercise mycht aryise[2] debate and strife, curiouse, peregryne and unproffitable questionis ar to be avoided. All interpretatioun disaggreing from the principallis of oure faith, repugnyng to cheritie, or that standis in plane contradictioun to ony uthir manifest place of Scripture, is to be rejected. The Interpretour in that exercise, may nocht tack to him self the libertie of ane publict Precheour, yea, althocht he be a Minister appointed; but he must bind him self to his text, that he enter not by disgressioun in explanyng commoun places. He may use no invective in that exercise

[1] In edit. 1621, "that is the Kirk of Corinth, when they did assemble."

[2] In edit. 1621, "least of this profitable exercise there arise."

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onles it be with sobrietie in confuting heresyes. In exhortationis or admonitionis he must be schorte, that the tyme may be spent in oppenyng of the mynd of the Holy Ghost in that place; in following the fyle[1] and dependence of the text, and in observing suche notes as may instruct and edifie the auditour. For avoyding of contentioun, neathir may the interpretour, neathir yit any of the assemblie, move any questioun in oppen audience, whairto him self is not content[2] to geve resolutioun without reasoning with any other; but everie man ought to speik his awin judgement to the edificatioun of the Churche.

Yf any be noted with curiositie, or bringyng in any strange doctrine, he must be admonished by the Moderatouris, the Ministeris and Eldaris, immediatlie after that the interpretatioun is ended. The hoill memberis,[3] and nomber of thame that ar of the Assemblie, ought to convene togetther, whair examinatioun should be had, how the persones that did interprete did handle and convey the mater; thei thame selffis being removed till every man have gevin his censure; after the whiche, the persones being called, the faultes (yf any notable be found) ar noted, and the persone gentillie admonished. In that last Assemblie all questionis and dowtis, (yf any arryise,) should be resolved without contentioun.

The Ministeris of the Paroche churches to Landwarte, adjacent to everie cheaf toune, and the Readaris, gif thai have any gift of interpretatioun, within sex myles must assist and concur to those that prophecie within the townes; to the end that thei thame selves may eather learne, or ellis utheris may learne be thame. And moreover, men in whome ar supposed any giftis to be, which mycht edifie the Churche yf thei war weall applyed, must be charged by the Ministeris and Eldaris

[1] In edit. 1621, "the sequele."
[2] In edit. 1621, "not able."
[3] In edit. 1621, "The whole Ministeris;" the edition 1722, after these words, adds, "with a number."

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to joyne thame selfis with that sessioun and cumpany of Interpretouris, to the end that the Churche may judge whether thei be able to serve to Goddis glorie, and to the proffeit of the Churche in the vocatioun of Ministeris or not. And yf any be found disobedient, and not willing to communicat the giftis and spirituall graces[1] of God with thair brethren, after sufficient admonitioun, discipline must procead against thame; provided that the Civile Magistrate concur with the judgement and electioun of the Churche. For no man may be permitted to leave[2] as best pleasseth him within the Churche of God; but everie man must be constrayned, by fraternall admonitioun and correctioun, to bestow his laubouris, when of the Churche thei ar required, to the edificatioun of otheris.

What day in the week is most convenient for that exercise, and what bookes of the Scripturis salbe most profitable to be red, we refer to the judgment of everie particulare Churche, we meane, to the wisdome of the Ministeris and Eldaris.

Of Mariage.[3]

Becaus that Mariage, the blessed ordinance of God, in this cursed Papistrie hath partlie bene contempned; and partlie hath bene so infirmed, that the personis conjoyned could never be assured of continewance,[4] yf the Bischoppis and Prelattis list to dissolve the same; we have thocht goode to schaw oure judgmentis how such confusioun in tymes cuming may be best avoyded.

And first publict inhibitioun must be maid, that na personis under the power and obedience of otheris; suche as sonnes and dochteris, [and] these that be under curatouris, neather men nor wemen, contract Mariage privelie and without

[1] In edit. 1621, "and speciall graces."
[2] In edit. 1621, "to live."
[3] In edit. 1722, Chap. XIII.
[4] In edit. 1621, "assured in conscience."

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knawledge [of their parents, tutors, or curators, under whose power they are for the time:][1] whiche yf thei do, the censure and discipline of the Churche to procead against thame. Yf the sone or dowghter, or other, have thair hearte tweiched with desyre of mariage, thei ar bound to geve that honour to the parentis that thei oppin unto thame thair affectioun, askyng of thame counsall[2] and assistance, how that motioun, which thei judge to be of God, may be performed. Yf the father, freind, or maister, ganestand thair requeast, and have na other caus then the commoun sorte of men have; to wit, lack of guidis, or becauss thei ar nott so hyght-borne as thai requyre; yit must not the pairteis whose heartis ar tweiched mak ony covenant till farther declaratioun be maid unto the Churche of God. And, thairfoir, efter thei have opened thair myndis to thair parentis, or suche otheris as have charge oure thame, thei must declair it also to the Ministrie, or to the Civile Magistrat, requyring thame to travaill with thair parentis for thair consent, whiche to do thei ar bound. And yf thei, to wit, the Magistrate or Ministeris, fynd no just caus why the mariage requyred may not be fulfilled, then efter sufficient admonitioun to the father, freind, maister, or superiour, that none of thame resist the work of God, the Ministerie or Magistrat may enter in the place of the parent, and by consenting to thair just requeastis may admit thame to mariage: for the work of God aught not to be hyndered by the corrupt affectionis of worldlie men. The work of God we call, when two heartis (without filthynes befoir committit) ar so joyned, that boyth requyre and ar content to live togethir in that holy band of Matrimonye.

Yf any man commit fornicatioun with the woman whome he requyred in mariage, then do boyth lose this foirsaid benefite alsweall of the Churche as of the Magistrat; for neather

[1] The words within brackets omitted in MS. 1566, are supplied from ed. 1621.

[2] In edit. 1621, "asking their counsell."

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of boyth aught to be intercessouris or advocattis for fylthie fornicatours. But the father, or neyrest freind, whose dowghter being a virgine is deflored, hath power by the law of God to compell the man that did that injurie to marie his dowghtter; or yf the father will not accept him be reassone of his offense, then may he requyre the dote[1] of his dowghter; whiche yf the offendar be nott able to pay, then aught the Civile Magistrat to punishe his body by some other punishement.

And becaus that fornicatioun, huredome, and adulterye, ar synnes most commoun in this Realme, We requyre of your Honouris, in the name of the Eternall God, that severe punishement, according as God hath commanded, be executed against suche wicked offendaris;[2] for we doubt not but suche enorme crymes[3] oppenlie committed, provoketh the wrayth of God, as the Apostle speaketh, not onlie upoun the offendaris, but also upoun suche places as whair, without punishement, thei ar committed.

AGGREIS TO THE HEAD OF MARIAGE.

But to returne to oure formar purpose: Mariage owght not to be contracted amongis personis that have no electioun for lack of understanding; and thairfoir we affirm, that bairns and infantis can nocht lauchfullie be mareid in thair minor aige, to wit, the man within fourtene yeiris of aige, and the woman within twelf yearis, at the least. Whiche yf it chance any to have bene, and have keapt thair bodyis always separat, we can not judge thame bound to adhear as man and wyiff, by reassone of that promeis, which in Goddis presence was no promeise at all. But yf in the yearis of judgment thai have embrased the one the other, then be reassone of thair last consent, thai have ratifeid that which otheris did promeise for thame in thair youth-head.[4]

In a Reformed Churche, Mariage ought nott to be secreatlie

[1] In edit. 1621, "the dowrie."

[2] In edit. 1621, "wicked contemners."

[3] In edit. 1621, "such enormities and crymes."

[4] In edit. 1722, after "in their youth-head," is added, "and are to be held as married persons."

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used, but in open face and publict audience of the Churche: And for avoyding of dangearis, expedient it is that the bannes be publictlie proclamed thre Sundayis, (onles the persones be [so] knawin, that no suspitioun of dangear may arise, and then may the bannes[1] be schortned at the discretioun of the Ministerie.) But in no wyse can we admitt Mariage to be used secreatlie, how honorable that ever the personis be. The Sunday befoir sermon we think most convenient[2] for mariage, and it to be used no day ellis without the consent of the hoill Ministerie.

Mariage once lauchfullie contracted, may not be dissolved at manis pleasour, as oure maister Christ Jesus doeth witnesse, onles adulterie be committed; which being sufficientlie proven in presence of the Civil Magistrat, the innocent (yf thei so requyre) ought to be pronunced frie, and the offendar aught to suffer the death as God hath commanded. Yf the Civile sweard foolischelie spair the lyeff of the offendar, yit may not the Churche be negligent in thair office, which is to excommunicat the wicked, and to repute thame as dead memberis, and to pronunce the innocent partie to be at freedome, be thei never so honourabile befoir the warld. Yf the lyfe be spared (as it ought not to be) to the offendaris, and gif the fructis of repentance of long tyme appeir in thame, and gif thai earnestlie desyre to be reconceilled with the Churche, we judge that thai may be receaved to participatioun of the Sacramentis, and of the other benefits of the Churche, (for we wold not that the Churche sould hold those excommunicat whom God absolved, that is, the Penitent.)

Yf any demand, whether that the offendar after reconciliatioun with the Churche, may not marye agane? We answer, That yf thai can not leve continent, and yf the necessitie be suche as that thai fear farther offence of God, we can not for-

[1] In edit. 1621, "may the time."

[2] In edit. 1621, "The Sunday before noon, we think most expedient."

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bid thame to use the remeady ordayned of God. Yf the partie offended, may be reconcilled to the offendar, then we judge that in nowyse it shall be lauchfull to the offendar to mary any other, except the partie that befoir hath bene offended; and the solempnizatioun of the latter mariage must be in the open face of the Churche lyke as the formare, but without proclamatioun of banns.

This we do offer as the best Counsall that God geveth unto us in so doubtsome a case. But the most perfyte Reformatioun war, yf your Honouris wald give to God his honour and glorie, that ye wold prefer his expresse commandiment to your awin corrupt judgmentis, especially in punisheing of those crymes whiche he commandeth to be punished with death. For so should ye declair your selfis Godis treu and obedient officiaris, and your Commoun-wealth should be redd of innumerable trubles.

We meane not, that synnes committed in our formar blyndnes, (whiche be almost buried in oblivioun,) salbe callit agane to examinatioun and judgment. But we requyre that the law may now and heirafter be so establisched and executed, that this ungodlie impunitie of synne have no place within this Realme. For in the fear of God we signifie unto your Honouris, that whosoever persuadeth unto you, that ye may pardone whair God commandeth death, deceaveth your saulles, and provokes you to offend Goddis Majestie. NOTA.

Off Buriall.[1]

Buriall in all aiges hath bene holden in estimatioun, to signifie that the same body that was committed to the earth should not utterlie perishe, but should ryse agane. And the same we wold have keapt within this Realme, provided that superstitioun, idolatrie, and whatsoever hath proceaded of a

[1] In edit. 1722, Chap. XIV.

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fals opinioun, and for advantage saik, may be avoyded; as singing of Messe, Placebo, and Dirige, and all other prayeris over or for the dead, are not onlie superfluous[1] and vane, but also ar idolatrie, and do repugne to the plane Scriptures of God. For, plane it is, that everie one that dyeth, departeth eather in the fayth of Christ Jesus, or ellis departeth in incredulitie: Plane it is, that thei that depart in the treu fayth of Christ Jesus, rest frome thair laubouris, and frome death [doe] go to lyef everlasting, as by oure Maister and by his Apostle we ar taught: But whosoever departe in unbeleve or in incredulitie, shall never see lyef, but the wrayth of God abydeth upoun him. And so, we say that Prayeris for the Dead ar not onlie superfluous[2] and vane, but do expreslie repugne to the manifest Scripturis and veritie thairof.

For avoyding all inconvenientis,[3] we judge it best, that neather singing nor reading be at the Buryall: for albeit thingis song and red may admonishe some of the leving to prepair thame selfis for death, yit shall some superstitious and ignorant personis ever think,[4] that the workis synging or reading of the levying do and may proffat the dead. And thairfoir, we think most expedient that the Dead be convoyed to the place of buriall with some honest cumpany of the Churche, without eather singing or reading; yea, without all kynd of ceremony heirtofore used, uther than that the dead be committed to the grave, with suche gravitie and sobrietie, as those that be present may seame to fear the judgmentis of God, and to hate synne, whiche is the caus of death.

REFERRES THIS ARTICLE TO THE JUDGMENT OF THE CHURCHE.

[ADDITIO.[5]] AND YIT, NOCHTWITHSTANDING, WE ARE NOT SO PRECISE, BUT THAT WE AR CONTENT THAT PARTICULAR KIRKIS USE THAME IN THAT BEHALF, WYTH THE CONSENT OF THE MINISTERIE OF THE

[1] In edit. 1621, "which are not only superstitious."
[2] In edit. 1621, "superstitious."
[3] In edit. 1621, "of all inconvencies."
[4] In edit. 1621, several words in this sentence, are omitted.
[5] This addition is not contained in the edit. 1621, or any other copy.

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SAME, AS THEI WILL ANSWEIR TO GOD, AND ASSEMBLIE OF THE UNIVERSAILL KIRK GATHERED WITHIN THE REALME.

We ar nott ignorant that some requyre ane Sermone at the Buriall, or ellis some places of Scripturis to be red, to put the leving in mynd that thei ar mortall, and that lykwyise thei must dye. Bot lett those men understand, that the sermonis whiche be daily maid, serve for that use; whiche yf men dispyse, the preaching of the[1] Funerall sermonis shall rather nureise superstitioun and a false opinioun, (as befoir is said,) then that thei shall bring suche persones to any godlie consideratioun of thair awin estaite. Attour, eather shall the Ministeris for the most parte be occupyed in preaching Funerall sermonis, or ellis thei shall have respect to personis, preaching at the buriall of the rich and honorabill, but keaping silence when the poore or dispysed departeth; and this with saif conscience can not the Ministeris do. For, seing that befoir God, thair is no respect of personis, and that thair ministerie apperteaneth to all alike, whatsoever thei do to the riche, in respect of thair ministerie, the same thei ar bound to do to the poorest under thair charge.

In respect of diverse inconvenientis, we think it meather seamlie that the Churche appointed to Preaching and ministratioun of the Sacramentis shalbe maid a place of Buriall; but that some other secreat and convenient place, lying in the most free air, be appointed for that use; the whiche place aught to be weill walled and feased about, and keaped for that use onlie.

FOR REPARATIOUN OF CHURCHES.[2]

LEAST that the worde of God, and ministratioun of the Sacramentis, by unseamelynes of the place, come in contempt, of

[1] In edit. 1621, the words, "preaching of the," are omitted.

[2] In edit. 1722, Chap. XV.

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necessitie it is, that the Churches and places[1] whair the people aught publictlie to convene, be with expeditioun repaired in durres, wyndois, thak, and with suche preparationis within, as apperteaneth, alsweall to the majestie of the word[2] of God as unto the ease and commoditie of the people. And becaus we knaw the slouthfulnes of men in this behalf, and in all other whiche may not redound to thair privat commoditie; strait charge and commandiment must be gevin, that within a certane day the reparationis must be begune, and within another day, to be affixed by your Honouris, that thei be finished: penalteis and soumes of money must be injoyned, and without pardone taken from the contempnaris.

AGGREIT ON.

The reparatioun would be according to the possibilitie and nomber of the Churche.[3] Everie Churche must have durres, cloise wyndoes of glass, thak or sclait able[4] to withhold raine, a bell to convocat the people together, a pulpite, a basyn for baptisme, and tables for the ministratioun of the Lordis Suppar. In greater churches, and whair the congregatioun is great in number, must reparatioun be maid within the Churche for the quiet and commodious receaving of the people. The expensses to be lyfted partlie of the people, and partlie of the teindis, at the consideratioun of the Ministerie.

For Punishment of those that prophane the Sacramentis and do contempt the Word of God, and dare presume to minister thame, not being thairto lauchfullie called.[5]

As Sathan hath never ceassed frome the begyning to draw mankynd in one of two extremiteis, to wit, that men should eathir be so ravished with gazing upoun the visible creaturis,

[1] In edit. 1621, "that the Kirk and place."

[2] In edit. 1621, the words, "of the word," are omitted.

[3] In edit. 1621, "according to the abilitie and number of kirks."

[4] In edit. 1621, "thack able to."

[5] In edit. 1722, Chap. XVI.

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that forgetting the caus why thai war ordeyned,[1] thai attributed unto thame a vertew and power which God hath not granted unto thame; or ellis that men should sa contempne and dispyse Godis blessed ordinance and holy institutionis, as [if] that neathir in the rycht use of thame war thair any proffeit, neathir yit in thair prophanatioun war thair any danger. As this wyese, we say, Sathan hath blynded the most parte of mankynd from the begyning; so doubt we not, but that he will stryve to continew in his malice evin to the end. Oure eyis have seane, and presentlie do see the experience of the one and of the other. What was the opinioun of most parte of men, of the Sacrament of Christis bodie and bloode, during the darknes of superstitioun, is not unknawin, how it was gazed upoun, kneeled unto, borne in processioun, and finallie wirschipped and honored as Christ Jesus him selve. And so long as Sathan mycht thane reteane man in that damnable idolatrie, he was quyet, as one that possessed his kingdome of darknes peceablie. But since that it hath pleased the mercyis of God to reveill unto the unthankfull world the lyght of his wourd, the rycht use and administratioun of his sacramentis, he assayis man upoun the contrarie parte. For whair, (not lang ago,) men stude in suche admiratioun of that idoll in the Messe, that none durst presume to have said the Messe, but the foirsworne schavin sorte, the beastis marked men some dar now be so bald; as without all convocatioun, to minister, (as thai suppoise,) the treu sacramentis in open assemblies; and some idiottis, (yit more wickedlie and more imprudentlie,) dar counterfait in thair housses that which the treu Ministeris do in the open congregatioun; thei presume, (we say,) to do it in housses without reverence, without word preached, and without Minister, other then of companioun to companioun.[2] This contempt proceideth, no doubt, from the

[1] In edit. 1621, "the cause wherefore they are ordained."

[2] The last six words are omitted in edit. 1621.

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malice and craft of that Serpent who first deceaved man, of purpoise to deface the glory of Christis evangell, and to bring his blessed sacramentis in a perpetuall contempt. And farther, your Honouris may clearlie see how proudlie and stubburnlie the most parte despyse the Evangell of Christ Jesus offered unto you; whome onles that scharplie and stoutlie ye resist, we meane alsweill the manifest dispysar as the prophanare of the sacramentis, ye shall fynd thame pernitious ennemyes or it be long. And thairfoir, in the name of the Eternall God, and of his Sone Christ Jesus, we require of your Honouris, that, without delay, strait Lawis be maid against the one and the other.

We dare not prescribe unto you what penalties shalbe required of suche: But this we fear not to affirme, that the ane and the other deserve death; for yf he which doeth falsefye the
OPTIMA COLLATIO. the seall, subscriptioun, or coynzie of a king is adjudged worthy of death; what shall we think of him who planlie doeth falsefye the Seallis of Christ Jesus, Prince of the Kingis of the earth? Yf Darius pronunced, that a bauk[1] should be taken frome the house of that man, and he him self hinged upoun it, that durst attempt to hinder the re-edificatioun[2] of the materiall Temple, What shall we say of those that contempteouslie blaspheme God, and manifestlie hynder the [spirituall] Temple of God, which is the saullis and bodyis of the elect, to be purged by the treu preaching of Christ Jesus, from the superstitioun and damnable idolatrie in which thai have bene of long plunged and holdin captive? Yf ye, (as God forbid,) declair your selfis cairless ower the treu Religioun, God will not suffer your negligence unpunished. And thairfoir, moir earnestlie require we, that strait lawis may be maid against the stubburne contempnaris of Christ Jesus, and against such as dare presume to minister his Sacramentis, not ordourlie called to that office, least that whill thair be none found to

[1] In edit. 1621, "a balk." [2] In edit. 1621, "the re-edifying."

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ganestand impietie, the wrayth of God be kindilled against the hoill.

The Papisticall Preastis have neather power nor authoritie to minister the Sacramentis of Christ Jesus; becaus that in thair mouth is not the sermon of exhortatioun. And thairfoir, to thame most strait inhibitioun be maid, notwithstanding any usurpatioun whiche thai have had in that behalf in the tyme of blyndnes:[1] It is neathir the clipping of thair crownes, the crossing[2] of thair fingaris, nor the blowing of the dum doggis, called the Bischopis, neathir yit the laying on of thair handis, that maketh thame treu Ministeris of Christ Jesus. But the Spreit of God inwardlie first moving the heartis to seke[3] Christis glorie and the proffeit of his Churche, and thaireftir the nominatioun of the People, the examinatioun of the learned, and publict admissioun, (as befoir is said,) maikis men lauchfull Ministeris of the wourd and sacramentis. We speak of ane ordinarie vocatioun, whare churches ar reformed, or at least tend to reformatioun,[4] and not of that which is extraordinarye, when God by him self, and by his only power, raseth up to the Ministerie such as best pleaseth his wisdome.

The Conclusioun.

Thus have we, in these few Headis, offered unto youre Honouris oure judgmentis, according as we war commanded, tueching the Reformatioun of thingis which heirtofoir have altogidder bene abused in this cursed Papistrie. We doubt not but some of oure Petitionis shall appear strange unto you at the first sight. But yf your Wisdomes deaplie considder,

[1] The edit. 1722, here supplies, "not to presume upon the like hereafter, as likewise to all others who are not lawfully called to the holy Ministry."

[2] In edit. 1621, "the greasing."

[3] In edit. 1722, is here added, "to seek to enter in the holy Calling for Christis glorie."

[4] In edit. 1621, the words after "ordinarie vocation" are omitted: in the edit. 1722, their place is thus supplied, "in Kirks reformed."

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that we must ansuer not onlie unto men, but also befoir the throne of the Eternall God, and of his Sone Christ Jesus, for the counsall which we geve in this so grave a mater; your Honouris shall easilie considder, that more assured it is till us to fall in the displeasour of all men in earth, then to offend the Majestie of God, whose justice can not suffer flatteraris and deceitfull Counsalouris unpunished.

That we require the Churche to be set at suche libertie, that scho neathir be compelled to fead idill bellyes, neathir yit to susteane the tyrannye which heirtofoir by violence hath bene manteaned, we know will offend many. But yf we should keape silence heirof, we ar most assured to offend the just and rychteous God, who by the mouth of his Apostle hath pronunced this sentence:—"He that lauboreth nott, let him not eat." Yf we in this behalf, or in any other, requyre or ask any [other] thing, than by Goddis expressed commandiment, by equitie and good conscience ye ar bound to grant, lett it be noted, and after repudiat; but yf we require nothing which God requyreth not also, let your Honouris tack head, how ye ganestand the charge of him whose hand and punishment ye can not eschape.

Yf blynd affectioun rather lead you to have respect to the sustentatioun of those your carnall Freindis, who tyrannouslie have impyred above the poor flock of Christ Jesus, than that the zeall of Goddis glorie provock and move you to sett his oppressed Churche at fredome and libertie, we fear your scharpe and suddane punischmentis, and that the glorie and honour of this interpryse be reserved unto otheris.

And yitt shall this oure judgment abyd to the Generationis following for a monument and witness, how lovinglie God called you and this Realme[1] to repentance, what counsallouris God send unto you, and how ye [have] used the same. Yf obedientlie ye hear God now calling, we doubt not but he

[1] In edit. 1621, "this nation."

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shall hear you in your greatest necessitie. But yf, following youre awin corrupt judgmentis, ye contempt his voice and vocatioun, we ar assured that your formare iniquitie, and present ingratitude, shall togither crave just punishment frome God, who can not long delay to execute his most just judgmentis, when, after many offenses and long blyndness, grace and mercy offered is contemptuouslie refused.

God the Father of oure Lord Jesus Christ, by the power of his Holy Spreit, so illuminat your heartis, that ye may clearlie see what is pleasing and acceptable in his presence; so bow the same till his obedience, that ye may prefer his reveilled will to your awin affectionis; and so strengthen you by the spreit of fortitude, that boldlie ye may punishe vyce, and maintene virtue within this Realme, to the praise and glorie of his Holy name; to the conforte and assurance of your awin Consciences, and to the consolatioun and good example of the Posteriteis following. Amen. So be it.

By your Honouris

Most humble Servitouris, etc.

Frome Edinburgh,

The 20 of Maij 1560.

Act of Secreit Counsall, xxvii Januarii, Anno &c., lx°.[1]

We, quhilkis hes subscryvit thir Presentis, haveand avysit with the Articles heirin specifeit, as is abone mentionat fra the begynning of this Book, thinkis the samin good, and conforme to Goddis Word in all pointis; conforme to the Notes and Additionis thairto eikit; and promittis to sett the samin fordwarte at the uttermost of oure poweris: Providing that the Bischoppis, Abbotis, Priouris, and otheris Prelattis and beneficit men, quhilkis ellis hes adjonit thame to us, bruik the

[1] That is, the 27th (in edit. 1621, the 17th) of January 1560-1; as the year did not begin at that time till the 25th of March.

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reveneues of thair benefices during thair liftymes, thei susteanand and uphaldand the Ministerie and Ministeris, as is herein specifeit, for preaching of the Word, and ministering of the Sacramentis of God.

(*Sic Subscribitur.*)

JAMES.[1]
JAMES HAMMYLTON.[2]
AR^D. ERGYLL.[3]
JAMES STEWART.[4]
ROTHESS.[5] JAMES HALIBURTON.[6]
R. BOYD.[7]
ALEX^R. CAMPBELL, DENE OF MURRAY.[8]
VILLIAM OF CULROS.[9]
MAISTER ALEX^R. GORDOUN.[10]
BARGANY YOUNGER.[11]
ANDRO KER *of Fawdonsyd.*[12]
T. SCOTT *of Hanyng.*[13]
JOHNE LOKHART *of Barr.*[14]
GEORGE CORRIE *of Kelwod.*[15]
JOHNE SCHAW *of Halie.*[16]
ANDRO HAMMYLTOUN *of Lethame.*[17]
GLENCARN.[18]
UCHILTRIE.[19]
SANQUHAR.[20]
SANCTJOHNS.[21]
WILLIAM LORD HAY.[22]
DRUMLANGRIKE.[23]
CONYGHAMHEID.[24]
JOHNE MAXWELL.[25]
GEORGE FENTOUN *of that Ilk.*[26]
LOCHINWARK.[27]

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[1] James Duke of Chattelherault, Regent and Governor of Scotland, after the death of James the Fifth: see vol. i. pp. 95, 242. In edit. 1621, his name is omitted in the above list.

[2] James third Earl of Arran, and eldest son of the Duke of Chattelherault. Owing to his declared incapacity, at his father's death, in 1575, the family estates devolved upon Lord John Hamilton the second son; but the Earl survived till 1609.

[3] Archibald fifth Earl of Argyle, succeeded to the title in 1558. He at first adhered to the Queen Regent, but soon joined the Lords of the Congregation, and continued to act along with the Earl of Murray, until 1568, when he went over to the Queen's party, without materially aiding her cause. When the Earl of Morton was chosen Regent, the Earl of Argyle succeeded him as Lord Chancellor, 17th January 1573; but he did not long enjoy his honours, having died suddenly on the 12th September 1573, and not 1575 as stated in the Peerages and other works. (Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 337, and Register of Confirmed Testaments.)

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[4] Lord James Stewart, Commendator of St. Andrews and Pittenweem; afterwards Earl of Murray, and Regent of Scotland.

[5] Andrew fourth Earl of Rothes, succeeded on the death of his father, November 1558.

[6] In the MS. this name stands in a kind of intermediate column by itself. James Halyburton, sometimes styled Tutor of Pitcur. He was a person of great activity and influence, and filled the office of Provost of Dundee for the long period of thirty-three years. He died in 1588, aged seventy.

[7] Robert, fourth Lord Boyd, had a pension from England, and was concerned in most of the public affairs between 1560, and the Raid of Ruthven in 1582. He was appointed an Extraordinary Lord of Session, 24th October 1578. Although removed in 1578, he was subsequently restored, and died 3d January 1590, in the 72d year of his age. (Brunton & Haig's Senators of the College of Justice, p. 155.)

[8] Alexander Campbell, Dean of Murray, was the third son of Colin, third Earl of Argyle. In the edit. 1621, the name Dean of Murray has been separated from Alexander Campbell, as if two distinct persons. Alexander Dunbar, Sub-Chantor of Murray, was appointed a Lord of Session, 16th August 1560, as he appears in the Books of Sederunt, on the 26th June 1566, under the designation of Dean of Murray, we may presume that Campbell was then dead.

[9] William Colville, Commendator of Culross: see note in the Appendix to the present volume.

[10] Alexander Gordon, titular Archbishop of Athens, was second son of John, Master of Huntly, by Jane, natural daughter of King James the Fourth. He was Bishop of the Isles, in 1558, and Abbot of Inchaffray and Icolmkill; and was translated to the See of Galloway, after the death of Andrew Durie, in September 1558. He joined the Reformers, and still enjoyed his titles; but he was not allowed to exercise his functions as a bishop, nor was his petition acceded to, to be appointed visitor of the churches within his diocese of Galloway. He died 11th November 1575. (Register of Confirmed Testaments.)

[11] Thomas Kennedy, of Bargany, (in the parish of Dailly, Ayrshire,) the son of Sir Thomas Kennedy. In 1540, he is styled "Apparent of Bargany;" and died in June 1564. (Register of Confirmed Testaments, 26th April 1580.)

[12] Andrew, (frequently by mistake called Sir Andrew) Ker of Faldonsyde, in Selkirkshire. He was concerned in Riccio's murder, and was at the battle of Langsyde in 1568. He had from Parliament a ratification of the third part of the lands and barony of Bolton in 1581. He married, for his second wife, Margaret Stewart, daughter of Lord Ochiltree, and widow of John Knox. He died about the year 1598.

[13] Thomas Scott of Hayning, in Selkirkshire. A Charter of Confirmation, "quondam Thomæ Scott de Hanyng," of the lands of Eleistoun, in the shire of Roxburgh, dated 23d March 1575-6, shows that he was dead in 1576.

[14] John Lockhart of Bar, in the parish of Galston, Ayrshire. He died before 10th May 1575, when his son John Lockhart of Bar was served his heir. (Retours, Ayr, No. 18.)

[15] In the edit. 1621, this name is omitted. George Corrie of Kelwood was served heir of his father, Thomas Corrie of Kelwood, "qui obiit sub Majestatis vexillo in bello de Fausyde," 25th October 1547. (Retours, Ayr, No. 2.) He was alive in December 1580. (Pitcairn's Crim. Trials, vol. i. p. 89.)

[16] John Schaw of Haly, near Largs, in Ayrshire.

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[17] Andrew Hamilton of Lethame, in Lanarkshire. He was Captain of the Castle of Dumbarton in 1546. He went to France on a mission in 1550, and had a charter under the Great Seal of the lands of Drumcross, in the county of Linlithgow in 1552. He was at the Raid of Stirling in 1571, and died before 1585. (Anderson's House of Hamilton, pp. 320, 469.)

[18] Alexander Earl of Glencairn: see vol. i. p. 72. He died in the year 1574. (Register of Confirmed Testaments.)

[19] Andrew, second Lord Stewart, of Ochiltree or Uchiltree, in Ayrshire. He succeeded to the title in 1548, and survived till near the close of the 16th century.

[20] Edward Lord Crichton of Sanquhar, ancestor of the Earls of Dumfries (now represented by the Marquis of Bute.) He died 23d May 1569, and was succeeded by "his son and air, Robert, now Lord Creichton," who was then a minor. (Register of Confirmed Testaments, 8th March 1573-4.)

[21] Sir James Sandilands, Lord St. John, and afterwards Lord Torphichen: see vol. i. p. 301; vol. ii. p. 125.

[22] William fifth Lord Hay of Yester, was served heir of his father in 1559. He died in August 1576.

[23] Sir James Douglas of Drumlanrig, ancestor of the Marquesses of Queensberry, was Knighted by the Governor of Scotland in 1553, and appointed Warden of the West Marches. He died in 1578.

[24] William Cunningham of Cunninghamhead, in Ayrshire. He died in January 1575-6. (Register of Confirmed Testaments, 17th April 1577.)

[25] In edit. 1621, "James Maxwell." As John sixth Lord Maxwell was a minor at his father's death in 1552, and was not served heir till May 1569, it was no doubt Sir John Maxwell of Terreglis, (who became Lord Herries in 1567,) whose signature was attached to the Book of Discipline.

[26] George Fenton of Fenton was probably succeeded by "John Fenton of that Ilk," to whom the three daughters of Patrick Quhitlaw of Quhitlaw were served heirs-portioners of their grand-uncle (*abavus*), 30th March 1586. (Retours, Haddington, Nos. 399, 400, 401.)—In MS. 1566, the name is made "George Seton." As Lord Seaton was the head of the family, there could be no Seaton of that Ilk; and George fifth Lord Seaton never joined the Reformers.

[27] Sir John Gordon of Lochinvar, in Kirkcudbrightshire, the ancestor of the Earls of Kenmure. In 1555, he was appointed Justiciary of the Lordship of Galloway. He survived till the year 1604. (Douglas and Wood's Peerage, vol. ii. p. 25.)

According to Knox, (see page 129,) who is followed by Calderwood, Petrie, Spotiswood, and other writers, in addition to the above Subscribers to the Book of Discipline, there were,

WILLIAM, EARL MARISCHALL.
JOHN, EARL OF MENTEITH.
JAMES, EARL OF MORTON, (afterwards Regent.)
JOHN, LORD LINDESAY of the Byris.
PATRICK MASTER OF LINDESAY.
SIR ALEXANDER STEWART, Younger of Garlies, (who was slain at Stirling in September 1571.)

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Fol. 273.

Ad

Becaus we h
to these that shal
of ye Ministeris, w
unto zr honouris su
differente betuix
hall many superint
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deferve depositioun

Fol. 300.

thame to ws brink the
lystymes, thei sustenand
as is herin spotiseit for
the sacramentis of god.

James
James Hamy
Ard Ergyll
James stewart
Rothess. James Hu
Boyd.
Alexr Campbell Dom
of Murray.
Villiam of Cubros

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THE FOURT BOOK OF THE PROGRESSE AND CONTINUANCE OF TREU RELIGIOUN WITHIN SCOTLAND.

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In the former Bookis,[1] gentill Reidar, thou may clearlie see how potentlie God hath performed, in these our last and wicked dayis, alsweall as in the aiges that have passed befoir us, the promisses that is maid to the servandis of God, by the propheite Esais, in these wordis:—"Thei that waite upoun the Lord shall renewe thair strenth; thei sall lift up the wynges as the egles: thei shall runne, and not be wearie; thei shall walke, and not fainte." This promeise, we say, suche as Sathan hath not utterlie blyndit may see performed in us, the professouris of Christ Jesus, within this Realme of Scotland, with no les evidencye, than it was in any aige that ever have passed befoir us. For what was oure force? What was our nomber? Yea, what wisdome or warldlie pollicey was into us, to have brought to ane goode end so great ane interpryse? Oure verray enemyes can bear witnesse. And yit in how great puritie God did establisse amanges us his treu Religioun, alsweall in doctrine as in ceremonyes! To what confusion and fear war idolateris, adulteraris, and all publict transgressoris of Goddis commandimentis, within short tyme brought? The publict ordour of the Churche,[2] yet by the mercy of God preserved, and the punishmentis executed against malefactouris, can testifie unto the world. For as tueching the doctrine taught by our Ministeris, and as tueching the administratioun of Sacramentis used in our Churches, we ar bold to affirme, that thair is no

[1] In MS. L 4, is this note at the top margin, "This Preface was not written by Mr. Knox untill the moneth of Maij 1566." This indeed we learn from Knox's own words, in the second following page. In the MS. 1566, the commencement of Book Fourth forms part of one of the re-written quires or sets.

[2] MS. G, has always "Kirk;" MSS. M, and L 4, "Churche."

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realme this day upoun the face of the earth, that hath thame in grettar puritie;—yea, (we mone speak the treuth whomesoever we offend,) thair is none (no realme, we meane) that hath thame in the lyek puritie: For all otheris (how synceare that ever the doctrine be, that by some is taught,) reteane in thair churches, and the ministeris thairof, some footsteppis of Antichrist, and some[1] dreggis of Papistrie;[2] but we (all praise to God alone) have no thing within oure Churches that ever flowed frome that Man of synne: And this we acknowledge to be the strenth gevin unto us by God, because we esteamed nott our selves wyise in oure awin eyes, but understanding our hoill wisdome to be but meare foolishnes, befoir [the Lord] our God, layed it asyd, and followed onlie that whiche we fand approved by him self.

THE FIRST PETITIOUN OF THE PROTESTANTIS OF SCOTLAND.

In this poynt could never our enemyes caus us to fainte, for our first Petitioun was, "That the reverent face of the primitive and apostolick Churche should be reduced agane to the eyes and knowledge of men."[3] And in that poynt, we say, our God hath strenthened us till that the work was finished, as the world may see. And as concerning the suppressing of vice, yea, and of the abolishing of all suche thingis as myght nureise impietie within the Realme, the actes and statutis of the principale Townes reformed will yitt testifie: For what adulterar, what fornicatour, what knawin messe-mongare, or pestilent Papist, durst have been seen in publict, within any reformed town within this Realme, befoir that the Quene arryved? And this victorie to his wourde, and terrour to all fylthie lyvaris, did oure God wirk by such as yit leave and remaine witnesses (whither thei will or not) of the foirsaid workis of our God. We say, our God suffered none of those whome he first called to the battell, to perishe or to fall, till

[1] In MS. G, "some" is omitted. In MS. L 4, "some degrees."

[2] In the margin of MS. G, "Witness the tippets and cornered cappes."

[3] See the Petitions referred to, in vol. i. pp. 306, 333, &c.

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that he maid thame victouris of thair ennemyes: For evin as God suffered none of those whome he called frome Egypt to perishe in the Red Sea, how fearfull that ever the danger appeared; so suffered he none of us to be oppressed, nor yit to be takkin from this lyeff, till that mo Pharaoes then one war drowned, and we set at fredome, without all dangear of our ennemyes; to lett boyth us and our posteritie understand, that suche as follow the conducting of God can not perishe, albeit that thei walked in the verray schaddo of death.

But frome whence (allace) cumeth this miserable dispersioun of Goddis people within this Realme, this day, Anno 1566, in Maij?[1] And what is the cause that now the just is compelled to keap silence? good men ar banished, murtheraris, and such as ar knowin unworthie of the commoun societie, (yf just lawis war put in deu executioun,) bear the hoill regiment and swynge within this Realme? We answere, Becaus that sud-dandlie the most parte of us declyned from the puritie of Goddis word, and began to follow the warld; and so agane to schaik handis with the Devill, and with idolatrie, as in this Fourte Booke we will hear.

THE CAUS OF THE TRUBILLIS OF THE KIRK WITHIN SCOTLAND FLOWED FROME THE COURTEIRS THAT SEEMED TO PROFESS THE EVANGELL.[2]

For whill that Papistis war so confounded, that none within the Realme durst more avow the hearing or saying of Messe, then the theavis of Lyddesdaill durst avow thair stowth in presence of ane upryght judge, thair war Protestants found, that eschamed not at tables, and other open places, to ask, "Why may nott the Queyn have hir awin[3] Messe, and the forme of hir Religioun? What cane that hurte us or our Religioun?" And

[1] This "dispersioun of Goddis people," refers to what occurred shortly after the murder of David Riccio, when besides the persons who were implicated in that outrage, many others, like Knox himself, who had rendered themselves obnoxious to the Queen, were obliged to fly from Edinburgh for safety. As Knox was employed at this time, while residing in Kyle, in continuing his History, this may serve to explain, although not to justify, the very strong language which he frequently uses in mentioning Queen Mary, and the license of the courtiers.

[2] MS. L 4, adds to this marginal note, the words, "and did it not,"

[3] MS. G. omits "awin."

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from these two, "Why" and "What," at lenthe sprange out this affirmative, "The Quenis Messe and hir Preastis will we manteine: this hand and this rapper sall feght in thair defence, etc."

The inconvenientis war schawin, both by tongue and pen; but the advertissaris war judged to be men of unquyet spreatis. Thair credytt was defaced at the handis of suche as befoir war not eschamed to have used thair counsall, in materis of greattar importance then to have resisted the Messe. But then, my Lord, my Maister, may nott be thus used: he hes that honour to be the Quenis brother; and thairfoir we will that all men shall understand that he man tender her as his sister; and whosoever will counsall him to displease her, or the least that apperteanes unto hir, shall not find him thair freind; yea, thei ar worthy to be hanged that wald so counsall him, etc.

These and the lyke reassonis took suche deape roote in flesche and bloode, that the trewth of God was almost foryett; and from this fontaine (to wit, that flesche and blood was, and yitt allace, is preferred to God, and to his messengeris rebucking vice and vanitie) hath all our miserie proceeded. For as befoir, so even yitt, althought the Ministeris be sett to beg, the Guard and the Men of war maun be served. Though the blood of the Ministeris be spylt, it is the Quenis servand that did it. Althought Messes be multipleyed in all quarteris of the Realme, who can stop the Quenis subjectis to lyve of the Quenis religioun. Althought innocent men be empreasoned, it is the Quenis pleasur: sche is offended at such men. Althought under pretence of justice innocentis be crewellie murthered; the Lordis shall weape, but the Quenis mynd must be satisfeid. Nobillis of the Realme, Baronis and Counsallouris ar banished, thair eschaittis disponed, and thair lyves maist injustlie persewed. The Quene hes lost hir trusty servand Davy: he was dear unto hir; and thairfoir, for hir honouris sake, sche maun schaw rigour to revenge his death.

THE CORRUPTIOUN THAT ENTERED IN THE QUENIS COURTE.

THE THEOLOGIE OF THE COURTE, AND THAIR REASSONIS.

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And yit farther, albeit that some know that sche hes plainlie purposed to wrak the religioun within this Realme; that to that Romane Antichrist sche hath maid hir promeise; and that from him sche hath tackin money to uphold his pompe within this Realme; yit will thai lett the people understand, that the Quene will establisse religioun, and provide all thingis ordourlie, yf scho war anes delivered.

THIS WAS WRITTEN WHEN THE SECOUND RANK OF THE LORDIS WAS BANISSHED.[1]

Yf such dealings, which ar commoun amangis our Protestantis, be nott to prefer flesche and blood to God, to his treuth, to justice, to religioun, and unto the libertie of this oppressed Realme, let the warld judge. The plagues have bein, and in some part ar present, that war befoir threatned; the rest ayproaches: And yitt who from the heart cryis, "I have offended; the Lord knows: in Thee onlie is the trust of the oppressed; for vaine is the help of man." But now return we to our HISTORIE.

THE nyntene day[2] of August, the year of God J^m V^c threscoir ane yearis, betwix sevin and aught houris befoir noon, arryved MARIE QUENE OF SCOTLAND, then widow, with two galayis furth of France.[3] In[4] hir cumpany, (besydis hir gentilwemen, called the Maries,)[5] war hir thre uncles, the Duck

[1] The Glasgow MS. of Book Fourth, as stated in the preface, vol. i. p. xxxiii. formed originally a separate volume, and was written apparently some years earlier than the first three Books. It contains marginal notes, so nearly *verbatim* with the MS. 1566, as to leave little doubt of its having been copied from it, probably about the year 1580. But to the above marginal note, after "banisshed," there is added: "Anno 1566, after Davie's slauchter."

[2] In MSS. A, M, and L 4, "The twentie day."

[3] The Queen arrived in Leith harbour on Tuesday the 19th August 1561, and landed on the following day.

[4] In MSS. M, and L 4, instead of the next five lines, there is substituted this sentence, which is also copied by Calderwood, (vol. ii. p. 142,) "Shee brought with her als faire jewells, pretious stones and pearles as wer to be found in Europe. Her tapestrie, and other stuff wer brought to Leith, in October. The verie face," &c.

[5] Celebrated in Scotish Song: see "The Queen's Marie," in Sir W. Scott's Border Minstrelsy. One of the verses in this ballad of Mary Hamilton, thus names them:

Yestreen the Queen had four Maries,
The night she'll hae but three;
There was Marie Seaton, and Marie Beaton,
And Marie Carmichael, and me.

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D'Omall,[6] the Grand Priour,[7] and the Marques D'Elbuf.[8] Thare accumpanyed hir also,[9] D'Anweill, son to the Constable of France, with other gentilmen of inferiour conditioun, besydis servandis and officiaris.[10] The verray face of heavin, the

Bishop Lesley in describing the persons who accompanied the young Princess in her voyage to France in 1548, (see vol. i. p. 219,) says, "Of the quhilkis thair was four in speciall, of whome everie one of thame buir the samin name of Marie, being of four syndre honourable houses, to wyt, Flemyng, Levingstoun, Setoun, and Beatoun of Creich; quho remanit all foure with the Quene in France, during her residens thair, and returned agane in Scotland with her Majestie, in the yeir of our Lorde J^m V^c lxj yeiris." (History, p. 209.) And in his account of the Queen's arrival in Scotland in 1561, he repeats that she was attended "with many ladies and gentillwemen, speciallie the four maidis of honour quha passit with hir Hienes in France, of hir awin aige, the name everie ane of Marie, as is before mentioned." (Ib. p. 297.) Buchanan, in his verses, The Pomp of the Gods at the Marriage of Queen Mary, 29th July 1565, speaks of her *five* Maries. When she arrived in this country she was still in her first dule or mourning dress. But on the 11th November some change was made in the dresses of her pages and maidens; and one of the entries in the Treasurer's Accounts on that day, is as follows:—"Item, be the Quenis Grace precept, to Jacques de Soulis, talliour to hir Grace, to gif the Madynnis efter following, viz. to —— Flemyng, —— Betoun, —— Sunpartew, —— Levingstoun, —— Seitoun, —— Wardlaw, to by thair secund dule, ilk ane of the said five, ix lib., and to the said Wardlaw, x lib. vij s.—Summa, £55, 7s." There was also furnished black stannyng for clokis, and black velvet to 14 dames, damosels, and maidens, "to be thair secund dule;" to the extent of £144, 18s., and £112, 16s. 8d. Also, on the 18th, £4, 10s. for gray mantill claith, to be a gown, lined with green, for hir Grace's Fule; and on the 28th, £23, for "quhite tafiteis of the cord," and "red tafiteis of the foure threidis," to the Lady Seitoun.

[6] Claude de Lorraine, Duke d'Aumale, third son of Claude Duke de Guise, was born in 1526. He was in the army, and gave proofs of his courage. He was killed at the siege of Rochelle, by a cannon ball, 14th March 1573.

[7] Francis de Lorraine, seventh son of Claude Duke de Guise, was a Knight of Malta, Grand Prior, and General of the French galleys or war vessels. He distinguished himself in the wars with the Turks in 1557; and died from the effects of his exertions at the battle of Dreux, 6th March 1563, aged 29.

[8] René de Lorraine, Marquis d'Elbeuf, was the youngest son of Claude Duke de Guise, and was born in 1536. He became successor to his brother Francis in 1563, as General of the French galleys; but he died in 1566, aged 30.

[9] Henry second son of Anne Duke de Montmorency, and Constable of France, is known in history as the Seigneur de Damville. He was born in 1534, and upon the death of his elder brother in 1579, he succeeded to the Dukedom, and survived till 1614. (Anselme, Histoire Genealogique, vol. iii. p. 605.)

[10] In the Queen's retinue, among other persons of note, was Peter de Bourdeille, known by the name of the Sieur de Brantome, of which he was Abbot. He was attached to the Court as one of the

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time of hir arryvall, did manifestlie speak what confort was brought unto this cuntrey with hir, to wit, sorow, dolour, darknes, and all impietie; for in the memorie of man, that day of the year, was never seyn a more dolorous face of the heavin, then was at hir arryvall, which two days after did so contineu; for besides the surfett weat,[2] and corruptioun of the air, the myst was so thick and so dark, that skairse mycht any man espy ane other the lenth of two pair of buttis. The sun was not seyn to schyne two dayis befoir, nor two dayis after. That foir-warning gave God unto us; but allace, the most pairt war blynd. THE QUENIS LAST ARRIVAL IN SCOTLAND.[1]

At the sound of the cannonis whiche the galayis schot, the multitude being advertissed, happie was he and sche that first myght have the presence of the Quene. The Protestantis war not the slowest, and thairintill thai war not to be blamed.[3] Becaus the Palace of Halyrudhous was not throughlie put in ordour, (for hir cuming was more suddane[4] than many looked for,) sche remaned in Leyth till towardis the evenyng, and then repaired thitther. In the way betwixt Leith and the Abbay, met hir the rebellis of the craftis, (of whom we spak befoir,[5]) to wit, those that had violated the authoritie of the THE QUENIS FIRST GRACE IN DISPYTE OF RELIGIOUN.

gentlemen of the bed-chamber to Charles IX., and Henry III. of France. He owes his distinction to his posthumous Memoirs, which serve at least sufficiently to illustrate the licentious and corrupt state of manners of the time. In his *Vies des Dames Illustres*, there is a *Discours* on Mary Queen of Scots, who, he says, on the day of her nuptials with Francis, "paroistre cent fois plus belle qu'une Deesse du Ciel." He died in July 1614, at the age of 87.

[1] In MS. G, "The Quenis arryval from France."

[2] In MS. G, "surfece weitt." MS. L 4, follows that of 1566, in "surfett."

[3] Instead of this sentence, in MSS. M, and L 4, we find, "Shee wes honnorablie receaved be the Erle of Argyle, the Lord Areskin, Lord James, and other Noblemen, and the Citizens of Edinburgh. Becaus," &c.

[4] The Queen's arrival was earlier than was expected. On the 7th of August, the Treasurer had paid messengers passing "with clois writings" of the Lords of Secret Counsall to the Nobility and Magistratis, and others, "to be in Edinburgh with thair honorable cumpaneis to the Quenis grace enteres furth of France, *ayane the last day of August*." It has been seen that she landed on the 20th of that month."

[5] See pages 155-159.

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Magistratis, and had besieged the Provost. But, because sche was sufficientlie instructed, that all thai did was done in dispite of the religioun, thai war easilie apardoned. Fyres of joy war sett furth all nyght, and a cumpany of the most honest,[1] with instrumentis of musick, and with musitians, geve thair salutationis at hir chalmer wyndo.[2] The melody, (as sche alledged,) lyked hir weill; and sche willed the same to be contineued some nightis after.

With great diligence[3] the Lordis repared unto hir from all quarters. And so was nothing understand[4] but myrth and quyetness till the nixt Sunday, which was the xxiiij of August, when preparatioun began to be maid for that idoll the Messe to be said in the Chapell; which perced the hartis of all. The godlie[5] began to bolden; and men began openlie to speak, "Shall that idoll be suffered agane to tack place within this Realm? It shall not." The Lord Lyndesay, (then but Maister,)[6] with the gentilmen of Fyiff, and otheris, plainlie cryed in the close, "The idolater Preast should dye the death," according to Goddis law. One that caryed in the candell was evill effrayed; but then began flesche and blood to schaw the

THE QUENIS FIRST MESSE.

[1] In MS. G, "of most honest men." MSS. A, and L 4, "the most honest."

[2] Brantome in his account of the Queen's arrival, takes notice of the thick fog (grand broüillard) which prevailed, so that they could not see from one end of the vessel to the other. His account of the serenading of the pious minstrels, is very unlike that of the text. His words are,—"Le soir, ainsi qu'elle se vouloit coucher, estant logée en-bas en l'Abbaye de l'Islebourg, qui est certes un beau bastiment, et ne tient rien du Pays, vindrent sous la fenestre cinq ou six cent marauds de la ville, luy donner aubade de meschants violons et petits rebecs, dont il n'y en a faute en ce pays-la; et se mirent à chanter Pseaumes, tant mal chantez et si mal accordez, que rien plus. He! quelle musique! et quel repos pour sa nuit!"

[3] In MS. G, these words are added to the previous sentence. MS. L 4, follows that of 1566.

[4] In MS. G, "understude."

[5] In MS. G, "which perceaved, the hearts of all the godlie." In MS. M, "The hearts of the godly being pierced with that grosse abhomination, began to bowden and swell." In MS. L 4, "pierced all the heartis of the godlie, that they began to bowden and swell."

[6] Patrick, eldest son of Lord Lindesay, was styled Master of Lindesay, during his father's life. As already noticed, he succeeded to the title in 1563.

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self. Thair durst no Papist, neathir yitt any that cam out of France whisper. But the Lord James[1] (the man whom all the godlye did most reverence) took upoun him to keap the Chapell door. His best excuse was, that he wald stop all Scotishe men to enter in to the Messe. But it was, and is sufficientlie known, that the door was keapt, that nane should have entress to truble the Preast; who, after the Messe, was committed to the protectioun of Lord Johne of Coldinghame,[2] and Lord Robert of Halyrudehouse,[3] who then war boyth Protestantis, and had communicat at the Table of the Lord. Betwix thame two was the Preast convoyed to his chalmer. LORD JAMES [HIS] FACT. CONVOYARIS OF THE PREAST.

And so the godlie departed with great greaf of heart, and at after noon repaired to the Abbay in great companeis, and gave plane significatioun, that thai could not abyd that the land which God by his power had purged from idolatrie, should in thair eyes be polluted agane. Which understand, thair began complaint upoun complaint. The old dountybowris, and otheris that long had served in the Court, and hes no remissioun of synnes, but by virtew of the Messe, cryed, "Thai wald to France without delay: thai could not live without the Messe." The same affirmed the Quenis Uncles. And wold to God that that menxie, togitther with the Messe, had tacken good nyght at this Realme for ever; for so had Scotland bene rydd of ane unprofitable burthen of devouring strangearis, and of the maledictioun of God that hes stricken, and yitt will strike for idolatrie. THE END IS NOTT YITT SEANE.

The Counsall assembled, disputatioun was had of the nixt remeadye. Polytick headis war send unto the Gentilmen,

[1] Lord James Stewart, Prior of St. Andrews.

[2] Lord John Stewart, a natural son of James the Fifth, had the Priory of Coldingham conferred on him in his youth. He has previously been mentioned (*supra*, page 88) as having joined the Reformers.

[3] Lord Robert Stewart, also a natural son of King James the Fifth, by Euphemia Elphinstone, daughter of Lord Elphinstone. He had a grant of the Abbacy of Holyrood in 1589, when only seven years of age. See vol. i. p. 458, and a subsequent note in the present volume.

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THE PERSUASIOUN OF THE COURTEOURIS.

with these and the lyke persuasionis, "Why, allace, will ye chase our Soverane from us? Sche will incontinent return to hir galayes; and what then shall all Realmes say of us? May we nott suffer hir a lytill whill? We doubt not but sche shall leave it. Yf we war not assured that sche myght be wonne, we should be als greate ennemyes to hir Masse, as ye should be. Hir Uncles will depart, and then sall we reull all at our plesour. Wold not we be as sorry to hurt the Religioun as any of you wald be?"

With these and the lyke persuasionis, (we say,) was the fervencie of the Bretheren quenched; and ane Act[1] was framed: the tennour whairof followeth:—

Apud Edinburgh, xxv^to^ Augusti Anno &c. lxi°.

Forsamekle as the Quenis Majestie hes understand the great inconvenientis that may come, through the divisioun presentlie standing in this Realme, for the difference in materis of Religioun, that hir Majestie is most desirous to see [it] pacifeit be ane good ordour, to the honour of God, and tranquillitie of hir Realme, and meanes to tack the same be advyse of hir Estaitis, sa soon as convenientlie may be; and that hir Majesties godlie resolutioun thairin may be greatlie hyndered, in case any tumult or seditioun be raised amanges the lieges, yf any suddane[2] alteratioun or novatioun be preassed [at] or attempted, befoir that the ordour may be establissed: Thairfoir, for eschewing of the saidis inconvenientis, hir Majestie ordanes letteris[3] to be direct to charge all and sindrie hir leiges, be oppin proclamatioun at the Mercat Croce of Edinburgh, and otheris places neidfull, that thai, and everie ane of thame, conteane thame selffis in quyetnesse, keap peace and civile

[1] This Act is not contained in the existing volumes of the Privy Council Records.—In MS. M, the Act itself is omitted, but its purport is briefly stated.

[2] MS. G, omits "suddane."

[3] It appears that such Letters of Proclamation were accordingly issued on the 29th of August. (Treasurer's Accounts.)

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societie amongis thame selffis: And in the meanetyme, while the Estaittis of this Realme may be assembled, and that hir Majestie have tackin ane finall ordour be thair advyse and publict consent, quhilk hir Majestie hopes shalbe to the contentment of the haill, That nane of thame tack upoun hand, privatlie or openlie, to mack alteratioun or innovatioun of the staite of Religioun, or attempt any thing against the form quhilk hir Majestie fand publictlie and universallie standing at hir Majesties arryvell in this hir Realme, under the pane of death: With certificatioun, that yf any subject of the Realme, shall cum in the contrarie heirof, he shalbe estemed and holden a seditious persone and raiser of tumult, and the said paine salbe execut upoun him with all rigour, to the example of otheris. Attour, hir Majestie, be the advise of the Lordis of hir Secreit Counsall, commandis and charges all hir leiges, that nane of thame tack upoun hand to molest or truble any of hir domesticall servandis, or personis whatsumever, come furth of France, in hir Gracis cumpany at this tyme, in wourd, deed, or countenance, for any caus whatsumever, eather within hir Palace or without, or mack ony derisioun[1] or invasioun upoun any of thame, under whatsumever cullour or pretence, under the said paine of death: Albeit hir Majestie be sufficientlie persuaded, that hir good and loving subjectis wold do the same, for the reverence thai bear to hir persone and authoritie, notwithstanding that na sick commandiment war publisshed.

This Act and Proclamatioun, penned and put in form by such as befoir professed Christ Jesus, (for in the Counsall then had Papistis neathir power nor vote,) it was publictlie proclaimed at the Mercat Croce of Edinburgh, upoun Mononday foirsaid. No man reclamed, nor maid repugnance to it, except the Erle of Arrane onlie;[2] who, in open audience of the

[1] In MS. G, "divisioun."

[2] MS. L 4, has this marginal note, "The Erle of Arran's protestation against this proclamation."

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Heraldis and people protested, "That he dissasented that any protectioun or defence should be maid to the Quenis domestickis, or to any that came from France, to offend Goddis Majestie, and to violat the lawis of the Realme, more then to any other subject: for Goddis law had pronunced death against the idolater, and the lawis of the realme had appoynted punishment for sayaris and heararis of Masse; quhilkis, (said he,) I here protest, be universallie observed, and that none be exempted, unto such tyme as a law, als publictlie maid, and als consonant to the law of God, have disannulled the formar." And thairupoun he took documentis, as the tenour of this his Protestatioun doeth witnesse:—

In sa far as be this Proclamatioun it is understand to the Kirk of God, and memberis thairof, that the Quenis Grace is mynded, that the treu religioun and wyrschipping ellis establissed procead fordwart, that it may daly increase, unto the Parliament, that ordour then may be tane for extirpatioun of all idolatrie within this Realme: We rander maist hartlie thankis to the Lord our God for hir Gracis good mynd, earnestlie praying that it may be encreassed in hir Hienes, to the honour and glorie of His name, and weill of his Kirk within this Realme. And as tueching the molestatioun of hir Hienes servandis, we suppose that nane dare be sa bald as anes to move thair fyngar at thame, in doing of thair lefull busines; and as for us, we have learned at oure maister Christis school, "to keap peace with all men;" and thairfoir for our part, we will promeis that obedience unto hir Majestie (as is our dewitie) that nane of hir servandis salbe molested, trubled, or anes tueched, be the Kirk, or any member thairof, in doing thair lefull affairis. But, sen that God hes said, "The idolater shall die the death;" we Protest solempnedlie, in presence of God, and in the earis of the haill people that hearis this Proclamatioun, and specialie in presence of you Lyoun Herald, and of

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the rest of your collegues, &c., makaris of this Proclamatioun, that yf any of hir servandis shall commit idolatrie, specialie say Messe, participat thairwith, or tack the defence thairof, (quhilkis we war leyth should be in hir Grace cumpany,) in that caise, that this Proclamatioun be nott extended to thame in that behalf, nor be not a salfgard or gyrth to thame in that behalf, na mair nor give thai committ slauchter or murther, seing the ane is mekle mair abhominable and odiouse in the syght of God, then is the other: But that it may be laughtfull to inflict upoun thame the painis conteyned in Goddis word aganis idolateris, whairever thai may be apprehended, but favour. And this oure Protestatioun we desyre you to notifie unto hir, and gif hir the copie heirof, least hir Hienes should suspect ane uproar, gif we should all come and present the same. At Edinburgh, the day and year foirsaid.

This baldnes did somewhat exasperat the Quene, and such as favoured hir in that poynt. As the Lordis, callit[1] of the Congregatioun, repared unto the Town, at the first cuming thai schew thame selves wonderouslie offended, that the Messe was permitted; so that everie man as he cam accused thame that war befoir him: but after that thai had remaned a certane space, thai war as quyet as war the formare. Which thing perceaved, a zealous and godlie man, Robert Campbell of Kingzeancleucht, said unto the Lord Vchiltrie, "My Lord, now ye are come, and almost the last of all the rest; and I perceave, by your anger, that the fyre-edge is nott of you yit; but I fear, that after that the holy watter of the Courte be sprinckled upoun you, that ye sall become als temperat[2] as the rest: For I have bene here now fyve dayis, and at the first I hard everie man say, 'Let us hang the Preast;' but after that thai had bene twyse or thrise in the Abbay, all that fervency was past. I

ROBERT CAMPBELL TO THE LORD VCHILTRIE.

[1] In MSS. G, A, and L 4, "then called." The latter has this marginal note, "The fervencie of professors cooled."

[2] In MS. G, "als temperat here."

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think thair be some inchantment whareby men ar bewitched." And in verray deed so it came to pass: for the Quenis flattering wordis, upoun the ane pairte, ever still crying, "Conscience, conscience: it is a sore thing to constreane the conscience;" and the subtile persuasionis of hir suppostis (we mean evin of such as sometymes war judged most fervent with us) upoun the other parte, blynded all men, and putt thame in this opinioun, sche wilbe content to hear the preaching; and so no doubt but sche may be wone. And thus of all it wes concluded, to suffer hir for a tyme.

THE QUENIS PRACTISES AT THE FIRST.

THE JUDGMENT OF JOHNE KNOX UPOUN THE SUFFERING OF THE QUENIS MESSE.[1]

The nixt Sounday, Johnne Knox, inveighing against idolatrie, schew what terrible plagues God had tacken upoun Realmes and Nationis for the same; and added, "That one Messe (thair war no mo suffered at the first) was more fearful to him then gif ten thousand armed enemyes war landed in any pairte of the Realme, of purpose to suppress the hoill religioun. For (said he) in our God thair is strenth to resist and confound multitudis, yf we unfeanedlie depend upoun him; whairof heirtofoir we haif had experience; but when we joyne handis with idolatrie, it is no doubt but that both Godis amicable presence and confortable defence leaveth us, and what shall then become of us? Allace, I fear that experience shall teach us, to the greaf of many." At these wordis, the guydaris of of the Court mocked, and plainlie spak, "That such fear was no poynt of thair fayth: it was besyd his text, and was a verray untymelie admonitioun." But we heard this same Johnne Knox, in the audience of the same men, recyte the same wordis agane in the myddest of trubles; and in the audience of many ask God mercy, that he was nott more vehement and upryght in the suppressing of that idoll in the begynning. "For, (said he,) albeit that I spack that which offended some, (which this day thai see and feall to be treu,) yit

THE COURTEOURIS.

[1] MS. L 4, instead of this marginal note, has "Mr. Knox findeth fault with the toleration of the Quenis Messe."

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did I not [that] which I myght have done; for God had not onlie gevin unto me knowledge, and toung to maik the impietie of that idoll knowin unto this Realme, but he had gevin unto me credyte with many, who wold have put in executioun Goddis judgmentis, yf I wold onlie have consented thairto: But so cairfull was I[1] of that commoun tranquillitie, and so loth was I to have offended those of whom I had conceaved a good opinioun, that in secreat conference with earnest and zealous men, I travaled rather to mitigat, yea, to slokin, that fervencye that God had kyndled in otheris, than to animat or encorage thame to put thair handis to the Lordis work: Whairintill I unfeanedlie acknowledge my selff to have done most wickedlie; and from the bottom of my hart, askis of my God grace and pardon, for that I did not what in me lay to have suppressed that idoll in the begining." These and other wordis did many hear him speak in publict place, in the moneth of December, the year of God J^m V^c and threscoir fyve yearis, when such as at the Quenis arryvell onlie manteyned the Masse, war exyled the Realme, summoned upoun treassone, and decreit of forfaltour intended against thame. But to return from whence we have digressed.

JOHNE KNOX CONFESSIOUN.

Whetther it was by counsall of otheris, or of the Quenis awin desyre, we knaw not; but the Quene spack with Johne Knox, and had long ressoning with him, none being present except the Lord James: (two gentilwemen stood[2] in the other end of the house.) The summe of thair reassoning was this. The Quene accused him, that he had raysed a part of hir subjectis against hir Mother, and against hir self: That he had writtin a book against hir just authoritie, (sche ment the treatise against the Regiment of Wemen[3]) which sche had, and should caus the most learned in Europe to wryte against it: That he was the caus of great seditioun and great slauchter

THE FIRST REASSONING BETWIX THE QUEYN AND JOHNE KNOX.

[1] MS. G, adds here, "quoth he."
[2] In MSS. G, and L4, "two gentilmen."
[3] See this vol. i. page 28.

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in England; and that it was said to hir, that all which he did was by necromancye, &c.

To the whiche the said Johne answered, "Madam, it may please your Majestie patientlie to hear my sempill ansures. And first, (said he,) yf to teach the treuth of God in synceritie, yf to rebuke idolatrie, and to will a people to wyrschip God according to his word, be to raise subjectis against thair Princes, then can not I be excused; for it hes pleased God of his mercy to mack me ane (amongis many) to disclose unto this Realme the vanitie of the Papisticall religioun, and the deceat, pryde, and tyranny of that Romane Antichrist. Bot, Madam, yf the treu knowledge of God, and his rycht wirschipping be the cheaf causses, that must move men from thair heart to obey thair just Princes, (as it is most certane that thai ar,) whairin can I be reprehended? I think, and am surelie persuaded, that your Grace have had, and presentlie have, als unfeaned obedience, of such as profess Jesus Christ within this Realme, as ever your Father, or other progenitouris had of those that war called Bischoppis. And tueching that booke, which seameth so highlie to offend your Majestie, it is most certane that I wrait it, and am content that all the learned of the world judge of it. I hear that ane Englishe man hath writtin against it,[1] but I have not redd him. Yf he have sufficientlie improved my ressones, and establissed his contrarie propositioun, with als evident testimonyes as I have done myne, I shall nott be obstinat, but shall confess my errour and ignorance. Bot to this hour I have thocht, and yit thinkis my self allone to be more able to sustene the thingis affirmed in that my wark, than any ten in Europe salbe able to confute it."

"Ye think then, (quod sche,) that I have no just authoritie?"

"Pleise your Majestie, (said he,) that learned men in all aiges

[1] John Aylmer: see this vol. page 26, note 3.

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have had thair judgmentis free, and most commonlie disagreing frome the commoun judgment of the warld; suche also have thei publisshed, boyth with pen and toung, and yit notwithstanding thei thame selves have lived in the commoun societie with otheris, and have borne patientlie with the errours and imperfectionis whiche thei could not amend. Plato, the philosopher, wrote his Bookis of the Commounwealth, in the whiche he dampneth many thingis that then war manteaned in the world, and required many thingis to have bene reformed; and yitt, notwithstanding he lived evin under suche policies, as then war universallie receaved, without farther trubling of any estait. Evin so, Madam, am I content to do, in uprightness of heart, and with a testimonye of a good conscience. I have communicat my judgment to the world: Yf the Realme fyndis no inconvenience frome the regiment of a woman, that whiche thei approve shall I not farther disallow, then within my awin breast, but salbe alse weall content to lyve under your Grace, as Paull was to lyve under Nero; and my hope is, that so long as that ye defyle not your handis with the blood of the sanctis of God, that neather I nor that Booke shall eather hurt you or your authoritie: for in verray deed, Madame, that Book was written most especialie against that wicked Jesabell of England."[1]

"But (said sche) ye speak of women in generall."

"Most treu it is, Madame, (said the other,) and yit it appeareth to me that wisdome should persuade your Grace, never to raise truble for that, whiche to this day hath not trubled your Majestie, neather in persone nor yit in authoritie. For of lait yearis, many thingis, whiche befoir war haldin stable, have bene called in doubt; yea thei have bene plainlie impugned. But yit, Madame, (said he,) I am assured that neather Protestant nor Papist shalbe abill to prove, that any suche questioun was at any time moved in publict or in secreat. Now,

[1] That is, Mary, Queen of England.

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Madam, (said he,) yf I had intended to have trubled your estaite, becaus ye ar a woman, I myght have chosen a tyme more convenient for that purpose, then I can do now, when your awin presence is within the Realme.

"But now, Madam, schortlie to ansuer to the other two accusationis. I hartlie praise my God, throwgh Jesus Christ, that Sathan the ennemye of mankynd, and the wicked of the world, have no other crymes to lay to my charge, then suche as the verray world it self knoweth to be most fals and vane. For in England I wes resident onlie the space of fyve yearis.[1] The places war Berwick, whair I abode two yearis; so long in the New Castell; and a year in London. Now, Madam, yf in any of these places, during the tyme that I wes thair, any man salbe able to prove, that thair wes eather battell, seditioun, or mutinie, I shall confesse that I my selff was the malefactour, and the scheddar of the bloode. I eschame not, Madam, farther to affirme, that God so blissed my waik laubouris, that in Berwick (whair commonlie befoir thair used to be slauchter, be ressone of quarrellis that used to aryse amongis soldartis) thair was as great quyetnes, all the tyme that I remaned thair, as thair is this day in Edinburgh.[2] And whare the sclander me of magick, nycromancie, or of any other arte forbidden of God, I have witnesses, (besydis my awin conscience,) all[3] congregationis that ever heard me, what I spake both against suche artis, and against those that use suche impietie. But, seing the wicked of the world said, That my Maister, the Lord Jesus, was possessed with Beelzebub, I man

[1] Knox's residence in England extended from the period of his release from the French galleys till the death of Edward the Sixth, (1549-1553:) see vol. i. pp. xv. xvi.

[2] Knox's interview took place on a Tuesday, the 26th of August. Randolph alludes to it in a letter to Cecil, dated 7th September. Mr. Knox spoke upon Tuesday with the Quene. "He knocked so hardelye upon her harte, that he made her weepe, as well you know ther be of that sexe that will do that as well for anger as for greef, &c. . . . The brute [report] that he hathe tawlked with the Quene maketh the Papistis dowte what wyll become of the worlde." (Wright's Queen Elizabeth, vol. i. p. 72.)

[3] In MS. G, "all the."

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patientlie bear, albeit that I, wretched synnar, be injustlie accused of those, that never delyted in the veritie."

THE QUKNIS SECOUND OBJECTIOUN.

"But yit, (said sche) ye have taught the peeple to receave ane other Religioun, than thair Princes can allow: And how can that doctrin be of God, seing, that God commandis subjectis to obey thair Princes?"

[ANSWER.]

"Madam, (said he,) as rycht Religioun tooke nather originall strenth [1] nor authoritie frome worldly Princes, but frome the Eternall God allone, so are not subjectis bound to frame thair Religioun according to the appetites of thair Princes. For oft it is, that Princes ar the most ignorant of all otheris in Goddis treu Religioun, as we may reid in the historyes alse weill befoir the death of Christ Jesus, as efter. Yf all the sead of Abraham should have bene of the Religioun of Pharao, whome to thei war lang subjectis, I pray you, Madam, what Religioun should thair have bene in the world? Or, yf all men in the dayis of the Apostles should have bene of the Religioun of the Romane Emperouris, what Religioun should thair have bene upoun the face of the earth? Daniell and his fellowis war subjectis to Nabuchadonozzar, and unto Darius, and yitt, Madam, thei wold nott be of thair Religioun, neather of the one or of the other: for the thre Children said, "We maik it known unto thee, O King, that we will not worschip thy goddis." And Daniell did pray publictlie unto his God against the expressed commandiment of the King. And so, Madam, ye may perceave, that subjectis ar not bound to the Religioun of thair Princes, albeit thei ar commanded to geve thame obedience."

THE THIRD OBJECTIOUN.

"Yea, (quod sche,) but nane of thai men raised the sweard against thair Princes."

[ANSWER.]

"Yit, Madam, (quod he,) ye cane not deny but that they resisted: for these that obey nott the commandimentis that ar gevin, in some sort resist."

[1] MS. G, omits this word, "strenth."

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QUESTIOUN. "But yit, (said sche,) thei resisted not by the sweard?"

[ANSWER.] "God, (said he,) Madam, had not gevin unto thame the power and the meanes."

"Think ye, (quod sche,) that subjectis having power may resist thair Princes?"

"Yf thair Princes exceed thair boundis, (quod he,) Madam, and do against that whairfoir they should be obeyed, it is no doubt but thei may be resisted, evin by power. For thair is neather greattar honour, nor greattar obedience to be gevin to kings or princes, then God hes commanded to be gevin unto father and mother: But so it is, Madam, that the father may be stricken with a phrensye, in the which he wold slay his awin childrene. Now, Madame, yf the children aryese, joyne thame selfis togetther, apprehend the father, tack the sweard or other weaponis frome him, and finallie bind his handis, and keape him in preasone, till that his phrenesy be over past; think ye, Madam, that the children do any wrang? Or, think ye, Madam, that God wilbe offended with thame that have stayed thair father to committ wickedness? It is even so, (said he,) Madam, with Princes that wold murther the children of God that are subject unto thame. Thair blynd zeall is no thing but a verray mad phrenesie; and thairfoir, to tack the sweard frome thame, to bynd thair handis, and to cast thame selfis in preasone, till that thei be brought to a more sober mynd, is no disobedience against princes, but just obedience, becaus that it aggreith with the will of God."

QUESTIOUN TO ANSWER THE FORMAR.

BLYND ZEALL WHAT.

WHEN THIS WAS WRITTEN, THAIR WES NO APPEARANCE OF MARIE'S EMPREASONMENT.[1]

At these wordis, the Quene stood as it war amased, more then the quarter of ane hour. Hir countenance altered, so that Lord James begane to entreat her, and to demand, "What hes offended you, Madam?"

At lenth, scho said, "Weall then I perceave that my sub-

[1] This marginal note in MS. 1566, occurs in one of the re-written sets or quires, and is in the same hand with the text. The reference is evidently to the imprisonment of Queen Mary in Lochlevin Castle, in June 1567, from whence she made her escape on the 2d May 1568.

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jectis shall obey you,[1] and not me; and shall do what thei list, and nott what I command: and so man I be subject to thame, and nott thei to me." THE QUENIS CONCLUSIOUN.

"God forbid, (answered he,) that ever I tack upoun me to command any to obey me, or yitt to set subjectis at libertie to do what pleaseth thame. Bot my travell is, that boyth princes and subjectis obey God. And think not, (said he,) Madam, that wrong is done unto you, when ye ar willed to be subject unto God: for it is he that subjects people under princes, and causses obedience to be gevin unto thame; yea, God craves of Kingis That thei be as it war foster-fatheris to his Churche, and commands Quenis to be nurisses unto his people. And this subjectioun, Madam, unto God, and unto his trubled Churche, is the greatest dignitie that flesche can get upoun the face of the earth, for it shall cary thame to everlasting glorie."

"Yea, (quod sche,) but ye are not the Kirk that I will nureiss. I will defend the Kirk of Rome, for, I think, it is the treu Kirk of God." THE QUENIS KIRK.

"Your will, (quod he,) Madam, is no reassone; neather doeth your thoght maik that Romane harlot to be the treu and immaculat spous of Jesus Christ. And wonder nott, Madam, that I call Rome a harlott; for that Churche is altogidder polluted with all kynd of spirituall fornicatioun, alsweall in doctrine as in maneris. Yea, Madam, I offer myselff farther to prove, that the Churche of the Jewes that crucifyed Christ Jesus, was not so far degenerated frome the ordinances and statutis which God gave be Moses and Aharon unto his people, when that thei manifestlie denyed the Sone of God,[2] as that the Churche of Rome is declyned, and more than five hundreth year hath declyned frome the puritie of that Religioun, whiche the Apostles taught and planted."

"My conscience, (said sche,) is nott so."

[1] Namely, John Knox.

[2] In MS. G, these words are transposed.

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"Conscience, Madam, (said he,) requyres knowlege; and I fear that rycht knowlege ye have none."

"But, (said sche,) I have bayth heard and red."

QUESTIOUN. "So, (said he,) Madam, did the Jewes that crucifyed Christ Jesus, read both the Law and the Prophetis, and heard the same interprete after thair maner. Have ye heard, (said he,) any teache, but such as the Pope and his Cardinalles have allowed? And ye may be assured, that suche will speak nothing to offend thair awin estaite."

ANSWER. "Ye interprete the Scripturis (said she,) in one maner, and thei interprete in ane other; Whome shall I beleve? And who shalbe judge?"

"Ye shall beleve (said he,) God, that planelie speaketh in his word: and farther then the word teaches you, ye neather shall beleve the ane or the other. The word of God is plane in the self; and yf thair appear any obscuritie in one place, the Holy Ghost, whiche is never contrariouse to him self, explanes the same more clearlie in other places: so that thair can remane no doubt, but unto suche as obstinatlie remane ignorant. And now, (said he,) Madam, to tack ane of the cheaf pointis, whiche this day is in contraversie betwix the Papistis and us: for example, the Papistis allege, and boldly have affirmed, MESSE. That the Messe is the ordinance of God, and the institutioun of Jesus Christ, and a sacrifice for the synnes of the quyck and the dead. We deny bothe the one and the other, and affirme, that the Messe, as it is now used, is nothing but the inventioun of man; and, thairfoir, is an abominatioun befoir God, and no sacrifice that ever God commanded. Now, Madam, who shall judge betwix us two thus contending? It is no reassone that eather of the parteis be farther beleved, then thei are able to prove by insuspect witnessing: Let thame lay down the book of God, and by the plane wordis thairof prove their affirmatives, and we shall geve unto thame the pley granted. But so long as thei ar bold to affirme, and yit do prove nothing, we

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man say, that albeit all the warld beleved thame, yit beleve thei not God, but receaves the lyes of men for the treuth of God. What oure maister Jesus Christ did, we know by his Evangelistis: what the preast doeth at his Messe, the warld seeth. Now, doeth nott the word of God planelie assure us, that Christ Jesus neather said, nor yit commanded Messe to be said at his Last Suppar, seing that no suche thing as thair Messe is maid mentioun of within the whole Scripturis?"

"Ye ar oure sair for me, (said the Quene,) but and yf thai war here that I have heard, thai wold ansuer you."

"Madam, (quod the other,) wold to God that the learnedest Papist in Europe, and he that ye wold best beleve, war present with your Grace to sustene the argument; and that ye wald patientlie abyd to hear the mater reassoned to the end; for then I doubt not, Madam, but that ye should hear the vanitie of the Papisticall religioun, and how small[1] ground it hath within the wourd of God."

"Weall (said sche) ye may perchance gett that sonner than ye beleve."

"Assuredlie, (said the other) yf ever I gett that in my lyeff, I gett it sonnar than I beleif; for the ignorant Papistis can not patientlie reassoun, and the learned and crafty Papist will never come in your audience, Madam, to have the ground of thair religioun searched out; for thai know that thai ar never able to sustene ane argument, except fyre and sweard, and thair awin lawis be judges."

"So say ye, (quod the Quene,) but I cane beleve that."

"It hes bene so to this day,[2] (quod he,) for how oft have the Papistis in this and other realmes bein required to come to conference, and yitt could it never be obteaned, unless that thame selfis war admitted for judges. And thairfoir, Madam,

[1] In MS. G, "how little."

[2] In MS. G, these words are added to the preceding sentence. In MS. L 4, the words are arranged, and perhaps more correctly thus:—"So say ye," said the Quene, "Bot (said he) I can believe that it has not been this day," &c.

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I must yitt say agane, that thai dar never dispute, but whare thame selfis are both judge and partye. And whensoever that ye shall let me see the contrarye, I shall grant my selff to have bene deceaved in that poynt."

And with this the Quene was called upon to dennar, for it was after-noon. At departing, Johnne Knox said unto hir, "I pray God, Madam, that ye may be als blessed within the Commoun-wealth of Scotland, yf it be the pleasur of God, as ever Debora was in the Commoun-wealth of Israell."

Of this long Conference, whairof we onlie tueich a part, war diverse opinionis. The Papistis grudged, and feared that which thai neided not. The godlye, thinking at least that sche wold have heard the preaching, rejoised; but thai war alluterly deceaved, for sche continewed in her Messing; and dispised and quyetlie mocked all exhortationis.

JOHNE KNOX HIS JUDGMENT OF THE QUENE AT THE FIRST, AND EVER SINCE.

Johne Knox his awin judgement, being be some of his[1] familiaris demanded, What he thought of the Quene? "Yf thair be not in hir (said he) a proud mynd, a crafty witt, and ane indurat hearte against God and his treuth, my judgment faileth me."

When the hoill Nobilitie war convened, the Lordis of Privey Counsall war chosen,[2] who war appointed,[3] the Duke his Grace, the Erles of Huntley, Ergyle, Atholl, Mortoun, Glencarne, Merschell, Bothwell: Lordis Erskin, &c., Lord James, &c. Of these war a certane appointed to wait upoun [the] Court by course; but that ordour continewed not lang.

Duck D'Omell[4] returned with the galayes to France. The

[1] In MS. G, "his awn."

[2] In MS. L 4, "those that war appointed, war."

[3] The meeting of the Privy Council, referred to, was held in the Palace of Holyrood, on the 6th of September 1561. See an extract from the Register, in Keith's History, (new edit. vol. ii. p. 78.)

[4] Claude, Duke d'Aumale, (see note 6, page 268.) On Sunday, the last of August, he was present at the banquet

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Quene entered in hir progresses, and in the moneth of September traveled from Edinburgh to Lynlythqu, Striveling, Sanct Johnestoun, Dondie, Sanctandrois;[5] which all partis sche polluted with hir idolatrie. Fyre followed hir verray commounlie in that jorney. The townis propyned hir liberallie, and thairof war the Frenche enriched.

In the begyning of October,[6] sche returned to Edinburgh, and at the day appointed sche was receaved in the Castell. Great preparationis war maid for hir enteress in the town. In ferses, in masking, and in other prodigalities, faine wold fooles

given by the Town of Edinburgh to the Queen and the French princes; and on the following day, "the said Monssieur Domell [d'Aumale] depairtit with the twa gallionis, quhilk brocht the Quenis Grace hame, to France." (Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 67.) The Queen, on the 24th of August, had granted precepts for the following sums, £37, 10s. to be paid "to John Terrie, maister of ane schip;" 100 crounis of the sun "to six pilots, of the twa galeris;" £66, 13s. 4d. to "Monsieur Tynnance, to be distributit amangis the officiaris of the twa galeris;" and 200 crounis of the sun, or £266, 13s. 4d. to Monsieur Tynnance, for his own use. (Treasurer's Accounts.)

It may be added, that the Grand Prior, the Sieur Damville, and most of their attendants, returned by land, intending to visit the English Court. They were accompanied to Berwick by several of the Scottish Nobility; the Queen having addressed letters "to some Lords and others to convoy the Grande Priour and Monsr. Damweile of Edinburgh to Berwick," on the 8th and 9th of October. About the same time, the Treasurer "deliverit to the Quenis Grace ane chene of gold contenand Jc l. (150) crounis of the sone, and twa chenis of gold, ilk ane of tham contenand l. (50) crounis of the sone, quhilk hir Grace deliverit to Monsr. Marquess, to gif three Frenche men that passit with the Grande Priour and Monsr. Damweill—Summa, £333, 6s. 8d." There was also paid to James Mosman, goldsmith, for making these chains, £29, 10s., and 20s. in drink-silver to his servants.

[5] Preparatory to the Queen's progress, her Master Stabler, on the 6th September, purchased 10 horses or haikneys. She was accompanied by two of her Uncles, Monsieur Damville, and a number of ladies. She set out from Holyrood Palace on horseback, after dinner, on the 11th of that month, and remained at Linlithgow Palace that night, and the following day; on the 13th she rode to Stirling Castle, and was there on Sunday the 14th; on the 15th she passed through Alloa to Kincardine, or, as some authorities state, to Leslie Castle in Fife; on the 17th she came to Perth; on the 19th to Dundee; crossed the Tay to St. Andrews, on the 20th; a few days afterwards she proceeded to Falkland Palace; and returned to Holyrood on Monday the 29th of September 1561. (Chalmers's Queen Mary, 2d edit. vol. i. pp. 82-86; Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 69.)

[6] See next page, note 1.

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have counterfooted France. Whatsoever myght sett furth hir glory, that sche heard, and glaidlye beheld. The keyes war delivered unto hir by a pretty boy, descending as it war from a cloud. The verses of hir awin praise sche heard, and smyled: But when the Bible was presented, and the praise thairof declared, sche began to frown: for schame sche could not refuise it.[1] But she did no better, for immediatelie sche gave it to the most pestilent Papist within the Realme, to wit, to Arthoure Erskyn.[2] Edinburgh since that day had reaped as

[1] From the preceding note it will be seen that Queen Mary returned from her progress on the 29th of September; and that Knox has mistaken the date of her first entry into Edinburgh. It was on Tuesday the 2d September. A minute and interesting notice of it occurs in the Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 67, but the passage is too long for quotation. She rode through the town to the Castle, where she dined at 12 o'clock; and then returning, various pageants were represented in different parts of the town, as she proceeded, convoyed by the nobility and chief inhabitants, dressed in velvet gowns and bonnets, carrying a pall of fine purple velvet, with fringes of gold and silk. Upon reaching the Palace of Holyrood, she received a *propyne*, or gift of a cupboard, "quhilk was double our-gilt; the price thairof was 2000 merks." Randolph, in his letter to Cecil, on the 7th September, also mentions that part of the pageant to which Knox alludes. He says, "Upon Tuesday last the Queen made her entry. She dyned in the Castle. The fyrst syghte she sawe after she cam oute of the Castle, was a boye of six yeres of age, that cam, as it were, from heaven oute of a rounde globe, that presented unto hir a Bible and Psalter, and the keys of the gates, and spake unto her the verses which I send you. There, for the terrible sygnifications of the vengeance of God upon idolatrie, ther war burnt Coron, Dathan, and Abiram, in the tyme of thair sacrifice. Thei war mynded to have had a priest (that is, the representation of a priest) burned at the altar, at the elevation. The Erle of Huntlye stayed that pagent, but hath playde manye as wicked as that since he came hyther." (Wright's Queen Elizabeth, vol. i. p. 73.) The expenses attending the "Banquet" on the 31st August, and the "Triumph," on the 2d September, cost the inhabitants of Edinburgh the sum of 4000 merks, which it was resolved should be levied by a general stent or assessment.

[2] Arthur Erskine was Captain of the Queen's guard. He was present at supper in Queen Mary's apartment the night of Riccio's murder. And having escaped from her temporary confinement in Holyrood, on the night of the 11th of March 1566, she "came to the place where Arthur Erskin, the captayn of her garde kept the horses, and so rode her waye behinde Arthur Erskin untill she cam to Seton. There she took a horse to herself, and rode to Dunbarre," &c. (Wright's Queen Elizabeth, vol. i. p. 231.) In April 1562, the Treasurer paid "be the Quenis Grace speciall command, to Arthur Erskin to by him ane hors, £40:" and on the 2d of June 1565, in like manner there was paid "to Arthur Erskin ane of the

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thai sew. Thai gave hir some taist of thair prodigalitie; and becaus the liquor was sweet, sche hes licked of that buist oftar than twyse since.[3] All men know what we mean: the Quene can not lack, and the subjectis have. BALFOUR, HIS DOCTRINE.

In Edinburgh it hath bene ane auncient and laudable custom, that the Provest, Baillies, and Counsall, after thair electioun, which useth to be at Michaelmess, caused publictlie proclame[4] the Statutes and Ordinances of the town. And thairfoir Archibald Dowglas, Provest; Edwarde Hope, Adame Fowllartoun, [Mr. James Watsone, and David Somer,[5]] Baillies, caused proclame, according to the formar Statutes of the town, that no adulterar, [no fornicatour,] no noted drunkard, no mess-mongare, no obstinate Papistis that corrupted the people, such as preastis, freiris, and otheris of that sorte, should be found within the toun within fourty-aught houris thairafter, under the paines conteaned in the statutes. Which

maisteris of hir Graces Curie to by him ane horse, xx crownis." In December 1564, he is styled "Arthur Erskine of Blackgrange, brother-german to John Lord Erskine." (Register of Signatures.) He was probably the ancestor of the Erskines of Scotscraig in Fife, who flourished in the following century.

[3] In MS. A, the marginal note is thus inserted in the text, "ance or twice since this was Balfoures rule."

[4] Keith has accused Knox of misstating this fact. Had he examined the Council Records more carefully, he would have found direct evidence of the practice of proclaiming the Statutes enacted by the Council, to which Knox alludes, on the 8th November 1555. Knox's account of the change of the Magistracy of Edinburgh is quite correct, although it has also been called in question. Upon examining the Council Records, it appears that Archibald Douglas was Provost; and Mr. James Watson, David Somer, Edward Hope, and Adam Foullarton, Baillies, in 1560-1561; and that on the 24th March 1560-1, proclamation was made of the Act 1560, against Priests, Adulterars, &c. At the next election in September 1561, Douglas was re-elected Provost, with David Forster, Robert Kar, Alexander Home, and Allan Dikesoun, as Baillies. On the 2d October, the above proclamation was ordered to be made on the following day; and on the 5th, the Queen sent a macer enjoining the Town Council to deprive their new Magistrates, and to appoint others in their room. A new election accordingly took place on the 8th of October, as detailed at considerable length by Maitland, (Hist. of Edinburgh, p. 21.)

[5] In MS. 1566, and also in MSS. G and A, a blank space is left for these names; in MS. L 4, "&c." is supplied; and this marginal note added, "The Provost, Baillies, of Edinburgh changed at the Quenes command."

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blawin in the Quenis earis, thair began pryde and maliciousnes to schaw the self; for without farther cognitioun of the caus, was the Provest and Baillies charged to ward in the Castell; and immediatlie was commandiment gevin, that other Provest and Baillies should be elected.[1]

THE QUENIS FIRST PRYDE AFTER HIR ARRYVALL.

Some ganestood for a while the new electioun, alledgeing, that the Provest and Baillies whom thai had chosen, and to whom thai had gevin thair oath, had committed no offence whairfoir that justlie thai aught to be depryved. But whill charge was doubled upoun charge, and no man was found to oppone thame selffis to iniquitie,[2] Jesabellis letter and wicked will is obeyed as a law. And so was Mr. Thomas Mackalzeane chosen[2] for the other. The man, no doubt, was boyth discreat and sufficient for that charge;[3] but the depositioun of the other was against all law. God be mercyfull to some of our owen; for thai war not all blameless that hir wicked will was so far obeyed.

THE QUENIS TREW LIEGES, WHA?

A contrair proclamatioun was publictlie maid, that the toun should be patent unto all the Quenis lieges; and so murtheraris, adulteraris, theavis, hooris, drunkardis, idolateris, and all malefactouris, gatt protectioun under the Quenis wyngis, under that cullour, becaus thai war of hir religioun. And so gatt the Devill fredome agane, whair that befoir he durst nott have bene sene in the day lyght upoun the commoun streatis. "Lord deliver us from that bondage."

[1] See note 2, p. 289, respecting the election. In a letter to Cecill, Knox, on the 7th October 1561, writes:—"At this verry instant ar the Provost of Edinburgh and Baillies thairof, command to ward in thare Tolboght, be reason of thair proclamatioun against Papists and hoormongeris. The whole blame lyeth upon the necke of the two fornamed," viz. Lord James Stewart and Lethington.

[2] In MS. G, "to oppone himself to impietie."

[3] In MS. G, "Mr. Thomas M'Cally chosen Provost."—Mr. Thomas M'Calzean of Cliftonhall, was educated at St. Andrews, being a fellow-student with George Buchanan, in St. Salvator's College in 1525. He was admitted Advocate in 1549, and became Assessour of the Town of Edinburgh; and was chosen Provost in 1558, as well as on the above occasion. He was appointed a Lord of Session, 20th October 1570; and died 5th June 1581.

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THE DEVILL GETTING ENTRESS WITH HIS FYNGAR, WILL SCHOOT FURTH[1] HIS HOLL ARME.

The Devill finding his rainzeis lowse, ran fordwarte in his course; and the Quene took upoun hir grettar boldness than sche and Baalles bleatting preastis[2] durst have attempted befoir. For upoun Allhallow day[3] thai blended up thair Messe with all myscheivous solempnitie. The ministeris thairat offended, in plane and publict place, declared the inconvenientis that thairupoun should ensew. The Nobilitie war sufficientlie admonished of thair dewiteis. But affectioun caused men to call that in doubt, whairin schort befoir thai seamed to be most resolute, to wit, "Whitther that subjectis mycht put to thair hand to suppresse the idolatrie of thair Prince?" And upoun this questioun conveined in the house of Mr. James[4] Mackgill, the Lord James, the Erle of Mortoun, the Erle Merschell, Secretarie Lethingtoun, the Justice Cleark,[5] and Cleark of Registre;[6] who all reassoned for the parte of the Quene, affirmyng, "That the subjectis mycht not lauchfullie tack hir Messe frome hir." In the contrair judgement war the principall Ministeris, Mr. Johne Row,[7] Maister George Hay,[8] Maister Robert Hammyltoun,[9] and Johne Knox. The reassonis of

[1] In MS. G, "will schut in."

[2] In MS. G, "Baalim's bleating preests."

[3] Hallowmass, or All Saints, the 1st of November.

[4] In MS. 1566, one of the transcribed quires ends here with the catch-word, "of Mr. James," the last page being blank.

[5] Sir John Bellenden of Auchinoule, held the office of Justice Clerk for nearly thirty years. He was appointed successor to his father, 25th June 1547, and the office was again filled in November 1578, by Sir Lewis Bellenden, although then in "his less age," which Lord Hailes conceives to mean that he was not then twenty-five. Sir John died 6th October 1576. (Register of Confirmed Testaments.)

[6] Mr. James Makgill of Nether Rankeillor, was Clerk Register from 1554 to 1566, when he was deprived for his being concerned in Riccio's murder. He was restored in December 1567, and continued till 1577. He died in 1579.

[7] At the first nomination of ministers in July 1560, Row was appointed to Perth. He died 16th October 1580.

[8] Mr. George Hay, Commissioner of the diocese of Aberdeen and Banff.

[9] Mr. Robert Hamilton, minister of St. Andrews, and formerly one of the Masters or Regents, was advanced in 1574 to be Provost of St. Mary's College. When the new erection of the College was agreed upon, Hamilton was superseded; and in May 1580 he was ordered to account for his intromissions. In October following, he was denounced as rebel. (Treasurer's Accounts.) He died 16th April 1581. (Wodrow Miscellany, vol. i. p. 283.)

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boyth partyes we will omitt, becaus thai wilbe explaned after, whair the same questioun, and otheris concernyng the Obedience dew unto Princes, war long reassoned in open assemblie. The conclusioun of that first reassonyng was, "That the questioun should be formed, and letteris direct to Geneva for the resolutioun of that Churche," whairin Johne Knox offered his laubouris. But Secretarie Lethingtoun, (alledging that thair stood mekle in the informatioun,) said, that he should wryte. But that was onlie to dryve tyme, as the treuth declaired the self. The Quenis partye urged, "That the Quene should have hir religioun free in hir awin chapell, to do, sche and hir houshold, what thei list." The Ministeris boyth affirmed and voted the contrair, adding, "That hir libertie should be[1] thair thraldome or it was long." But neathir could reassone nor threatnyng move the affectionis[2] of such as war creipping in credite. And so did the vottis of the Lordis prevail against the Ministeris.

For the punishement of thift and of reaf, which had encreassed upoun the Borders, and in the Sowth, from the Quenis arryvall, was the Lord James maid Lievtenent.[3] Some suspected that suche honour and charge proceaded frome the same heart and counsall that Saull maid David capitane against the Philisteanis. But God assisted him, and bowed the heartis of men boyth to fear and obey him. Yea, the Lord Bothwell him self at that tyme assisted him (but he had remissioun for Lyddisdaill.) Scharpe executioun was maid in Jedburgh,[4] for twenty-aught of ane clan, and others war hanged

[1] In MS. G, "should be to."

[2] In MS. G, "move the hearts."

[3] In MS. G, "appointed Lieutenant." In MS. L 4, the whole structure of this sentence is thus changed: "Whill the Court wes myndefull of nothing bot pleasures and prodigallitie, the Border[er]s brack lowse, and vexed the countrie adjacent with rapine, thift, and murther; Lord James, Lievtennant since the Quenis arryvall, was sent hither to repress them. Some suspected," &c.

[4] On the 18th October 1561, the Privy Council resolved that a Justice Court should be held at Jedburgh, by Lord James Stewart on the 15th of November; and in the Register, on the 12th of that month, is preserved a copy of Instructions to be used by him. See Keith's History, vol. ii. pp. 104-107.

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at that Justice Courte. Brybes, buddis, nor solisitatioun saved not the gilty, yf he myght be apprehended; and thairfoir God prospered him in that his integritie.

That same tyme the said Lord James spack the Lord Gray of England at Kelso, for good reull to be keapt upoun boyth the Bordouris, and agreed in all thingis.

THE QUENIS FIRST FRAY IN HALYRUDHOUSE.

Befoir his returnyng,[1] the Queyn upoun a nycht took a fray in hir bedd, as yf horse men had bein in the close, and the Palace had bene enclosed about. Whitther it proceaded of hir awin womanlie fantasye, or yf men pat hir in fear,[2] for displeasur of the Erle of Arrane, and for other purposes, as for the erecting of the garde, we know not. But the fear was so great, that the toun was called to the watch. Lordis Robert of Halyrudhous,[3] and Johne of Coldinghame[4] keapt the

[1] This paragraph is very different in MSS. M and L 4, being thus amplified, in the style of David Buchanan's interpolations:—"When Lord James was absent, the Quene tooke greater libertie, for shee wes not content with the severitie of the present Government, nor the floorishing of Religion, so that sometymes speiches would eschape her which bewrayed her disposition and inclination to tyrannie. Wheras Kings wont before to commit thamselfs to the trust of the Nobilitie, shee purposed to have a guard of hyred souldiours, bot could find no pretext, saving onlie the custome of forraigne Kings, and the shaw of magnificence. Shee consulted with hir bastard brother John, an ambitious man, bot not so grave and austere as Lord James. He resolved to obey hir in all things, and therfor wes the more deare to hir, being desirous to confound all things. She consulteth with him how to get a companie of hyred souldiers about her. Ther was a tumult or sturr famed as though the Erle of Arrane had enclosed the Palace of Halyrudehous round about, and by force wold cary the Quene to his Castell fourtene myles from thence. This invention had some likliehood becaus of the immoderate love he bare unto hir, and of her affection estranged from him; both which war not unknowin to the people. The fray was so great that the Toune of Edinburgh wes called to watch. Robert Lord Halyrudhous, and John Lord Coldingham keeped watch by course; skouts wer sent furth, and sentrinells, and wer commanded under the pane of death to keep their stations. They feared wher ther was no feare. After the souldiers had skoured the fields all night, they shew themselfs before the Palace gates, some offendit at them, and others jesting at the sport. Bot the authors of this invention, howbeit they knew the vulgar people did not beleve them, yit being secure that no man wold controle them regarded not man's secreit judgement."—Calderwood has copied this passage very closely. (Hist. vol. ii. p. 158.)

[2] In MS. G, "in fear of it."

[3] & [4] Two natural brothers of the Queen: see page 271, notes 2 and 3.

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watche by course. Scouttis war send furth, and centenallis war commanded under the pane of death to keap thair stationis. And yitt thai feared whair thair was no fear: neathir yit could ever any appeirance or suspitioun of suche thingis be tryed.

Schort after the returnying of the Lord James, thair cam from the Quene of England, Sir Petir Mewtess,[1] with commissioun to requyre the ratificatioun of the Peace made at Leyth. His ansuer was[2] evin such as we have heard befoir, that sche behoved to advise, and then sche should send ansuer.

In presence of hir Counsall, sche keapt hir self [very] grave, (for under the dule wead, sche could play the hypocryte in full perfectioun;) but how soon that ever hir Frenche fillockis, fydlaris, and otheris of that band, gatt the howse allone, thair mycht be sean skipping not verry cumlie for honest wemen. Hir commoun talk was in secreat, sche saw nothing in Scotland but gravitie, which repugned alltogetther to hir nature, for sche was brocht up in joyusitie; so termed sche hir dansing, and other thingis thairto belonging.

The Generall Assemblie of the Churche[3] approched, holdin in December[4] after the Quenis arryvall; in the which began the reullaris of the Courte to draw tham selfis apart from the societie of thair brethren, and began to sturr and grudge that any thing should be consulted upoun, without thair advises.

[1] Sir Peter Mewtas was sent by Queen Elizabeth to Scotland, chiefly to evade discussion respecting the Succession to the throne, although ostensibly to request that the Treaty of Edinburgh, in July 1560, should be ratified. See in Keith's History, vol. ii. pp. 182-186, the letters that passed between Queen Mary and Elizabeth, after Mewtas's return in October 1561. On the 19th of that month, is this entry in the Treasurer's Accounts: "Item, be the Quenis Grace speciale command to Sir Peter Mutus, Inglis Ambassadour, ane chene of gold of iij° crownis of the sone, iiij° lib." (£400.)

[2] In MS. G, "Her answer was."

[3] In MS. G, here and elsewhere, "Kirk;" in the MS. 1566, except in the later portions, it is usually "Church."

[4] The Third meeting of the General Assembly was held in December 1561; but no notice of the proceedings is recorded in the Book of the Kirk, except the Supplication to the Queen, which will be found at page 316.

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Maister Johne Wode,[1] who befoir had schawin him self verray fervent in the caus of God, and fordward in giveing of his counsall in all doubtfull materis, planelie refused ever to assist the Assemblie agane, whairof many did wonder. The Courteouris drew unto thame some of the Lordis, and wold nott convene with thair brethren, as befoir thai war accustomed, but keapt thame in the Abbay. The principall Commissionaris of the Churches,[2] the Superintendentis, and some Ministeris, past unto thame, whair thai war convened in the Abbottis ludging within Halyrudhouse. Boyth the partyis began to oppin thair greaf. The Lordis complayned that the Ministeris drew the gentilmen into secreat, and held counsallis without thair knowledge. The Ministeris denyed that thai had done any thing in secreat, or otherwyse than the Commoun Ordour commanded thame; and accused the Lordis (the flatteraris of the Quene we mean) that thai keapt not the Conventioun with thair brethren, considdering that thai know

DIVISIOUN BETWIX THE LORDIS AND THE MINISTERIS.

[1] Mr John Wood, son of Andrew Wood of Largo, was educated for the church, and took his degree of Master of Arts in St. Leonard's College, St. Andrews, in 1536. He has been styled Vicar of Largo; and is said to have accompanied the Prior of St. Andrews to France in 1548. He joined the Reformers, and at the first General Assembly in December 1560, his name occurs among those at St. Andrews who were considered qualified for "ministring and teaching." He was nominated an Extraordinary Lord of Session, by the title of Tullidavie, 9th December 1562, but was deprived in 1565; and although restored he retained only a temporary possession of his seat on the Bench. When his patron the Earl of Murray was appointed Regent, Wood became his Secretary, and was employed in the proceedings against Queen Mary, at York, in 1568, as related by Sir James Melville, who styles him "a great ringleader." In September 1568, the Treasurer furnished Mr. John Wood fyne black velvet, and black satin, for a dress. The Regent, it is well known, was assassinated in January 1570, and Bishop Lesley in his Negotiations says, "That within a few days after his man Mr. John Wood, was killed in Fife, by the Laird of Rires." The cause of this murder is nowhere stated, but it took place on the 15th of April, by Arthur Forbes of Reres, (in the parish of Kilconquhar,) assisted by his son Arthur, and Henry Forrest; for which the latter were denounced rebels, 6th February 1572-3. (Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. i. p. 40.) From the Treasurer's Accounts we learn that on the 23d September 1570, "the Laird of Reres was at the horne, (that is, denounced as rebel,) for the slauchter of umquhile Maister Johne Wood."

[2] In MS. G, "of the Kirk,"

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the Ordour, and that the same was appointed by thair awin advises, as the Buke of Discipline, subscrivit with the most part of thair awin handis, wold witness. Some began to deny that ever thai knew such a thing as the Buke of Discipline; and called also in doubt, whitther it was expedient that such Conventionis should be or not; for glaidlye wold the Quene and hir Secreat Counsall have had all assemblies of the godly discharged.

The reassonyng was scharp and quick on eather part.[1] The Quenis factioun alledged, that it was suspitious to Princes that subjectis should assemble thame selffis and keape conventionis without thair knowledge. It was ansuered, That without knowledge of the Prince, the Churche did nothing. For the Prince perfytlie understood, that within this Realme thair was a Reformed Churche, and that thai had thair ordouris and appointed tymes of conventioun; and so without knowledge of the Prince thai did nothing. "Yea," said Lethingtoun, "the Quene knew and knowest it weill yneuch; but the questioun is, Whetther that the Quene allowis such Conventionis?" It was ansuered, "Yf the libertie of the Churche should stand[2] upoun the Quenis allowance or dyssallowance, we are assured not onlie to lack assemblies, but also to lack the publict preaching of the Evangell." That affirmative was mocked, and the contrarie affirmed. "Weill, (said the other,) tyme will try the treuth; but to my formar wordis, this will I add, tack from us the fredome of Assemblies, and tack from us the Evangell; for without Assemblies, how shall good ordour and unitie in doctrine be keapt? It is not to be supposed, that all Ministeris shalbe so perfyte, but that thai shall nead admonitioun, alsweill concernyng maneris as doctrin, as it may be that some be so styff necked that thai will not admitt the admonitioun of the simple; as also it may be that falt may be found with Ministeris without just offence committed: and yit yf ordour be

[1] In MS. G, "on eyther syde." [2] In MS. G, "stude or sould stand."

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not tacken boyth with the compleaner and the personis compleaned upoun, it can not be avoided, but that many grevouse offenses shall aryse. For remeady whairof, of necessitie it is, that Generall Assemblies maun be, in the which the judgement and the gravitie of many may concur, to correct or to represse the folyes or errouris of a few." Heirunto consented the most parte, alsweill of the Nobilitie as of the Baronis, and willed the reassonaris for the parte of the Quene to will hir Grace, yf that sche stood in any suspitioun of any thing that was to be entreated in thair Assemblies, that it wold please hir Grace to send such as sche wold appoint to hear whatsoever was proponed or reassoned.

LEDINGTON APPONED HYM TO THE BOOK OF DISCIPLENE.

Heirafter was the Buke of Discipline proponed, and desyred to have been ratified by the Quenys Majestie. That was scripped at, and the questioun was demanded, "How many of those that had subscrived that Buke wald be subject unto it?" It was answered, "All the godly." "Will the Duck?" said Lethingtoun. "Yf he will nott," answered the Lord Ochiltrie,[1] "I wold that he war scrapped out, not only of that book, but also out of our nomber and cumpany: For to what purpoise shall laubouris be tane to putt the Kirk in ordour, and to what end shall men subscrive, and then never mean to keap wourd of that quhilk thei promeisse?" Lethingtoun answered, "Many subscrived thair *in fide parentum*, as the barnes ar baptized." One, to wit Johne Knox,[2] answered, "Albeit ye think that scoiff propir, yit as it is most untreu, so is it most improper. That Buke was red in publict audience, and by the space of diverse dayis the headis thairof war reasoned, as all that hear sit know weill yneuche, and ye your self can nott deny; so that no man was required to subscrive that whiche he understood not." "Stand content, (said one,) that Buke will nott be

[1] See page 260, note 19.

[2] The words, "to wit, Johne Knox," interlined in the MS. 1566, are likewise added in the margin, apparently in Knox's own hand. In MS. L 4, it is "Maister Knox answered."

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obteaned." "Let God (said the other) requyre the lack which this poore Commoun-wealth shall have of the thingis thairin conteaned, from the handis of such as stope the same."

The Baronis perceaving that the Buke of Discipline was refused, presented unto the Counsall certane articles, requiring Idolatrie to be suppressed, thair Churches to be planted with treu Ministeris, and some certane Provisioun to be maid for thame, according to equitie and conscience; for unto that tyme, the most parte of the Ministeris had lyved upoun the benevolence of men. For many held into thair awin handis[1] the fructis that the Bischoppis and otheris of that sect had befoir abused; and so some parte was bestowed upoun the Ministeris. But then the Bischoppis began to grypp agane to that which most injustlie thei called thair awin; for the Erle of Arrane was discharged of Sanctandrois and Dunfermeling, whairwith befoir, be verteu of a factorie, he had intromitted: and so war many otheris. And thairfoir the Barones requyred, that ordour mycht be tacken for thair Ministeris, or ellis thei wold no moir obey the Bischoppis, neather yitt suffer any thing to be lifted up to thair use after the Quenis arryvall, then that thei did befoir; for thei verrelie supposed that the Quenys Majestie wold keapt promeisse maid unto thame; whiche was, nott to alter thair religioun, whiche could nott remane without Ministeris, and Ministeris could nott lyve without provisioun: and thairfoir thei heartlie[2] desyred the Counsall to provid some convenient ordour in that head.

That somewhat moved the Quenys flatteraris; for the rode of impietie was not then strenthened in hyr and thair handis. And so began thei to practise how thei should pleise the Queyn, and yit seam somewhat to satisfie the faythfull; and so devised thei, that the Church men should have intromissioun with the Two parte of thair benefices, and that the

[1] So in MS. L 4. MS. G, has "For many had into thair hands."

[2] In MS. G, "most hartely."

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Third parte[1] should be lifted up by suche men as thairto should be appointed, for suche uses, as in these subsequent Actis[2] ar more fullie expressed.

APUD EDINBURGH, XXIJ DECEMBRIS, ANNO LXJ°.

[SEDERUNT.

Jacobus Dux de Chattellarault,
Georgius Comes de Huntlie,
Archibaldus Ergadie Comes,
Willelmus Marescalle Comes,
Joannes Atholie Comes,
Willelmus Comes de Montross,
Jacobus Comes de Mortoun,
Alexander Comes de Glencarne,
Jacobus Commendatarius St. Andree et Pittenweme,
Joannes Dns. Erskin,
Mag^r. Robertus Richardsoun Thesaurarius,
Mag^r. Ja^bus. Makgill de Nether Rankelour Clericus Registri,
Joannes Ballenden de Auchnoule miles Clericus Justiciarie,
Willelmus Maitland de Lethingtoun junior Secretarius.

Presentibus etiam Dominis subscriptis ratione Conventionis, viz. Joanne Comite de Sutherland, Georgio Comite de Cathenes, Andrea Comite de Rothes, Joanne Domino de Menteith, Joanne Domino Glammis, Hugone Domino Somervell, Roberto Domino Boyd, Joanne Domino Flemyng, Georgio Domino Seytoun, Joanne Domino Innermeth, Alexandro Domino Hume, Davide Domino Drummond, Andrea Domino Stewart de Vchiltre, Jacobo Domino Sancti Joannis, Joanne Magistro de Maxwell, et Jacobo Dowglass de Drumlanrig, milites.][3]

[1] In MS. L 4, "that the Third parte sould be lifted up for the sustentatioun of Ministry and the Quenis use, as is expressed in the Acts which we will set down in their owne place."

[2] The following Acts relating to the proposed arrangements for supporting the Ministry, by appropriating the Thirds of Benefices, have been collated with the Register of Privy Council, which has furnished the Sederunts of the meetings, and some slight corrections. In Knox, the first Act is dated the 20th instead of the 22d December 1561.

[3] See page 309, notes 1 and 2.

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The samyn day, forsamekle as the Quenis Majestie, be the advise of the Lordis of hir Secreit Counsall, foirseand the eminent truble quhilk appeirandlie was to aryse amangis the lieges of hir realme for materis of Religioun; to evaid the samyn, and to stay all inconvenientis that may follow thairupoun,[1] intercommonit with ane parte of the Clergie and Estait Ecclesiasticall; with whome then reasonyng being had, it was thocht good and expedient be hir Hienes, that ane generall Conventioun should be appointed the xv. day of December instant, whairto the rest of that Estaite mycht have repaired, and be the advyse of the haill, ane reassonable overtoure maid and ordour taken for staying of the appearand truble, and quyetting of the haill countrey: Quhilk Conventioun being be hir Majestie appointed, and syndrie dayis of Counsale keaped, and the said Ecclesiasticall Estaite ofttymes required, that the said ordour mycht be taken and overtoure maid for staying of truble and quyetting of the countrey; last of all, in presence of the Quenis Majestie, and Lordis of Counsale foirsaid, and otheris of the Nobilitie of this Realme, compeired Johne Archbischopp of Sanctandrois, Robert Bischopp of Dunkelden, Patrik Bischopp of Murray, and Henrie Bischopp of Ross,[2] and for thame selfis *respective* offered to the Quenis Grace, to be content of Three partis of the rentis of thair benefices, and the Ferd parte thairof to be employed[3] as hir Grace thocht expedient. And becaus the certantie thairof was not knawin, nor yitt what sowmes of money wald sufficientlie susteane the Ministrie and Ministeris of Goddis worde within this Realme, nor yit how mekle was necessar to supporte the Quenis Majestie abone hir awin rentis for the commoun effairis of the

[1] In Knox, the words are, "to stay the samyn, and to evit all incommodities that mycht thereupon ensew."

[2] The names of these Prelates were John Hamilton, Archbishop of St. Andrews, Robert Creichton, Bishop of Dunkeld, Patrick Hepburn, Bishop of Murray, and Henry Sinclair, Bishop of Ross.

[3] In MS. 1566, it is, "to be content of the Two parts of the rentis of thair benefices, and the Fourt part," &c. In MS. G, "and the Third part to be employed."

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countrey: Thairfoir, it is concludit, decernit, and determinat be the Quenis Grace and Lordis of Counsale foirsaid, and utheris of the Nobilitie present, that gif the Ferd parte[1] of the fructes of the haill Benefices ecclesiasticall within this Realme may be sufficient to susteane the Ministerie throw the haill Realme, and supporte the Quenis Majestie to interteany and sett fordwarte the commoun effaires of the countrey, failzeing thairof, the Third parte of the saidis fructis, or mair, quhill it be found sufficient to the effect foirsaid, to be tacken up yearlie in tyme cuming, quhill ane generalle ordour be taken thairin; samekle thairof to be employed to the Quenis Majestie for entertenying and setting fordwarte of the commoun effaires of the countrey, and samekle thairof unto the Ministeris and sustentatioun of the Ministerie, as may reassonablie susteane the samin, at the sycht and discretioun of the Quenis Majestie and Counsale foirsaid: and the excrescens and superplus to be assigned unto the auld Possessouris. And to that effect that the rentis and yearlie availl of the haill benefices within this Realme may be clearlie knawin to the Quenis Majestie and Counsale foirsaid, It is statute and ordanit, that the haill Rentallis of all benefices within this Realme be produced befoir hir Grace and Lordis foirsaidis, at the tymes underwritten; That is to say, of the Benefices on this syde of the Month,[2] the xxiiij day of Januar nixttocum, and beyond the Month, the tenth of Februar next thairefter. And ordanis letteris to be

[1] The words, "the Ferd parte," here, and also a few lines above, were altered in the MS. 1566, to "the Thryde parte," but again corrected in the margin to the original words. MSS. G, and L 4, have "the Fourt parte."

[2] This name, The Mounth or Mount, was long applied to designate the mountain pass in the Highlands, in reaching the North of Scotland. In David Buchanan's editions of Knox's History, where the word occurs it is rendered "on this side of the Water," or, "beyond the Water," a rather vague description. The pass or road referred to led from Fettercairn (in Kincardineshire) to Banchory, on the north side of the Dee (in Aberdeenshire;) but here it may be considered to denote the mountain range itself, usually called the Grampian Mountains, which extend across the Island from Aberdeenshire in the north-east to the west coast in Argyleshire.

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direct to officiaris of the Quenis schirreffis in that parte to pass, charge, and requyre, all and syndrie Archbischoppis, Bischoppis, Abbottis, Commendatouris, and Priouris of this Realme, on this syd of the Mounth personallie, gif thai can be apprehended, and failzeing thairof, at the saidis Archbischoppis, Bischoppis, Abbottis, Commendatouris, and Priouris dwellingplaces, cathedrall kirkis, or abbayis; and all Deanis, Subdeanis, Archdeanis, Chantouris, Subchanteris, Provestis, Personis, Vicaris, and other beneficit men whatsomever, thair Chalmerlanis and Factouris, personallie or at thair dwellingplaces, or at thair paroche kirkis, quhair thai suld remane, to exhibit and produce befoir the Quenis Majestie and Lordis foirsaidis, the said xxiiij day of Januar nixttocum, the just and treu Rentalle of the availle and reatis of thair Benefices to the effect foirsaid; and to charge the Prelattis and utheris beneficit men on the yond syd of the Mounth in maner *respective* foirsaid, to [exhibite and[1]] produce the just and treu Rentale of thair Benefices befoir the Quenis Majestie and Lordis foirsaidis the said tent day of Februar nixttocum, to the effect abone rehersit, With certificatioun to thame that failzeis, the Quenis grace and Counsale will proceid heirin as accordis: And sicklyk to charge the haill Superintendentis, Ministeris, Eldaris, and Deaconis of the principall townes and schyres of this Realme, to give in befoir the Quenis Grace and Lordis of Counsale foirsaidis, the said xxiiij day of Januar nixttocum, ane formall and sufficient roll and memoriall, what may be sufficient and reasonable to susteane the Ministerie and hale Ministeris of this Realme, that hir Majestie and Lordis of Counsale foirsaidis may tak ordour thairintill as accordis: And farther, that the Quenis Majestie and Lordis of Counsale foirsaidis may ryplie and digestlie wey and considder what necessarie supporte is required to be taken yearlie of the fructis of the saidis Benefices by hir Grace's awin yearlie rent, to enter-

[1] The words enclosed within brackets are omitted in the Register.

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teany and sett fordwart the commoun effaires of this Realme, agane the said xxiiij day of Januare nixttocum, that then it may be proceided in the said mater, all parties be satisfied, and the haill countrey and lieges thairof sett in quyetnesse.

[The samyn day,[1] forsamekle as the wechtie and debateable caussis standand amangis the lieges of this Realme, quhilk micht gif occasioun of brek thairof, and inquieting of the hale estait of the samyn, for eschewing thairof the Quenis Majestie appointit ane Conventioun of the Nobilitie and Clergie of hir Gracis Realme foirsaid, to compeir the xv day of December instant: quhilk being haldin, and divers tymes continewit, comperit, Johne Archbischop of Sanctandrois, Robert Bischop of Dunkeld, Patrik Bischop of Murray, and Henrie Bischop of Ross,[2] and offerit as efter followis, That is to say, that thai being restorit to thair Benefices and privilegis, and ansuerit thairof, offeris to the Quenis Majestie for the space of ane zeir, the Ferd part of the rentis of thair Benefices, to be employit as hir Grace thinkis expedient: And this thai offerit, and na forder.]

APUD LYNLYTHGW, 24 JANUARIJ, ANNO &c. LXJ°.[3]

Forsamekle as the Quenis Majestie, be the advise of the Lordis of hir Secreat Counsall, directit hir Letteris commanding all and sindrie Archbischoppis, Bischoppis, Abbottis, [Commendatouris,] Priouris, Deanis, Archdeanis, [Subdeanis, Chantouris, Subchantouris,[4]] Personis, Vicaris, and[5] all utheris beneficit men, thair factouris, fermoraris, and takkismen, to compeir befoir hir Hienes and Lordis foirsaidis, at Edinburgh,

[1] Namely, the 22d December 1561. This portion is not contained in Knox: it is here inserted, as it serves to connect the preceding Act with those that follow.

[2] See page 300, note 2.

[3] There is no Sederunt of this date given in the Register.

[4] The words enclosed within brackets are omitted in the Register.

[5] In MS. G, the words after "Abbottis," are omitted, and "&c." added.

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or whair it shall happin thame to be for the tyme, sa many as dwellis upoun this syde of the Month, the xxiiij day of Januar instant; and thame that dwellis beyond the Month, the tent day of Februar nixttocum; that the just availl of thair Benefices may be knawin, sua that thairafter hir Grace mycht tack ordour for the susteanyng of the Ministeris, of the Pure,[1] and publict busynes of the Realme: And becaus the Quenis Majestie is presentlie occupyed in other effairis, and may nocht attend hir self upoun the ressait of the saidis Rentallis, Thairfoir hir Hienes hes gevin and granted, and be thir presentis gevis and grantis, full power and commissioun to Maister James Makgill of Rankeillour Neather Clerk of Registre, Schir Johne Bellenden of Achinowle knycht Justice Clerk, Thesaurar, Secretare, Advocat, and Laird of Pittarrow,[2] To call befoir thame within the burgh of Edinburgh, All and sindrie Prelattis and Beneficit men, quha are charged be vertew of the saidis letteris, and now being in Edinburgh, or that heirafter shall happin to repair thairto, thair factouris and fermoraris, and thar inquyre of thame the Rentallis of thair benefices, and resave the samyn fra thame, to the effect foirsaid: And siclyke that the saidis Commissionaris caus warne all Superintendentis, [Ministeris,[3]] Eldaris, and Deaconis, to geve unto thame the names of the haill Ministeris of this Realme, that the just calculatioun being considdered and maid be the saidis Commissionaris, of the availl of the saidis Benefices, thai may reporte the samyn to the Quenis Majestie, that hir Hienes may tak ordour thairin; according to the [just[4]] tennour of the first Ordinance maid thairupon.

[1] In Knox it is, "the Ministerie of the Kirk."

[2] These officials, who are not named, were Mr. Robert Richardson, Prior of St. Mary's Isle, Treasurer; William Maitland, Younger of Lethington, Secretary; Mr. John Spens of Condie, Queen's Advocate, and Sir John Wishart of Pittarrow, Comptroller.

[3] Omitted in the Register.

[4] Omitted in the Register.

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APUD EDINBURGH, XIJ° FEBRUARIJ, ANNO &c. LXJ°.

[SEDERUNT.

Georgius Comes de Huntlie,
Archibaldus Comes Ergadie,
Jacobus Comes de Mar,
Willelmus Marescalli Comes,
Joannes Atholie Comes,
Alexander Comes de Glencarne,
Jacobus Comes de Mortoun,
Joannes Dns. Erskin,
Jo^es. Ballenden de Auchnowle miles Clericus Justiciarie.]

THE quhilk day, forsamekle as be Statute and Ordinance maid be the Quenis Majestie and Lordis of Secreit Counsale, and her Hienes letteris direct thairupoun, All and sindrie Archbischoppis, [Bischoppis,][1] Abbottis, Commendatouris, Priouris, Archdeanis, Deanis, Subdeanis, Chantouris, Subchantouris, Provestis, Personis, Vicaris, and utheris beneficit men of this Realme, war charged to exhibite and produce the Rentallis of thair benefices befoir hir Majestie and Lordis foirsaids, in maner following: That is to say, the saidis Beneficit men, [dwelling] on this syde of the Month, the xxiiij day of Januar last bypast, and on the uther syd of the Month, the tent of Februar instant, to that effect that ordour mycht be takin thairin conforme to the said Ordinance; with certificatioun to thame, and thai failzeit, the Quenis Majestie and Counsale [foirsaid] wald tak ordour thairin, as the samyn Ordinance beiris: Notwithstanding the quhilk, and that the Quenis Majestie and Counsale, and utheris appointed be hir for resaving of the saidis Rentalles, hes continewallie, sen the said xxiiij day of Januare, awaitted upoun the resaving thairof; yit ane verray small nomber of thame hes produced the said Rentalles, contepmnand thairthrow nocht onlie hir Grace's Ordinance and Proclamatioun foirsaid, but als hir self and hir authoritie, like as thai war princes and nocht sub-

[1] The words enclosed within brackets are not in the Register; and in MS. G, the names after "Abbots," as in the preceding Act, are omitted.

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jectis, expresse aganis reassone, equitie, and justice: For remeid quhairof, the Quenis Majestie ordanis, be advise of the Lordis of hir Secreit Counsale, that Factouris and Chalmerlanis be appointed to intromett, gaddir, uplift, and receave to our Soverane Ladeis use, all and sindrie mailles, fermes, teyndis, rentis, proventis, emolumentis, canis, proffeittis, and dewities of whatsumevir Benefices, whairof the Rentallis ar nocht produced, conforme to the said Ordinance: And gif ony Rentalle ellis produced bearis not the just availl, but is fraudefullie maid, to intromett and uptak samekle of the frutis and proffeittis of the saidis benefices as ar omitted furth of the saidis Rentalle; and the ingevaris of the Rentalles, and possessouris of the benefices thairof, shall never haif actioun to craif, clame, or ressaif fra the tennantis and possessouris, farther nor is contained in the saidis Rentallis ellis produced be thame: and the saids tennandis and possessouris shall na wyis be haldin to pay ony mair for thair rowmes to the possessouris of the saidis benefices and ingevaris of the saidis Rentalles, nor is conteyned in the samyn rentallis ellis produced, as said is: And that the saidis Factouris and Chalmerlanis to be appointed be the Quenis Majestie, shall have sufficient power to intromett and uptak the fructis and proffeittis foirsaidis, siclyke as gif speciall letteris of Factorie and Chalmerlanrie wer granted to thame thairupoun. And ordanis the Lordis of Sessioun to direct furth letteris at the said Factouris and Chalmerlanis instance, owther horning or poinding, as shalbe thocht expedient, for causing of thame to be ansuered of the fructis of the saidis benefices, to be furthcumand to the Quenis Majesties behuif, whill forther ordour be tacken thairintill.

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APUD EDINBURGH, XV^to^ FEBRUARIJ, ANNO &c. LXJ^o^.

[SEDEBUNT.

Georgius Comes de Huntlie, Joannes Atholie Comes,
Archibaldus Ergadie Comes, Jacobus Comes de Mortoun,
Jacobus Comes de Mar, Willelmus Marescalli Comes.]

THE quhilk day, forsamekle as the Quenis Majestie, be the advise of the Lordis of hir Secreit Counsale, and otheris diverse of the Nobilitie had of befoir, upoun the xxij day of December last bypast, ordanit, that gif the Fourt parte of the fructis and rentis of all the Benefices within this Realme war nocht sufficient for the support of hir Majestie, and other particulare charges underwrittin, necessar to be borne for the tranquillitie[1] of the country; then the Thrid of the saidis fructis, mair or less, should be takin up, to the effectis foirsaidis: And attour ordanit letteris to be direct, chargeing all and sindrie beneficit men, on this syd of the Month, to produce thair Rentallis upoun the xxiiij day of Januar last bypast; and the tent day of Februar instant, was prefixt be the saidis letteris, for inbringing of all rentallis of the benefices beyond the Month; with certificatioun, that quha produced nott the saidis Rentallis[2] at the dayis foirsaidis *respective*, the Quenis Majestie and hir Counsale wald provide remeid: According to the quhilk certificatioun, hir Hienes, with avyse of hir Counsale foirsaid, hes ordanit, that thai quha hes nocht produced thair rentallis, haill and full intromissioun shalbe had of thair fructis, be thame whom hir Majestie shall direct thairto; and quha hes nocht gevin in thair just Rentallis, quhatsumever part omitted in thair saidis rentallis shalbe intromettit with in lyke maner: And further, having consulted ryplie and diligentlie avysit upoun the commoun effairis and

[1] In MS. G, "for the weill."

[2] In MS. G, "that they quha hes not produced thair Rentales."

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necessities concernyng the Quenis Majestie, and charges to be borne, for the commoun weill of the Realme, and sustentatioun of the Preachearis and Readaris, conforme to the said Ordinance maid thairupoun ȝf befoir, hes fundin and declaired the haill Thrid partis of all Benefices within this Realme, of the quhilkis the rentallis ar produced, to be taken up be the person or personis to be nominat be hir Majestie, and to begyn upoun this last crope of the year of God J^m V^c, and threscoir ane yearis, the samyn to be employed to the effect foirsaid: togitther with the haill fructis of the benefices whairof the Rentallis ar nocht produced; and alsua of samekle as is omitted in the rentallis produced: And that ordour be directit be the Quenis Majestie, to the Lordis of Sessioun, that the auld Possessouris may be ansuered of the remanent fructis of the saidis benefices; providing that the Thrid part foirsaid be full and haill takin up, be the personis to be deput to the uptaking thairof: And this ordoure to continew and stand, ay and whill further ordouris be takin be the Quenis Majestie, with advyse of hir Estaitis. Mairover hir Hienes, be the advyse of hir Counsale foirsaid, hes statut and ordanit that all annuellis, mailles, and dewities within free Burrowis, or utheris townis of this Realme, alsweill pertenyng to Chapellanreis, Prebendarijs, as to Freiris, togitther with the rentis of the Freiris landis, quhairever thai be, setting and disponing thairupoun, be intrometted with, and takin up be sik as hir Grace shall depute thairto; for employing of the same be hir Hienes, to Hospitaliteis, Scholes, and utheris godlie uses, as shall seme best to hir Hienes, be the advise of hir Counsale: And knawing, that nathing is mair commodious for the said Hospitalitie, nor the places of Freiris as [ar] yitt standand undemolissed; as als to the intertenyng of Scholes, Colleges, and utheris uses foirsaidis, Ordanis the Provest and Baillies of Abirdene, Elgin in Murray, Innerness, Glasgow, and utheris Burrowis of this Realme, quhair the samyn ar nocht demolished, to in-

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terteny and uphald the saidis Freiris places standand in the saidis Townis, upoun the commoun gudis thairof, and to use the samyn to the Commoun-weall and service of the saidis Townis, ay and quhill the Quenis Majestie be farther advysed, and tack finall ordour in sik thingis, nochtwithstanding [of] ony other gift, titill, or interesse, gevin to quhatsumever personis of the saidis places, with thair yardis, orchardis, and pertinentis, be our Soverane Lady as of befoir.

The names of the Nobilitie and Lordis that war present at the maiking of the foirsaidis Actis[1] heirefter followis:—

James Duk of Chattelarault,
George Erle Huntlye,
Archibald Erle Ergyle,
Williame Erle Merschell,
Johne Erle Atholl,
Williame Erle Montrose,
James Erle Mortoun,
Alex[r]. Erle of Glencarne,
James Commendator of Sanct androis and Pettinweme,
Johne Lord Erskyne,
Johne Ballendyne of Auchnowll knyght Justice Clerk,
The Thesaurar,
The Cleark of Registre, and
The Secretar.[2]

After the first Act,[3] the Erle of Huntley said, jestinglie, "Good day, my Lordis of the Twa parte."

[1] It will be seen at page 299, that this list corresponds with the Sederunt of the Privy Council on the 22d December 1561.

[2] In MS. 1566, the above list is repeated in the following paragraph, the transcriber having overlooked its being inserted in the previous page of the MS. The only difference is the addition of the Comptroller's name.

"The Lordis of Secreat Counsall that war present at votting and maiking of these foirsaid Actis, war James Duck of Chattellarault, George Erle of Huntley, Archibald Erle of Ergyle, William Erle Merchell, John Erle Atholl, William Erle Montrose, James Erle Mortoun, Alexander Erle of Glencarne, James Commendatar of Sanctandrois, Johne Lord Erskin, the Thesaurar, the Cleark of Registre, Justice Cleark, Secreatarie, and Comptrollar."

The paragraph is also repeated in MS. A; but it is omitted in MS. G.

[3] It may here be added, that the Register of the Privy Council contains another long minute of a meeting held at Edinburgh, on the last of February 1561-2, relating to the Thirds of Benefices. The Sederunt at this meeting: George Earl of Huntley, James Earl of Mortoun, Archibald Earl of Argyle.

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The hoill Rentallis being gathered, the sowme of the Thrid, according to thair awin calculatioun, was found to extend to . . . . .[4]

The Ministeris, evin in the begynnyng, in publict Sermonis opponed thame selves to suche corruptioun, for thei foirsaw the purpose of the Devill, and clearlie understood the butt whairat the Quene and hir flatteraris schot; and so in the stoolle of Edinburgh, Johne Knox said, "Weill, yf the end of this ordour, pretended to be tacken for sustentatioun of the Ministeris, be happy, my judgement failleth me; for I am assured that the Spreit of God is nott the auctor of it; for, first, I see Twa partis freely gevin to the Devill, and the Thrid maun be devided betwix God and the Devill: Weill, bear witnes to me, that this day I say it, or it be long the Devill shall have Three partis of the Thrid; and judge you then, what Goddis portioun shalbe." This was ane unsaverie saying in the earis of many. Some eschamed nott to affirme, "The Ministeris being susteaned, the Quene will nott gett at the yearis end to by hir a pair of new schoes." And this was Secreatarie Lethingtoun.

JOHNE KNOX HIS JUDGEMENT OF THE THRIDDIS.

Thair war appointed to modifie the Ministeris stipendis,[5] the Erles Ergyle, Murray, and Mortoun, Lethingtoun, the Justice Cleark, and Cleark of Registrie. The Laird of Pittarro was appointed to pay the Ministeris stipendis, according to thair modificatioun. Who wold have thought, that when Joseph reulled Egypt, that his brethren should have travailled for vittallis, and have returned with empty seckis unto thair families? Men wold rather have thought that Pharao's pose,

LETT THIS BE NOTTED.

William Earl Mareschal, and James Earl of Mar.

The Council directed Letters of Proclamation to be issued, ordaining the fruits of benefices to remain undelivered to the old possessors, or their collectors, "unto the tyme thai be charged of new be letters past be deliverance of the Lords of Session, dated after the 1st of March."

[4] In all the copies of Knox, the sum is left blank.

[5] Among the Public Records, there are several volumes of Accounts of the Collectors General of the Thirds of Benefices, commencing in the year 1561.

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treasure, and garnallis should have bene diminished, or that the houshold of Jacob should stand in danger to sterve for hungar.

But so busy and circumspect war the Modificatouris, (becaus it was a new office, the terme must also be new,) that the Ministeris should nott be ower wantoun, that ane hundreth markis was sufficient to a singill man, being a commoun minister. Thre hundreth markis was the hiest that was appointed to any, except unto the Superintendentis, and unto a few otheris. Schortlie, whitther it was the nygartnesse of thair awin heartis, or the cayre that thei had to enryche the Quene, we know nott; but the poor Ministeris, Readaris, and Exhortaris cryed out to the heavin, (as thair complaintis in all Assemblies do witnesse,) that neather war thei able to lyve upoun the stipendis appointed, neather could thei gett payment of that small thing that was appointed. So fayne wold the Comptrollare have played the goode vallett,[1] and have satisfyed the Quene, or ellis his awin proffeitt in everie point, that he gatt this dicton and proverbe, "The good Laird of Pittarro[2] was ane earnest professor of Christ; but the mekle Devill receave the Comptrollar, for he and his Collectouris ar become gready fectouris."[3] ANE PROVERBE.

To put ane end to this unpleasing mater: when the Brethren compleaned of thair povertie, it was disdanfullie ansuered of some, "Thair ar many Lordis have not so much to spend." When men did reassone that the vocatioun of Ministeris craved

[1] In MS. L 3, this word is left blank.

[2] John Wishart, Laird of Pittarrow in Forfarshire, son of Sir James Wishart, Justice Clerk, was an early and active supporter of the Reformation. At the Parliament in August 1560, he was one of the number selected for the government of the State; and some time after Queen Mary's arrival in Scotland, he was appointed Comptroller, in which office he was succeeded by Sir William Murray of Tullibardine, in 1563-4. Upon occasion of the marriage of Lord James, Earl of Murray, (see notes to page 314,) Wishart was one of ten gentlemen who had the honour of Knighthood conferred. He was advanced to be an Extraordinary Lord of Session, 19th November 1567, and accompanied the Regent Murray to York in the following year. He died 25th September 1576.

[3] In MS. G, "gredie Fectours."

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of thame bookis, quyetnesse, studye, and travell, to edifye the Kirk of Jesus Christ, when that many Lairdis war waitting upoun thair worldly busyness; and thairfoir, that the stipendis of Ministeris, who had none other industrye, but to lyve upoun that which was appointed, aught nott to be modifyed according to the lyvingis of[1] commoun men, who mycht, and did daily augment thair rentis by some other industrie. When suche reassonis war laid befoir thame, thei gat none other answer, but "The Quene can spair no greattar soumes." Oft was it cryed into thair earis, "O happy servandis of the Devill, and miserable servandis of Jesus Christ; yf that after this lyef thair war nott hell and heavin." For to the servandis of the devill, to your dum dogges and horned bischoppis, to one of those idill bellies (I say) ten thousand was nott yneuch; but to the servandis of Christ that painefullie preache his evangell, a thousand pound; how can that be susteaned?

One day, in reassoning of this mater, the Secretar burst out in a pece of his cholere, and said, "The Ministeris have this much payed unto thame by year, and who yitt ever bad the Queyn 'grand-mercies' for it? Was thair ever a Minister that gave thankis to God for hir Majesties liberalitie towards thame?" One smyled and ansuered, "Assuredlye, I think, that such as receave any thing gratis of the Quene, are unthankfull yf thei acknowledge it not, boyth in heart and mouth. But whitther that the Ministeris be of that rank or not, I greatlie doubt. Gratis, I am assured, thei receave nothing; and whitther thai receave any thing at all fra the Quene, wyese men may reassone. I am assured that neather Thrid nor Twa part ever apperteaned to any of hir predecessouris within this Realme these thousand yearis bypast, neather yitt hes the Quene bettir title to that whiche sche usurpes, be it geving to otheris, or in tacken to hir self, then

[1] In MS. G, "the living of uther."—MS. L 4, corresponds with the text.

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suche as crucifyed Christ Jesus had to devide his garmentis amonges thame. And yf the treuth may be spoken, sche hes nott so good titill as thai had; for such spoyle use to be the reward of such men: And in that point these soldiouris war more gentle than the Quene and hir flatteraris, for thai parted not the garmentis of our Maister till that he him self was hung upoun the croce; but sche and her flatteraris do part the spoyle, whill as poore Christ is yet preaching amangis you. But the wisdome of our God tackis tryall of us by this meane, knowing weall yneuch what sche and hir factioun hes purposed to do. Lett the Papistis, who have the Twa partis, some that have thair Thriddis free, and some that have gotten Abbacies and few landis, thank the Quene, and syng, *Placebo Dominæ*. The poore preachearis will not yit flatter, for feading of thair bellye." These wordis war judged proud and intollerable, and engendered no small displeasur to the speakar.

This we put in memorie, that the posteriteis to cum may know that God ones maid his treuth to triumph; but becaus that some of oure selfis delyted more in darknes than in lyght,[1] God hath restreaned our fredome, and putt the hoill body in bondage. Yea, the greatest flatteraris have not eschaiped so free as thai supposed; yea, the latter plagues appear yit to be worse than the first. "Be mercyfull to us, O Lord, and entreat us nott according to our deservingis; but look thou to the equitie of the cause which thou hast put into our handis, and suffer not iniquitie to oppresse thy treuth, for Thy awin nameis saik, O Lord."

In this meantyme, to wit, in Februar, the year of God J^m^

[1] Randolph in his letter to Cecil, 7th December 1561, furnishes a remarkable instance of profanity at this time. Referring to the Marquis d' Elbeuf, he says, "We fell in talk of the pastimes that were the Sunday before, where the Lord Robert, the Lord John, and others rang at the ring, six against six, *disguised and apparelled, the one half like women*, the other like strangers, in strange masking garments. The Marquis that day did very well; *but the women, whose part the Lord Robert did sustain, won the ring*. The Queen herself beheld it, and as many others as listed."

V^c^ threscoir ane,[1] was Lord James first maid Erle of Marr,[2] and then maryed upoun Agnes Keyth, dowghter to the Erle Merschell. The marriage was publict in the Church of Edinburgh.[3] In the marriage thai boyth gat ane admonitioun to behave thame selves moderatlie in all thingis; "For, (said the preachear[4] to him,) unto this day the Kirk of God hath receaved confort by you, and by your laubouris; in the which, yf heirafter ye shalbe found fayntar then that ye war befoir, it wilbe said that your Wyeff hath changed your nature." The greatness of the bancquett, and the vanitie used thairat, offended many godly. Thair began the masking, which from year to year hath continewed since. Maister Randolph, agent for the Quene of England, was then, and sometyme after, in no small conceat with our Quene; for his Maistres saik, she drank[6] to

MARRIAGE OF THE ERLE OF MARR.[5]

[1] That is, 1561-2. The Earldom of Murray was first taken from the Earl of Huntly, and granted to Lord James Stewart, by a charter, dated 30th January 1561-2. On the 7th of February following, the Earldom of Mar being conferred on him, he publicly assumed this title, until it was restored, *per modum justicia*, to John Lord Erskine. Lord James then resumed the title by which he is chiefly known to posterity as the Earl of Murray.

[2] In MS. G, "first maid Erle of Murray." In MS. L 4, the commencement of this paragraph is thus amplified:—"The Quene this winter preceding made Lord James Erle of Marr, as some thought to conciliat his good will, quhom she had found in absence offendit. At this time he married also Agnes Keith, daughter to the Erle Marchell. Soone efter the Erledome of Murray was bestowed upon him instead of the Erledome of Mar. Lord Erskin had an old right to the Erldome of Marr."

[3] The marriage of Lord James Stewart with Agnes Keith, daughter of William Earl of Marischel, was celebrated on the 8th of February 1561-2, in the Church of St. Giles, Edinburgh, "with sik solemnitie as the lyk hes not bene sein befoir; the haill Nobilitie of this Realme being thair present, and convoyit thame doun to the Abbay of Halyrudhous, quhair the banket wes maid, and the Quenis Grace thairat." (Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 70.) The same authority mentions the rejoicings on that occasion, and that the Queen conferred the honour of Knighthood on Wishart of Pittarrow, Lermonth of Dairsy, Kirkaldy of Grange, Stewart of Traquair, Murray of Balvaird, and five others.

[4] That is, John Knox.

[5] In MS. G, "Erle of Murray."

[6] "At this notable marriage, (says Randolph to Cecil,) one thing there was which I must testify with my own hand, which is, that upon Shrove Tuesday, at night, sitting among the Lords at supper, in sight of the Queen, and placed for that purpose, she drank unto the Queen's Majesty (Elizabeth,) *and sent me the cup of gold*, which weighed eighteen or twenty

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him [in] a coupe of gold, which he possessed with greattar joy, for the favour of the gevar, then of the gift and valew thairof; and yit it was honourable.

The thingis that then war in handilling betwix the two Quenes, whairof Lethingtoun, Secreatarie Cycill, and Maister Randolph, war ministeris, war of great weight, as we will after hear.

This wynter, the Erle Bothwell, the Markques Delabuf, and Lord Johne of Coldingham, played the ryote in Edinburgh, mysordoured the hoill toune,[7] brack Cuthbart Ramsayis[8] yettis and durris, sought his house for his good-dowghter Alisone Craik: And this was done in dispyte of the Erle of Arrane, whose hoore the said Alison was suspected to have been. The horrour of this fact, and the raritie of it, heyghlie commoved all godlie heartis.[9] The Assemblie, and also the Nobilitie, for the most parte war in the toun; and so thei concluded to crave justice, as that thei did, as by this subsequent Supplicatioun doeth appear.

ounces." (Letter, 12th February 1561-2, quoted by Mr. Tytler, vol. vi. p. 258.)

[7] Randolph, in a letter to Cecil, dated 27th December 1561, has given a somewhat similar account of this riot or "disorder which was of late in this town." The letter is printed in Keith's History, vol. ii. p. 128.

[8] In June 1571, Cuthbert Ramsay was elected one of the Magistrates of Edinburgh. He joined the Queen's adherents in defending the Castle, under Sir William Kirkaldy of Grange, in 1573; and on the 3d of June, when the Castle was surrendered, Ramsay was one of the prisoners who were conducted by the English forces to Leith; but he appears to have escaped the ignominious fate awarded by Queen Elisabeth to the gallant chief, and his brother Mr. James Kirkcaldy, who were hanged for treason on the 3d of August 1573.

[9] It would appear that a General Assembly or Convention was sitting at Edinburgh, towards the end of December 1561, when this occurrence took place; and it was resolved to present the Supplication to the Queen:

"The whilk day, tuiching the slander takin be the horrible fact and impietie committed within this burgh under silence of night, be Marques Dalbuiff and his colleagues, in breaking up of Cuthbert Ramsay his zets and doores, and searching and seiking his dochter-in-law to oppresse her, as appeirit; it is thought good be the haill Kirk, that a Supplicatioun be made and given in to the Quenis Majestie, in name of the Professors of the Evangell, and the personis before nominat present the samein, to seik the answer thairof." (Booke of the Universal Kirk, vol. i. p. 11.)

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To the Queynis Majestie and hir Secreat and Great Counsall, Hir Grace's faythfull and obedient subjectis, the Professouris of Christ Jesus his holy Evangell, wishes the Spreit of ryghtouse judgement.

The feare of God conceaved of his holy worde, the naturall and unfeaned luif we bear unto your Grace, the dewtie whiche we aw to the quyetness of our countrie, and the terrible threatnyngis which our God pronounces against everie Realme and Citie in the quhilk horrible crymes ar openlie committed, and then be the committars obstinatlie defended, compell us, a great parte of your subjectis, humblie to crave of your Grace upryght and trew judgement aganis sick personis as have done what in thame lyes, to kendle Goddis wrayth against this hoill Realme. The impietie be thame committed is so haynous and so horrible, that as it is ane fact most vyle and rair to be heard of within this Realme, and principallie within the bowells of this Citie, so should we think oure selfis gyltie in the same, gif negligentlie, or yitt for warldlie feare we pass it ower with silence: And thairfoir your Grace may nott think that we requyre ony thing (whill that we crave open malefactouris condignelie to be punished) but that quhilk God hes commanded us to crave, and hes also commanded your Grace to geve to everie ane of your subjectis; for be this lynk hes God knytt togitther the prince and the people, that as he commandis honour, feare, and obedience to be gevin to the poweris established by him, so does he in expressed wordis command and declair what the prince aweth unto the subjectis, to witt, that as he is the Minister of God, bearing his sweard for vengeance to be tackyn on evill doaris, and for the defence of peceable and quyett men, so aucht he to draw the same without all parcialitie so oft as in Goddis name he is requyred thairto: Seing so it is, (Madam,) that this cryme so recentlie committed, and that in the eyes of your hoill Realme now presentlie assembled,

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is so haynous, for who heirtofore have heard within the bowellis of Edinburgh, yettis and durris under silence of nycht burst up, housses ryped, (and that with hostilitie,) seaking a woman as appeared to oppresse hyr; seing we say that this cryme is so haynouse, that all godlie men fear nott onlye Goddis soir displeasur to fall upoun you and your hoill Realme, but also that sick libertie brede contempt, and in the end seditioun, yf remeady in tyme be not provided,[1] quhilk in our judgement is impossible, yf sevir punishement be nott executed for the cryme committed: Thairfoir, we maist humblye beseik your Grace, that all affectioun sett asyd,[2] ye declair your self so uprycht in this caise, that ye may geve evident demonstratioun to all your subjectis, that the fear of God, joyned with the luif of the commoun tranquillitie, have principall seat and dominioun in your Grace hearte. This farther, Madam, of conscience we speik, that as your Grace in Goddis name does crave of us obedience, (whilk to render in all thingis lauchfull we ar most willing,) so in the same name do we, the hoill Professouris of Christis Evangell within this your Grace Realme, crave of you and of your Counsall scharpe punishement of this cryme; and for performance thairof, that without all delay the principall actouris of this most haynous cryme, and the persewaris of this pretended vilanye, may be called befoir the Cheaf Justice of this Realme, to suffer an assise, and to be punished according to the lawes of the same: And your Grace's answer maist humilie we beseik.

This Supplicatioun was presented by diverse gentilmen. The flatteraris of the Courte at the first stormed, and asked, "Who durst avow it?" To whom the Maister, now Lord Lyndesay answered, "A thousand gentilmen within Edinburgh." Otheris were eschamed to appone thame selfis thair-

[1] In the Book of the Kirk, "gudlie provydit."

[2] In the Book of the Kirk, "laid asyde."

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to in publict; but thei suborned the Quene to geve a gentill answer unto such tyme as the Conventioun was dissolved. And so sche did; for sche lacks no craft, boyth to cloik and to manteane impietie (and hurdome in especiall.) Sche alledged, "That hir Uncle was a strangear, and he had a young cumpany; but sche should putt suche ordour unto him, and unto all otheris, that heareafter thei should have no occasioun to compleane." And so deluded sche the just petitioun of hir subjectis; and no wounder, for how shall sche punische in otheris that vice, which in France is free without punishement, and which Kingis and Cardinallis use most commonlie, as the mask and dansing of Orleance can witness, whairin virgenis and menis wyeffis war maid as commoun to King Harie and Charles, the Cardinallis, unto thair Courte and pages, as commoun harlottis of the bordell ar unto thair compainzeonis. The maner was thus:

THE MASK OF ORLEANCE.

At the entrie of King Harie of France, in the towne of Orleance, the matrones, virgenis, and menis wyiffis, war commanded to present thame selfis in the Kingis palice at nycht, to daunse: and thei obeyed; for commounlie the Frenche natioun is not hard to be entreated to vanitie. After fidling and flyngyng, and when the Cardinall of Lorane[1] had espyed his pray, he said to the King, "*Sire, la primiere est vostre, et faut*

[1] The Cardinal Charles de Lorraine, Archbishop and Duke of Rheims, was the second son of Claude Duke de Guise. He was born 17th February 1524. He obtained the See of Rheims in 1538, and was consecrated in 1545, when twenty-one years of age. We need not refer to Protestant writers for his character, or to the work entitled the Legend of his Life, as it is admitted that to avarice and inordinate pride, he joined cruelty, want of faith, and licentiousness. Brantome admits that the Cardinal was no ornament to the Church, when he says, "qui, quoique mauvais Chrétien, etait, pour le temps, tres-bon Catholique." He died 24th December 1574, aged 49.

In addition to note 4, page 267, it may be noticed that Calderwood says, when the Queen was preparing to return to Scotland, "In the meane tyme, Charles Cardinal of Lorraine, counselled her to leave beside him her apparell and household stuffe, till it was seene what was the successe of her voyage. She being acquainted with his nature, answered, she could not see wherefore she should be more carefull of her stuffe and apparell nor of her owne persone." (Hist. vol. ii. p. 181.)

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que je suis[1] *le second.*" That is to say, "Sire, the first choise is youris, and I man be the secound." And so the King gat the preeminence, that he had his first electioun. Bot becaus Cardinallis ar companeonis to Kingis, the Cardinall of Lorane had the nixt: And thairafter the torches war putt out, and everie man commanded to provid for him self the best he myght. What cry was thair of husbandis for thair wyeffis; of wyiffis, for thair husbandis; of auncient matronis, for thair dochteris; and of virgenis for thair freindis; or for some honest man to defend thair pudicitie, Orleance will remember mo kingis dayis then one.

This horrible vilanay, a fruct of the Cardinall of Lorane's religioun, we shortlie tueche, to lett all the world understand, what subjectis may looke of suche magistratis; for such pastyme to thame is but joyousitie, whairin our Queyn was brocht up.[2] We call hir nott a hoore, (albeit hir deame heard more then we will wrytt,) but sche was brought up in the company of the wyldast hooremongaris, (yea, of such as no more regarded incest, then honest men regard the company of thair lauchfull wyeffis;) in the company of such men, (we say,) was our Queyn brought up. What sche was and is, her self best knowis, and God, (we doubt nott,) will farther declair. OUR QUENIS EDUCATION.

But punishement of that enormitie and fearfull attemptat we could gett none: but more and more thei presumed to do violence, and frequented nyghtlie masking. Some, as Robeyn Craige's house, becaus his dowghter was fair, delyted thairin: [G]OD HES NOW [D]ONE IT, 1567.[3]

[1] In MS. G, "que je soy."

[2] Henry the second of France succeeded to the throne in 1547, and died in 1559. This incident is not recorded in the Histories of the time, but may be referred to the later period of his reign. As noticed in a previous note (page 269,) the extreme profligacy that prevailed at the Court of France is but too manifestly exhibited in the pages of Brantome: a more unfortunate place could not have been chosen for the young Scotish Princess to have received her education.

[3] This marginal note does not occur in MS. G, and seems to have been added in MS. 1566, subsequently to the transcription of this portion of the text. It contains an evident allusion to the Queen's imprisonment after her surrender at Carberry Hill in July 1567: see vol. i. p. 218, note 4.

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otheris lamented, and began to bear the mater verray heavelie. At lenth the Lord Duck his freindis assembled upoun a nycht upoun the calsey.[1] The Abbott of Kylwyning,[2] (who then was joyned to the Churche, and so, as we understand, yitt abydeth,) was the principall man at the begyning. To him repaired many faythfull; and amangis otheris cam Andro Stewart, Lord Ochiltree, a man rather borne to maik peace, then to brag upoun the calsey, and demanded the querrall; and being informed of the formar enormitie said, "Nay, sick impietie shall nott be sufferred so long as God shall assist us. The victorye that God in his mercy hath gevin us, we will by his grace manteane." And so he commanded his sone, Andro Stewart, then Maister,[3] and his servandis to putt thame selfis in ordour, and to bring furth thair spearis and long weaponis; and so did otheris. The word cam to the Erle Bothwell and his, that the Hammyltonis war upoun the gaitt.[4] Vowes war maid, "That the Hammyltonis should be doung, not onlie out of the towne, but also out of the countrey." Lord Johne of Coldinghame[5] had maryed the said Erle Bothwellis sister, (a

THE HAMMYLTONIS AGANIST BOTHWELL AND THE MARQUESS.

[1] On the 19th of December 1561, (Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 70.)

[2] Gawin Hamilton, Abbot of Kilwinning, was the fourth son of James Hamilton of Raploch. In 1521, James the eldest son on his marriage with the heiress of Stenhouse, resigned the fee of the lands of Raploch, and upon the death of the next two brothers, Gavin succeeded to the property in 1559. He had been educated for the Church; and obtained the Deanery of Glasgow, which he exchanged in 1550 for the Abbacy of Kilwinning. In 1555, he was raised to the bench. He was a steady adherent of Queen Mary, and distinguished himself in several skirmishes; but was mortally wounded, and died at Leith, on 16th June 1571.

[3] Andrew, second Lord Stewart of Ochiltree: see page 260, note 19. His eldest son Andrew died in the year 1578, having predeceased his father, Master of Ochiltree, here mentioned.

[4] In MS. G, "upoun the streat."

[5] Lord John Stewart, Prior of Coldingham, an illegitimate son of James the Fifth, by Elizabeth, daughter of John Lord Carmichael. His sister became the first wife of Archibald fifth Earl of Argyle. Randolph in a letter to Cecil, 24th October 1561, mentioning the leading persons at Court, says, "The Lord John of Coldingham hath not least favour with his leaping and dancing: he is like to marry the Lord Bothwell's sister." His marriage with Jean only daughter of Patrick third Earl of Bothwell, was solemnized at Seton, in presence of Queen Mary: see following note.

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sufficient woman for such a man;)—allia drew the Lord Roberte;[1] and so they joyned boyth with the said Erle Bothwell. But the stoutness of the Marquess Le Beuf, (D'Elbuf[2] thei call him,) is most to be commended; for in his chalmer, within the Abbay, he starte to ane halbart, and ten men war skarse able to hald him; but as hap was, the inner yett of the Abbay keapt him that nycht; and the danger was betwix the Croce and the Salt Trone;[3] and so he was a large quarter of myle from the schote and sklenting of boltis. The Maister of Maxwell, gave declaratioun[4] to the Erle Bothwell, "That yf he steired furth of his lodgeing, he, and all that wold assist him, should resist him in the face;" whose wordis did somwhat beat doon that blast. The Erles of Huntley and Morray, being in the Abbay whair the Marques was, cam with thair cumpanyes, send fra the Quene to stay that tumult, as that thei did; for Bothwell and his war commanded, under pane of treassone, to keap thair lodgeingis.[5]

[1] Lord Robert Stewart, see page 271. Randolph in the letter referred to in the previous note, says, "The Lord Robert consumeth with love for the Earl of Cassillis sister." This was Lady Jane Kennedy, eldest daughter of Gilbert third Earl of Cassilis. In another letter, 27th December 1561, he says,—"The Lord Robert was married on Sunday was eight days to the Earl of Cassillis sister; and my Lord John upon Sunday next to the Earl of Bothwell's sister: I mean not here, in the Court, but where the women are in their friends' houses." According to this intimation, the marriages took place on the 14th and 28th of December respectively.

[2] René de Lorraine, Marquis d'Elbeuf: see note 8, page 268. He had a natural son born in Scotland, "de Marguerite Chrestien, demoisselle Ecossoise." According to one authority, d'Elbeuf remained in Scotland till the end of February 1561-2:—"Upoun the penult day of Februar, the zeir of God 1561 zeiris, [the] Marques departit furth of Halyrudhous fra the Quenis Grace to Fraunce." (Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 71.) But in June 1562, there was paid, "be the Quenis Graces speciale command to Mons' Marques at his departing furth of this realme to France, as his acquittance, &c. £500." (Treasurer's Accounts.)

[3] Betwixt the Cross and the Salt-Trone; that is, in the High Street, near the present Trone Church, where the Trone or beam for weighing merchandize formerly stood.

[4] In MS. G, "The Maister of Maxwell, (thairafter maid Lord Herries,) gave declaration, &c.:" see vol. i. p. 319.

[5] Randolph says, that the day after the tumult, both the Duke and Bothwell were sent for to the Court, the former being "convoyed with all the Pro-

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It was whispered of many, that the Erle of Murray's displeasur was as much sought as any haitterant that the Hammyltonis bayr against the Erle Bothwell, or yitt he aganist thame. And in verray deed, eather had the Duck verray fals servandis, or ellis by Huntley and the Hammyltonis, the Erle of Murray his death was ofter conspyred than ones: the suspitioun whairof burst furth so far, that upoun a day the said Erle, being upoun horse to have come to the sermon, was charged by one of the Duckis awin servandis to returne and abyd with the Queyn. The bruyt thairof spred over all. What ground it had we cane nott say; but schorte thairafter the Duck and some of the Lordis convened at Glasgow; thair conclusioun was nott knowen. The Erle of Arrane came to Edinburgh, whair the Erle Bothwell lay. The Quene and the Court war departed to Fyff, and remaned sometimes in Sanctandrois and sometimes in Falkland.[6]

The Erle Bothwell, by the meanes of James Barroun,[7] burges,

testants that were in this town; the other with the Papists. It was concluded, that for avoiding of cumber, the Earl Bothwell should leave the toun till the 8th of January." According to the Diurnal of Occurrents, (p. 70,) the Earl of Bothwell, on the 21st December, "depairtit with his freindis furth of Edinburgh, at the Quenis command."

[6] From about the end of March till the beginning of May 1562.

[7] Knox has previously mentioned Barron, (vol. i. p. 268); and in 1556, (ib. p. 246,) he gives an account of the death of his first wife, Elizabeth Adamson. Baron for several years filled the office of one of the magistrates of Edinburgh, and was returned as one of the Commissioners to the General Assembly, from 1560 till the year of his death, which took place in September 1569. His will was made at Kynnaird in Fyfe, 21st September 1569, having married for his second wife Helen Leslie, "gudwyf of Kynnarde," by whom he left several daughters. (Register of Conf. Test.) This lady, who survived him, appears to have married again, first to Mr. James Kirkaldy, brother of Sir William Kirkaldy of Grange, by whom she had a son and a daughter; and after his death in 1573, (see page 315, note 2,) to Mr. James Beaton. There was granted to Patrick Halket of Petferren, the escheit of 18 scoir pundis auchtand to vmquhile James Barroun, burgess of Edinburgh and to Helen Leslie his spous. . . . Now spousit in marriage with Maister James Kirkcaldy, brother-german to Sir William Kirkcaldy of Grange knycht,—the said Mr. James hir spouse, "being denounced rebell, &c., penult September 1571." (Register of Signatures, vol. iii. fol. 102.) In the confirmation of her own Testament, mention is made of her two child-

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and then merchant of Edinburgh, desyred to speak with Johne Knox secreatlie; which the said Johne glaidlie granted, and spack him upoun a nycht, first in the said James's lodgeing, and thairafter in his awin study. The summe of all thair communication and conference was:—The said Earle lamented his formare inordinate lyef, and especiallie that he was provocked by the entysmentis of the Quene Regent to do that which he sore reapented, alsweall against the Laird of Ormestoun,[8] whose blood was spilt, albeit not in his defalt: But his cheaf dolour was, that he had misbehaved him self against the Erle of Arrane, whose favouris he was most willing to redeame, yf possible it war that sa he mycht; and desyred the said Johne to geve him his best counsall, "For (said he) yf I mycht have my Lord of Arrane's favouris, I wald await upoun the Court with a page and few servandis, to spair my expensis, whare now I am compelled to keap, for my awin saifty, a number of wicked and unprofitable men, to the utter destructioun of my living that is left."

THE ERLE BOTHWELL HIS COMMONYNG WYTH JOHNE KNOX.

To the which the said Johne ansuered, "My Lord, wold to God that in me war counsall or judgement that mycht conforte and releave you. For albeit that to this hour it hath nott chaunsed me to speik with your Lordship face to face, yit have I borne a good mynd to your house; and have bene sorry at my heart of the trubles that I have heard you to be involved in. For, my Lord, my[9] grandfather, goodsher, and father, have served your Lordshipis predecessoris, and some of thame have died under thair standartis; and this is a part

ren by her second husband; and she is described as now spousit to Mr. James Beaton, parson of Old Roxburgh. She died in June 1577. (Register of Confirmed Testaments.) In 1580, George Baroun paid a composition, as son and heir of Helen Leslie of Kynnaird. Sir Robert Sibbald, among the eminent men of Fife, says, "The learned Doctors of Divinity, John and Robert Baron, were cadets of the Lairds of Kinnaird, in this shire, of that name."

[8] John Cockburn of Ormiston: see vol. i. pp. 142, 455.

[9] This allusion of Knox to his own family is interesting, as it furnishes the only information that can be relied upon respecting his ancestors.

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of the obligatioun of our Scotishe kyndnes: but this is not the cheaf. But as God hes maid me his publict messinger of glaid tydings, so is my will earnest that all men may embrase it, which perfytlie thei can not, so long as that thair remaneth in thame rancour, malice, or envy. I am verray sorry that ye have gevin occasioun unto men to be offended with you; but I am more sory that ye have offended the Majestie of God, who by such meanes oft punishes the other sinnes of man. And thairfoir my counsall is, that ye begyn at God, with whom yf ye will enter in perfyte reconciliatioun, I doubt not but he shall bow the heartis of men to forget all offenses. And as for me, yf ye will continue in godlynes, your Lordship shall command me als boldlie as any that serves your Lordship."

The said Lord desyred him that he wold tempt[1] the Erle of Arrane's mynd, yf he wold be content to accept him in his favouris, which he promessed to do; and so earnestlie travaled in that mater, that it was ones brought to such an end as all the faythfull praysed God for that aggrement. The greatest stay stood upoun the satisfactioun of the Laird of Ormestoun, who, besyde his formare hurte, as is before declared, was evin in that same tyme of the commonyng, persewed be the said Lord[2] Bothwell, his sone Maister Alexander Cockburne[3] tacken by him, and caryed with him to Borthwick; but gentillye yneuch send back agane.

That new truble so greatlie displeased Johne Knox, that he almost geve ower farther travalling for amytie. But yit, upoun the excuse of the said Erle, and upoun the declaratioun of his mynd, he re-entered in laubouris, and so brought it to pass, that the Laird of Ormestoun referred his satisfactioun in all thingis to the judgmentis of the Erles of Arrane and

[1] In MS. G, "wold attempt."

[2] In MS. G, "the said Erle."

[3] He was the eldest son of John Cockburn of Ormiston. In the following page 331, Knox mentions him as conveying the message from the Queen, which led to the communing there detailed. He died in 1564: and in early life he had been a pupil of Knox: see vol. i. p. 185, note 3.

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Murray, whom to the said Erle Bothwell submitted him self in that head, and thairupoun delyvered his hand wryt. And so was convoyed by certane of his friends to the loodgeing of the Kirk-of-Feild, whair the Erle of Arrane was with his friendis, and the said Johne Knox with him,[1] to bear witnesse and testificatioun of the end of the aggrement. As the said Erle Bothwell entered at the chalmer dore, and wold have done those honouris that freyndis had appointed, (Maister Gavin Hammyltoun[2] and the Laird of Rikchartoun,[3] war the cheaf freindis that communed,) the said Erle of Arrane gentillye passed unto him, embrased him, and said, "Yf the hearttis be uprycht, few ceremonyes may serve and content me."

RECONCILIATIOUN BETWIX THE ERLE OF ARRANE AND ERLE BOTHWELL, ETC.

The said Johne Knox, in audience of thame boyth, and of thair freindis, said, "Now, my Lordis, God hath brought you to gitther be the laubouris of semple men, in respect of such as wold have travailled thairin. I know my laubouris ar alreaddy tacken in ane evill parte; but becaus I have the testimonye of a good conscience befoir my God, that whatsoever I have done, I have done it in his fear, for the proffeit of you boith, for the hurt of none, and for the tranquillitie of this Realme: seing (I say) that[4] my conscience beareth witnesse to me, what I have sought and continewallie seak, I the more patientlie bear the mysreporttis and wrangouse judgementis of men. And now I leave you in peace, and desyres you that ar the freindis to study that amitie may increase, all formar offenses being forgett." The freindis on eather partie embrased other, and the two Erles departed to ane wyndo, and talked by thame selfis familiarlie a reasonable space. And thairafter the Erle Boithwell departed for that nycht; and

[1] See page 827, note 2.

[2] In MSS. G, and L 4, "Mr. Gawin Hammyltoun, Abbot of Kilwynning."

[3] Henry Drummond of Riccarton succeeded his father, who is mentioned as slain at the siege of Leith in 1560. But see note to vol. i. p. 376. In 1574 he was succeeded by his brother of the same name, and probably the issue of a second marriage. (House of Drummond, p. 292.)

[4] In MS. G, "Secing therefore that."

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upoun the nixt day in the mornyng returned, with some of his honest freinds, and came to the sermoun with the Erle foirsaid; whairat many rejoised. But God had ane other work to wyrk then the eyes of men could espy.

The Thurisday nixt[1] they dyned togetther; and thairafter the said Erle Boithwell and Maister Gawane Hammyltoun raid to my Lord Duckis Grace, who then was in Kynneill. What communicatioun was betwix thame, it is not certanelie knowne, but by the reporte which the said Erle of Arrane maid to the Quenys Grace, and unto the Erle of Murray, by his wryttingis. For upoun Fryday, the ferd day after thair reconciliatioun, the sermon being ended, the said Erle of Arrane cam to the house of the said Johne Knox, and brought with him Maister Richart Strang[2] and Alexander Guthre,[3] to whom he opened the greaf of his mynd befoir that Johne Knox was called; for he was occupyed, (as commounlie he useth to be after his sermonis,) in directing of writtingis. Whiche ended, the said Erle called the thre togetther, and said, "I am treasonablie betrayed;" and with these wordis began to weape. Johne Knox demanded, "My Lord, who hes betrayed yow?" "Ane Judas, or other (said he); but I know it is but my lyef that is sought: I regard it not." The other said, "My Lord, I understand not such dark maner of speaking: yf I shall geve you any ansuer, ye maun speik moir plane." "Weill, (said he,) I tack you three to witnesse that I oppen this unto you, and I will wryt it unto the Quene: Ane act of treassone is laid to my charge; the Erle Bothwell hes schawin to me in counsall, that he shall tack the Quene, and put hir in my handis in the Castell of Dumbertane; and that he shall slay the Erle of Murray, Lethingtoun, and otheris that now mysgyde

[1] The 26th March, 1562.

[2] Mr. Richard Strang was an Advocate. His name occurs in the proceedings of the General Assembly as one of the three Procurators who were appointed in 1567, "to defend and pursue all actions pertaining to the Kirk."

[3] Alexander Guthrie held for many years the office of Town Clerk of the City of Edinburgh.

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hir: and so shall I and he reull all. But I know that this is devised to accuse me of treassone; for I know that he will inform the Quene of it: But I tack you to witnes, that I oppen it hear unto you; and I will pas incontinent, and wryte to the Quenis Majestie, and unto my brother the Erle of Murray."

Johne Knox demanded, "Did ye consent, my Lord, to any part of that treassone?" He ansuered, "Nay." "Then, (said he,) in my judgement, his wordis, albeit thei war spoken, can never be treassone unto you; for the performance of the fact dependis upoun your will, whairto ye say ye have disassented; and so shall that purpose evanise and dye by the self, onless that ye waiken it; for it is not to be supposed that he will accuse you of that which he him self [hes] devised, and whairto ye wold not consent." "O, (said he,) ye understand not what craft is used against me: It is treassone to conceall treassone." "My Lord, (said he,) treasson maun importe consent and determinatioun, quhilk[1] I hear upoun neather of your partis. And thairfoir, my Lord, in my judgement it shalbe more suyre and moir honorable to you to depend upoun your [awin] innocencye, and to abyde the injust accusatioun of ane other, (yf any follow thairof, as I think thair shall not,) then ye to accuise, (especiallie after so lait reconciliatioun,) and have none other witnesses but your awin affirmatioun." "I know, (said he,) that he will offer the combatt unto me; but that wold not be suffered in France; but I will do that which I have purposed." And so he departed, and took with him to his loodgeing the saidis Alexander Guthery and Mr. Richart Strang; from whense was dyted and written a letter to the Quenis Majestie, according to the formar purpose, which letter was direct with all diligence to the Quenis Majestie, who then was in Falkland.

The Erle him self raid after to Kynneill, to his father, the

[1] In MS. G, "of the quhilks."

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Duckis Grace.[1] How he was entreated, we have but the commoun bruyte; but from thense he wrait ane other letter with his awin hand, in sypher, to the Erle of Murray, compleanyng upoun his rigorous handelling and entreatment by his awin father, and by his freindis; and affirmed farther, that he feared his lyef, in case that he gat not suddane reskew. But thairupoun he remaned not, but brack the chalmer whairin he was put, and with great pain past to Striveling, and from thense he was convoyed to the Hallyardis,[2] whair he was keapt till that the Erle of Murray cam unto him, and convoyed him to the Quene, then beand in Falkland, who then was sufficientlie instructed of the hoill mater; and upoun suspitioun conceaved, had caused apprehend Maister Gawan Hammyltoun and the Erle Bothwell foirsaid; who knowing nothing of the formar advertismentis, cam to Falkland,[3] which augmented the formar suspitioun.

But yit the letteris of Johne Knox maid all thingis to be used more circumspectlie; for he[4] did planelie foirwarne the Erle of Murray, that he espyed the Erle of Arrane to be stricken with phrenesy, and thairfoir willed not oure great credytt to be gevin unto his wordis and inventionis. And as

[1] "Upon the 25th day of March 1562, my Lordis of Arrane, quha was eldest sone to James Duke of Chattellarault, and Bothwill, wer aggreit be Johne Knox minister, and thairefter raid and spak with the Duke." (Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 71.) "And upoun the 29th day of March, my Lord of Arrane come furth of the Palice of Kynneill, in ane franysy, in the nycht, at ane heich wyndo, and past to the Quenis Grace at Falkland, and sayd to her that my Lord Duke his fader, and my Lord Bothwill, and Gawin Commendatare of Kilwynning, had conspirit aganis the Quenis Grace and Lord James." (Ib. p. 71.)

[2] Hallyards, in the parish of Auchertule in Fifeshire. Sir Robert Sibbald, in 1710, speaks of "Hallyairds, the residence of a gentleman of the name of Skeen: a great building, surrounded with gardens, large enclosures and planting: having large meadows to the west, and a loch fertile of fish to the east." (Hist. of Fife, edit. 1710, App. p. 8.) At the time referred to by Knox, it belonged to Sir William Kirkaldy of Grange: see vol. i. p. 90.

[3] "Upon the last day of March (1562,) my Lord Bothwill and the Commendatare of Kilwynning wer commandit in ward, in the Palice of Falkland." Diurnal, p. 71.)

[4] It is a peculiarity in Knox's chief amanuensis, always to write "he" as "hie."

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he advertised, so it cam to pass; for within few dayis his seaknes increased; he devised of wonderouse signes that he saw in the heavin; he alledged that he was bewitched; he wold have bene in the Quenis bed, and affirmed that he was hir husband; and fynallie, he behaved him self in all thingis so foolishelie, that his phrenesy could not be hyd. And yit war the saidis Erle Bothwell and Abbott[1] of Kylwynning keapt in the Castell of Sanctandrois, and conventit[2] befoir the Counsall, with the said Earl of Arrane, who ever stoode ferme, that the Erle Boithwell proponed to him suche thingis as he advertissed the Quenis Grace of; but styflie denyed that his Father, the said Abbote, or freindis, knew any thing thairof, eathir yit that thei intended any violence against him; but alledged, that he was enchanted so to think and wryte. Whairat the Quene, heghlie offended, committed him to preasone, with the other two, first in the Castell of Sanctandrois, and thairafter caused thame to be convoyed to the Castell of Edinburgh. James Stewarte of Cardonall,[3] called Capitane James, was evill bruited [of], for the rigorous entreatment that he schew to the said Erle in his seaknes, being appointed keeper unto him.

To consult upoun these accusationis, the hoill Counsalle was assembled at Sanctandrois, the 18 day of Aprile, in the year of God J^{m} V^{c}, and threscoir twa yearis;[4] in which it was con-

[1] In MS. G, "Mr. Gawin, Abbot," &c.

[2] In MSS. G, and L 4, "conveened."

[3] James Stewart of Cardonald, about two miles from Paisley, in the county of Renfrew. In a letter dated 7th September 1561, Randolph says, "James Steward's admission to be Captain of the garde, stayett upon the Lord of Lidington's retorne, to certifye whether he be sworne Englishman." (Wright's Queen Elizabeth, vol. i. p. 74.) On the 4th May 1562, "Capitane Stewart, capitane of the Quenis gard," with 24 horsemen, convoyed Arrane, Bothwell, and the Abbot of Kilwinning from St. Andrews to Edinburgh. (Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 72.)

[4] In the Acts of the Privy Council, there is no minute of any meeting held on the 18th of April 1562. But the records of that time are not very entire. In the Diurnal of Occurrents it is stated, that a Convention was appointed to be held at St. Andrews, on the 15th of that month, "for taking tryell of the matter

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cluded, that, in consideratioun of the formar suspitioun, the Duck his Grace should render to the Quene the Castell of Dumbartane,[5] the custodie whairof was granted unto him by appointment, till that lauchfull successioun should be sein of the Quenis body: But will prevailled against reassone and promisses, and so was the said Castell delivered to Capitane Anstrudour, as having power fra the Quene and Counsall to receave it.[6]

Thingis ordoured in Fyfe, the Quene returned to Edinburgh,[7] and then began dansing to grow hote; for hir freindis began to triumph in France. The certantie heirof came to the earis of Johne Knox, for thair war some that schew to him, from tyme to tyme, the estait of thingis; and amangis otheris, he was assured, that the Queyne had daunced excessivelie till after mydnycht, becaus that sche had receaved letteris that persecutioun was begun agane in France, and that hir Uncles war

above written, and thair compeirit certane Lordis to the samyne;" and that, on the 18th of April, "My Lord Duke raid to the Quenis Grace in Sanctandrois, quhairintill he purgit himself of the conspiracie foirsaid in hir presens."

[5] "Upon the xxvij day of April (1562) the Castell of Dumbartane wes deliverit be my Lord Duke to Capitane Anstruther, in the name and behalf of the Quenis Grace." (Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 72.) Captain Robert Anstruther, in the previous year, had the command of the fortified island of Inchkeith, in the Frith of Forth, with "40 hagbutteris, remanand within the said Inche," (Treasurer's Accounts.)

[6] At the end of this paragraph, the transcriber of MS. L 4, has added, "Thus farr Mr. Knox in the Fourth Booke of his Historie. Let the Reader compare this relation with Buchanan's, and follow his own judgement." In like manner Calderwood (Hist. vol. ii. p. 177,) says, "Thus I have related this part of the Historie, as Knox hath sett it down in the Fourth Booke of his Historie. Mr. Buchanan, his relation, is somewhat different. He writeth," &c. Instead of quoting this passage, the reader may be referred to Buchanan's own work, in which he ascribes a plot to murther the Earl of Murray, as having been devised by the Earl of Bothwell, upon finding that he would not join Bothwell in his first design against the Hamiltons.

[7] Queen Mary returned from her journey and residence in Fife, to Edinburgh, early in May. Knox probably confounded this absence from Edinburgh, with the Queen's more protracted progress in the North in Autumn, (see page 331,) which may account for his mistaking the precise time of his second communing with the Queen, which actually took place in December: see next page, note 2.

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begyning to steir thair taill,[1] and to truble the hoill Realme of France. Upoun occasioun of this text, "And now under- Psal. 2.
stand, O ye kingis, and be learned, ye that judge the earth," he began to taxt the ignorance, the vanitie, and the dyspyte of princes against all virtue, and against all those in whom haitterent of vice and love of vertew appeired.[2]

The reporte heirof maid unto the Quene, the said Johne Knox was send for. Mr. Alexander Cockburne,[3] who befoir had bene his scolare, and then was very familiare with him, was the messinger, who geve him some knowledge both of the report and of the reportairis. The Quene was in hir bedchalmer, and with hir, besydis the Ladyes and the commoun servandis, war the Lord James, the Erle of Mortoun, Secreatarie Lethingtoun, and some of the garde that had maid the report. He was called and accused, as ane that had irreverentlie spoken of the Quene, and that travailled to bring hir in haitterent and contempt of the people, and that he had exceaded the boundis of his text: And upoun these three headis, maid the Quene hir self a long harangue or orisoun;[4] whairto the said Johne ansuered as followis:— THE SECOUND COMMONYNG OF JOHNE KNOX WITH THE QUENE.

"Madame, this is often tymes the just recompense which God geveth to the stubburne of the world, that becaus thei will nott hear God speaking to the conforte of the penitent, and for amendment of the wicked, thai are oft compelled to hear the fals report of otheris to thair greatter displeasur. I doubt not but that it cam to the earis of proud Herode,

[1] In MS. G, "tailla."

[2] Randolph, in a letter to Cecil, dated 16th December 1562, says, "upon Sunday last he (Knox) inveighed sore against the Queenis dancing, and little exercise of herself in vertue and godlinesse. The report hereof being brought unto her ears, *yesterday she sent for him*. She talked long time with him: little liking there was between them, of the one or the other, yet did they so depart as no offense or slander did rise thereon." We thus learn, that Knox's sermon was delivered on the 13th, and that the interview occurred on the 15th December.

[3] In MS. L 4, "Patrick Cockburne." See page 324, note 3.

[4] In MS. G, "oratioun."

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that our Maister Christ Jesus called him a fox; but thai told him not how odiouse a thing it was befoir God to murther ane innocent, as he had laitlie done befoir, causing to behead Johne the Baptiste, to reward the dansing of a harlottis doughtter. Madam, yf the reportaris of my wordis had bene honest men, thai wold have reaported my wordis, and the circumstances of the same. But becaus thai wold have credyte in Courte, and lacking vertew worthy thairof, thai mon haif somewhat to pleise your Majestie, yf it war but flatterye and lyes. But such pleasour (yf any your Grace tack in suche personis) will turn to your everlasting displeasour. For, Madam, yf your awin earis had heard the hoill mater that I entreated; yf thair be into you any sparckle of the Spreit of God, yea, of honestie or wisdome, ye could not justlie have bene offended with any thing that I spack. And becaus that ye have heard thair report, please your Grace to hear my self reherse the same, so neyr as memory will serve." (It was evin upoun the nixt day after that the sermon was maid.) "My text, (said he,) Madam, was this, 'And now, O kings, understand; be learned, ye judges of the earth.' After, Madam, (said he,) that I had declaired the dignitie of kingis and reullaris, the honour whairinto God hes placed thame, the obedience that is dew unto thame, being Goddis lievtennentis, I demanded this questioun,—But, O allace! what compte shall the most part of princes maik befoir that Supreme Judge, whose throne and authoritie so manifestlie and schamefullie thai abuse? That the complaynt of Salomon is this day most trew, to wit, 'That violence and oppressioun do occupy the throne of God here in this earth:' for whill that murtheraris, blood-thrystie men, oppressouris, and malefactouris dar be bold to present thame selfis befoir kingis and princes, and the poor sanctis of God are banisshed and exyled, what shall we say, But that the devill hath tacken possessioun in the throne of God, which aught to be fearfull to

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all wicked doiris, and a refuge to the innocent oppressed. And how can it otherwyse be? For princes will not understand; thai will nott be learned as God commandis thame. But Goddis law thei dispyse, His statutis and holy ordinances thei will not understand; for in fidling and flynging thei ar more exercised then in reading or hearing of Goddis most blessed word; and fidlaris and flatteraris (which commonlie corrupt the youth) are more pretious in thair eyes then men of wisdome and gravitie, who by holsome admonitioun mycht beat doun into thame some part of that vanitie and pryde whairintill all are borne, but in princes tack [deepe] roote and strenth by wicked educatioun. And of dansing, Madam, I said, that albeit in Scripturis I fand no praise of it, and in prophane wryttaris, that it is termed the jesture rather of those that ar mad and in phrenesye then of sober men; yitt do I not utterlie dampne it, provyding that two vices be avoided: the formare, That the principall vocatioun of those that use that exercise be not neglected for the pleasur of dansing; Secoundly, That they daunse not, as the Philisteanis thair fatheris, for the pleasur that thai tack in the displeasur of Goddis people. For yf any of boyth thai do, as thai shall receave the reward of dansaris, and that willbe drynk in hell, onless thai spedilie repent, so shall God turn thair myrth in suddane sorow: for God will not alwayes afflict his people, neither yitt will he alwayes wynk at the tyranny of tyrantis. Yf any man, Madam, (said he,) will say that I spack more, let him presentlie accuse me; for I think I have nott only tueiched the somme, but the verry wordis as I spack them." Many that stood by bair witnesse with him, that he had recyted the verray wordis that publictlie he spack.

The Queyn looked about to some of the reaportaris, and said, "Your wourdis ar scharpe yneuch as ye have spocken thame; but yitt thei war tald to me in ane uther maner. I know (said sche) that my Uncles and ye ar nott of ane religioun, and

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thairfoir I can nott blame you albeit you have no good opinioun of thame. But yf ye hear any thing of my self that myslyikis you, come to my self and tell me, and I shall hear you."

"Madam," quod he, "I am assured that your Uncles ar enemyes to God, and unto his Sone Jesus Christ; and that for manteanance of thair awin pompe and worldlie glorie, that thei spair not to spill the bloode of many innocents; and thairfoir I am assured that thair interpryses shall have no better successe then otheris haif had that befoir thame have done that thei do now. But as to your awin personage, Madam, I wold be glade to do all that I could to your Graces contentment, provided that I exceed nott the boundis of my vocatioun. I am called, Madam, to ane publict functioun within the Kirk of God, and am appointed by God to rebuk the synnes and vices of all. I am not appointed to come to everie man in particular to schaw him his offense; for that laubour war infinite. Yf your Grace please to frequent the publict sermonis, then doubt I nott but that ye shall fullie understand boyth what I like and myslike, als weall in your Majestie as in all otheris. Or yf your Grace will assigne unto me a certane day and hour when it will please you to hear the forme and substance of doctrin whiche is proponed in publict to the Churches of this Realme, I will most gladlie await upoun your Grace's pleasur, tyme, and place. But to waitt[1] upoun your chalmerdoore, or ellis whair, and then to have no farther libertie but to whisper my mynd in your Grace's eare, or to tell to you what otheris think and speak of you, neather will my conscience nor the vocatioun whairto God hath called me suffer it. For albeit at your Grace's commandiment I am heare now, yitt can not I tell what other men shall judge of me, that at this tyme of day am absent from my book and wayting upoun the Courte."

"You will not alwayis," said sche, "be at your book," and so turned hir back. And the said Johne Knox departed with a

[1] In MS. G, "to cum to waitt."

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reasonable meary countenance; whairat some Papistis offended said, "He is not effrayed." Which heard of him, he answered, "Why should the pleasing face of a gentill woman effray me? I have looked in the faces of many angrie men, and yit have nott bene effrayed above measure." And so left he the Quene and the Courte for that tyme.

In this meanetyme, the negotiatioun and credytte[1] was great betwix the Quene of England and our Soverane: letteris, curreouris, and postis ran verray frequent.[2] Great bruyt thair was of the interview and meating of the two Quenes at York, and some preparatioun was maid thairfoir in boyth the Realmes. But that failed upoun the parte of England, and that be occasioun of the trubles moved in France, (as was alledged,) which caused the Quene and hir Counsall attend upoun the Sowth partes[3] of England, for avoyding of inconvenientis.

That symmer, thair cam ane Ambassadour from the King of Swaden, requyring marriage of our Soverane to his Maister the King.[4] His intertenment was honorable; but his petitioun lyked our Quene nothing; for such a man was too base for hir estait; for had nott sche beyn great Queyn of France? Fye

[1] In MS. G, "and credytte," are omitted.

[2] Various letters written by Queen Mary to Queen Elizabeth at this time are contained in the Prince A. Labanoff's collection: "Lettres, Instructions et Mémoires de Marie Stuart, Reine d' Ecosse," &c. Londres, (Paris) 1844, 7 vols. 8vo. See also Keith's History.

[3] In MSS. M and L 4, the words after "Sowth partes" are omitted, and the following sentence interpolated. "Duke D'Awmall had opened up the English Ambassaders letters, who was then lying at Court, as wes reported; and by his procurement an English schip quhairin another Ambassador did fair, wes spoiled. There being appearance of warres betwix England and France, the Quene came from St. Andrews to Edinburgh, at what tyme she committed the Earl of Arran to ward in the Castell of Edinburgh." Calderwood has copied these words verbatim. (History, vol. ii. p. 182.)

[4] The Swedish Ambassador, "Herr Peter Groif," arrived in Leith on the 24th April, where he remained till the 9th of May, when the Queen came from Fife. In Edinburgh "he logeit in Mr. Harie Lawder's lodgeing, quhairto he was convoyit honorabill," and departed on the 1st of June, "with his answer, and imbarkit that nycht at ten houris at nicht, and obtanit ane fair wynd." (Diurnal of Occurrents, pp. 72, 78.)

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of Swaden! What is it? But happy was the man that of suche a one was forsaken. And yitt sche refuised nott one far inferiour to a vertouse King.[1]

The Erle of Levenax and his wyff[2] war committed to the Towre of London for trafiquin with Papistis. The young Lard of Barr[3] was a travaler in that busines, and was apprehended with some letteris, which war the cause of his and thair truble.

HAWICK RAIDE.

The Erle of Murray maid a privey raid to Hawick upoun the fayre-day thairof, and apprehended fyftie theaffis; of which nomber war sevintene drowned;[4] otheris war executed in Jedburght. The principallis war brought to Edinburgh, and thair suffered, according to thair merittis, upoun the Burrow Mure.[5] The Quene was nothing content of the prosperitie and gude successe that God gave to the Erle of Murray in all

[1] The King of Sweden referred to was Eric XIV., who was born in the year 1533. He was educated in the Protestant faith, and succeeded to the throne on the death of his father Gustavus Vasa, 29th September 1560. He was unfortunate in his projected alliances, and also in the latter part of his career, having been forced to abdicate in 1568; and he died of poison in 1578.

[2] Matthew, fourth Earl of Lennox, succeeded his father in 1526. He married Lady Margaret Douglas, the daughter of Archibald Earl of Angus, by his wife, Margaret Queen of Scotland, widow of James the Fourth, and sister of Henry the Eighth. Their son Henry Lord Darnley, who married Queen Mary of Scots, was born in 1545. The Earl of Lennox was elected Regent of Scotland 11th July 1570, but was slain 4th September 1571. The Countess of Lennox died 9th March 1577, in the 62d year of her age.

[3] John Lockhart, son of John Lockhart of Barr in Ayrshire. He was served heir of his father, 10th May 1575.

[4] The disturbed state of the Borders called for this summary act of justice. According to Randolph's letter, dated 7th July 1562, there were eighty-three persons apprehended at Hawick, "of the which twenty were acquitted by the assize; the rest condemned; of the which twenty-two were presently drowned there, for lack of trees and halters; six hanged at Edinburgh, yesterday being Monday," &c. (Chalmers' Queen Mary, vol. iii. p. 360; Tytler's Hist. vol. vi. p. 259. But Chalmers dates this letter 7th June; Tytler, the 8th July.)

[5] The Borough or Common Muir, about a mile to the south of Edinburgh, was of great extent, stretching from the Pleasance westward to beyond Merchiston Castle. The place where the old wooden gallows stood for the execution of criminals, according to Maitland, was "on the west side of the Dalkeith road, where it is left by the way to Musselburgh." The position was afterwards changed: see his History of Edinburgh, p. 176, chap. 177, respecting the Borough Muir.

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his interprysses, for sche hated his uprycht dealling, and the image of God which evidently did appear into him; but at that tyme sche could not weall have beyn served without him.

The Assemblye of the Kyrk at Mydsymmer, the [29th] of Junij,[1] anno 1562, approached, in the which war many notable headis entreated concernying good ordour to be keapt in the Churche; for the Papistis and the idolatrie of the Queyn began to truble the formar good ordouris. Some ministeris, suche as Maister Johne Scharpe,[2] had left thair charges, and entered into other vocationis more profitable for the belly; against whom war actis maid, althought to this day thei have nott bene putt in executioun.

SCHARPE LEFT PREACHING AND TOOK HIM TO THE LAWES. ANNO 1566 IN MAIJ.

The tennour of the Supplicatioun redd in oppen audience, and approved by the hoill Assemblye to be presented to the Quenis Majestie, was this:—

[1] In MS. 1566, "the 24;" in MS. L 4, "the penult of Junij;" in MS. M, "the penult of Julie." The General Assembly met at Edinburgh on the penult or 29th of June 1562. See the Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland, vol. i. p. 18. It should no doubt be, in "Mr. Henry Lawder's lugeing," instead of "Mr. *Hendrie Lands* house," (ib. p. 14,) where the Assembly was held.

[2] Mr. John Scharp was educated in St. Leonard's College, St. Andrews, having taken his Bachelor's degree in 1555; and he became a licentiate or Master of Arts in 1557. At the Reformation he appears to have occasionally exercised himself in the office of the ministry, without being appointed to any particular church. The want of efficient preachers to supply the vacant charges rendered the General Assembly more anxious to secure the services of qualified persons. On the 2d July 1562, the Assembly "finding him able to preach the word and minister the sacraments, as he had done before times, charged him to re-enter to the ministry, the place where he should minister being reserved to farther deliberation." And on the 4th July, "It was concludit that Mr. John Scharp should re-enter in the ministrie, and to serve in the kirk whilk the Superintendent of Lothian should appoint; and if he refused, that the censures of the Kirk be execute against him." Scharp, however, according to the above marginal note, became an Advocate, and long practised at the bar with great success. Mr. John Scharp, Advocate, had a charter of the lands of Houston, in the shires of Edinburgh and Linlithgow, 25th March 1576. His name occurs in an Act of Parliament, in July 1604, as "Maister John Scharp of Houston, Lawer." (Acta Parl. Scot. vol. iii. p. 264.) He was one of five persons connected with Scotland who were knighted by King James at Whitehall, on the 17th December 1604.

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To the Quenis Majestie, and Hir Most Honorable Privey Counsall, the Superintendentis and Ministeris of the Evangell of Jesus Christ within this Realme, together with the Commissionaris of the hoill Churches,[1] desyre Grace and Peace from God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, with the Spreit of rychteouse judgement.

Having in mynd that fearfull sentence, pronunced by the Eternall God against the watchemen that see the sweard of Goddis punishement approche, and do not in plane wordis fairwarne the people, yea, the Princes and Reularis, that thei may repent, we can not but signify unto your Hienes, and unto your Counsall, that the estait of this Realme is sic for this present, that onless redress and remeady be schortlie provided, that Goddis hand can not long spayr in his anger, to stryck the head and the taill; the inobedient Prince and synfull people: For as God is unchangeable and trew, so must he punische in these our dayis, the grevouse synnes that befoir we read he hes punished in all aiges, after that he hes long called for reapentance, and none is schawin.

And that your Grace and Counsall may understand what be the thingis we desyre to be reformed, we will begyn at that quhilk we assuredlie know to be the fontane and spring of all other evillis that now abound in this Realme, to wit, That idoll and bastard service of God, the Messe; the fontane, we call it, of all impietie, not only becaus that many tack boldnes to syn be reassone of the opinioun which thei have conceaved of that idoll, to wit, That by the vertew of it, thei get remissioun of thair synnes; but also becaus that under the cullour of the Messe, are hoores, adulteraris, drunkardis, blasphemaris of God, of His holy Word and Sacramentis, and such other manifest malefactouris, manteaned and defended: for lett any Messe-

[1] In the Bookis of the Kirk, "of the haill Kirk."

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sayare, or earnest manteanar thairof be deprehended in any of the foirnamed crymes, no executioun can be had, for all is done in haiterent of his religioun; and so are wicked men permitted to live wickedlie, clocked and defended by that odious idoll. But supposing that the Messe war occasioun of no such evillis, yit in the self it is so odiouse in Goddis presence, that we can not cease with all instance to desyre the removing of the same, alsweall frome your self as from all otheris within this Realme, tacking heavin and earth, yea, and your awin conscience to record, that the obstinat manteanance of that idoll shall in the end be to you destructioun of saule and body. THIS[1] CAUSES THE QUENIS RELIGIOUN TO HAVE MANY FAVOURARIS.

If your Majestie demand, why that now we ar more earnest then we have bein heirtofoir; We answer, (our formar silence no wiese excused,) becaus we fynd us frustrat of our hope and expectatioun; quhilk was, that in processe of tyme, your Grace's heart should have bein mollifyed, so far as that ye wold have heand the publict doctrin taught within this Realme; by the quhilk, our farther hope was, that Goddis Holy Spreit should so have moved your hearte, that ye should have suffered your religioun (quhilk befoir God is nothing but abominatioun and vanitie) to have been tryed by the trew tueich-stone, the writtin word of God; and that your Grace fynding it to have no ground nor fundatioun in the same, should have gevin that glorie unto God, that ye wold have preferred his treuth unto your awin preconceaved vane opinioun, of what antiquitie that ever it hes bene. Whairof we in a parte now discaraged[2] cane no longer keape silence, onless we wold mack our selfis criminall befoir God of your blood, perisheing in your awin iniquitie; for we plainlie admonishe you of the dangearis to come.

The Secound that we requyre, is punishement of horrible vices, sic as ar adultery, fornicatioun, open hurdome, blasphemye,

[1] In MS. G, "These cause;" MS. L 4, "This causethe."

[2] In MS. G, "discharged." In the Book of the Kirk, and MS. L 4, "disappointed."

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GRUDGEING OF THE NOBILITIE ONE AGAINST OTHER.

contempt of God, of his Word, and Sacramentis; quhilkis in this Realme, for lack of punishement, do evin now so abound, that syne is reputed to be no syne. And thairfoir, as that we see the present signes of Goddis wrath now manifestlie appear, so do we foirwarne, that he will stryck, or it be long, yf his law without punishement be permitted thus manifestlie to be contempned. Yf any object, that punishementis can nott be commanded to be executed without a Parliament; We answer that the eternall God in his Parliament has pronounced death to be the punishement for adulterye and for blasphemye; whose actis yf ye putt not to execution, (seing that Kingis ar but his lieutennentis, having no power to geve lyefe, whair he commandis death,) as that he will reputt you, and all otheris that foster vice, patronis of impietie, so will he nott faill to punishe you for neglecting of his judgementis.

Our Third requeast concerneth the Poore, who be of thre sortis: the poore labouraris of the ground; the poore desolat beggaris, orphelyns, wedoes, and strangaris; and the poore ministeris of Christ Jesus his holie evangell, quhilk ar all so crewallie entreated by this last pretended Ordour tacken for sustentatioun of Ministeris, that thair latter miserie far surmonteth the formar. For now the poore labouraris of the ground ar so oppressed by the crewaltie of those that pay thair Thrid, that they for the most parte advance upoun the poore, whatsoever they pay to the Quene, or to any other. As for the verray indigent and poore, to whome God commandis a sustentatioun to be provided of the Teyndis, they ar so dyspised, that it is a wonder that the sone geveth heat and lycht to the earth, whair Godis name is so frequentlie called upoun, and no mercy (according to his commandiment) schawin to his creaturis. And also for the Ministeris, thair lyvingis ar so appointed, that the most parte shall lyve but a beggaris lyef. And all cumeth of that impietie, that the idill bellies of Christis ennemyes mon be fedd in thair formare delicacie.

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We dar nott conceall frome your Grace and Honouris our conscience, quhilk is this, That neather by the law of God, neather yitt by any just law of man, is any thing dew unto thame, who now most creuellie do exact of the poore and riche the Two partes of thair Benefices, as they call thame: And thairfoir we most humblie requyre, that some other Ordour may be tacken with thame, nor that thei be sett up agane to impyre above the people of God, eathir yitt above any subject within this Realme. For we fear that sic usurpatioun to thair formar estaite be neather in the end pleasing to thame selfis, nor profitable to thame that wold place thame in that tyrannye. Yf any think that a competent lyving is to be assigned to thame, we repugne not, provided that the Lauboraris of the ground be nott oppressed, the Poore be nott utterlie neglected, and the Ministeris of the word so scharplie entreated as now thay ar. And, finallie, that those idill bellies, who by law can crave nothing, shall confesse that thei receave thair sustentatioun, nott of debt, but as of benevolence. Our humble requeast is thairfoir, that some suddane ordour may be tacken, that the poore Lauboraris may fynd some releaf, and that in everie parochine some portioun of the Teyndis may be assigned to the sustentatioun of the Poore within the same; and lykwise that some publict releaf may be provided for the Poore within Brughtis; that collectouris may be appointed to gatther, and that scharpe comptis may be tacken, alsweall of thair receat as of thair deliverance. The farther consideratioun to be had to our Ministeris, we in some parte remitt to your Wisdomes, and unto thair particular complayntis.

Oure Fourt petitioun is for the mansses, yardis, and gleibes, justlie apperteanyng to the Ministeris, without the quhilkis it is unpossible unto thame quyetly to serve thair chargeis; and thairfoir we desyre ordour to be tacken thairinto without delay.

Oure Fyft concerneth the inobedience of certane wicked

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personis, who not onlie truble, and have trubled Ministeris in thair functioun, but also disobey the Superintendentis in thair visitatioun; whairof we humblye crave remeady; which we do not so much for any fear that we and our Ministeris have of the Papistis, but for the love that we bear to the commoun tranquillitie. For this we can not hyd from your Majestie and Counsall, that yf the Papistis think to triumphe whair thai may, and to do what thai list, whair thair is not a partie able to resist thame, that some will think, that the godlie men begyn whair thai left, who heirtofoir have borne all thingis patientlie, in hope that Lawes should have brydilled the wicked; whairof yf thai be frustrat, (albeit that nothing be more odiouse to thame then tumultis and domestiçall discord,) yit will men attempt the uttermost, befoir that in thair awin eyes thai behold that House of God demolisshed, quhilk with travaill and danger God hath within this Realme erected by thame.

Last, We desyre that sick as have receaved remissioun of thair Thriddis be compelled to susteane the Ministerie within thair boundis, or ellis we foirwarne your Grace and Counsall, that we fear that the people shall reteane the haill in thair handis, unto sic tyme as thair ministery be sufficientlie provided. We farther desyre the kirkis to be repared according to ane Act set furth by the Lordis of Secreat Counsall, befoir your Majesties arryvall in this countrey: That Judges be appointed to hear the causes of divorsement; for the Kirk can no longare sustean that burthen, especiallye becaus thair is no punishement for the offendars: That sayeris and heararis of Messe, prophanaris of the Sacramentis, such as have entered in [to] benefices by the Papis bulles, and such otheris transgressouris of the Law maid at your Grace's arryvall within this Realme, may be severlie punished; for ellis men will think that thair is no treuth ment in macking of sick Lawis.

Farther, We most humblye desyre of your Grace and Honorable Counsall, a resolut ansuer to everie ane of the headis

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foirwritten, that the same being knawin, we may somewhat satisfie such as be grevouslie offended at manifest iniquitie now manteaned, at oppressioun under pretext of Law done against the poor, and at the rebelliouse disobedience of many wicked personis against Godis word and holy ordinance.

God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, so reull your heartis, and direct your Grace and Counsallis judgementis by the dyttament and illuminatioun of his Holy Spreit, that ye may answer so as that your consciences may be absolved in the presence of that rychteous Judge, the Lord Jesus; and then we doubt nott but ye your selfis shall fynd felicitie, and this poor Realme, that long hes bene oppressed by wicked men, shall enjoy tranquillitie and rest, with the treu knowledge of God.

. . . . . .

These thingis redd in publict Assemblie,[1] as said is, war approved of all, (and some wissed that moir scharpness had bene used, becaus that the tyme so craved;) but the monseoris of the Court, and Secreatarie Lethingtoun abuf otheris, could not abyd such hard speiking; "For who ever saw it writtin (said he) to a Prince, That God wold stryck the head and the taill: That yf Papistis did what thei list, men wold begyn whair thei left." But abuf all otheris that was most offensyve, that the Queme was acoused, as that sche wold raise up Papists and Papistrie agane. To put that in the people's head was no less then treasone; for oathes durst be maid[2] that sche never ment such thing. To whom it was ansured, "That the Prophete Esaias used such maner of speiking; and it was no doubt but he was weill acquented in the Court; for it was supposed he was of the Kingis stock. But howsoever it was, his wordis mack manifest, that he spack to the Court and Courteouris, to Judges, Ladies, Princes, and Preastis: And yit, (sayes he,) "The Lord shall cut away the head and the taill," &c. "And

ESAI. ANSUERE TO LETHINGTON.

[1] At the 6th Sess., 4th July. [2] In MS. G, "wer maid."

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so," said the first wryttar, "I fynd that such phrase was once used befoir us. And yf this offend you, that we say, 'Men maun begyn whair thei left,' in case that Papistis do as thei do; we wold desyre you to teache us, not so much how we shall speak, but rather what we shall do, when our Ministeris ar strycken, our Superintendentis disobeyed, and a plane rebellioun decreed against all good ordour." "Complean," said Lethingtoun. "Whom to?" said the other. "To the Queenis Majestie," said he. "How long shall we do so?" quod the whole. "Till that ye get remeady," said the Justice Clearck: "geve me thair names, and I shall geve you letteris." "Yf the shepe," said one, "shall compleane to the wolf, that the wolves and whelpis hes devoured thair lambis, the complenaar may stand in danger; but the offendar, we feare, shall have libertie to hunt after his prey." "Sic comparisounis," said Lethingtoun, "are verray unsaverie; for I am assured, that the Quene will neather erect, nor yit manteane Papistrie." "Let your assurance," said ane other, "serve your self, but it can not assure us, for hir manifest proceadings speakis the contrair."

After sick tanting reassonyng of boyth the sydis, the multitude concluded, that the Supplicatioun, as it was conceaved, should be presented, onless that the Secreatarie wold forme one more aggreable to the present necessitie. He promeet to keap the substance of ouris, but he wold use other termes, and ask thingis in a mair gentill maner. The first writtar assumed, "That he served the Kirk at thair commandiment, and was content, that in his dictament should men use the libertie that best pleased thame, provided that he was not compelled to subscryve to the flatterie of such as more regarded the personis of men and wemen, then the simple treuth of God." And so was this formar Supplicatioun gevin to be reformed as Lethingtounis wisdome thought best. And in verray deid he framed it so, that when it was delivered by the Superinten-

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destis of Lothiane and Fyfe, and when that sche had redd somewhat of it, sche said, "Here ar many fair wordis: I can not tell what the heartis ar." And so for our paynted oratorye, we war termed the nixt name to flatteraris and dissemblaris. But for that Sessioun the Kirk receaved none other answer.

JOHNE GORDOUN AND OGILBY.

Schort after[1] the conventioun of the Kirk, chansed that unhappy persuyt whilk Johnne Gordoun, Laird of Fynlater,[2] maid upoun the Lord Ogilby,[3] who was evill hurt, and almost yit abydis mutilat. The occasioun was, for certane landis and rights, quhilkis old Fyndlater had resigned to the said Lord, which he was persuing, and was in appearance to obteane his purpois. Whairat the said Johne and his servandis war offended, and thairfoir maid the said persuyt, upoun a Setterday, at nycht, betwix nyne and ten. The freindis of the said Lord war eather not with him, or ellis not weall willing to feght that nycht; for thei took straikis, but geve few that left

[1] As mentioned in the previous page 337, Knox has mistaken the time when the General Assembly met, and in this way he probably committed the mistake of saying, "Schort after," instead of "Short before the Conventioun." The meetings of the Assembly were from Monday the 29th June, till Saturday the 4th July 1562. The above conflict took place on Saturday the 27th June. The Magistrates having apprehended and imprisoned Gordon of Finlater, and ordered two of the Ogilvies to be kept in ward, they sent a messenger to the Queen, who was then in Stirling, to obtain her instructions. The Queen's letter, dated penult of June, is preserved in the Council Register, and is printed by Keith. (Hist. vol. ii. p. 156.) But Sir John Gordon, as Knox mentions, soon afterwards made his escape to the North.

[2] Sir John Gordon was third son of George fourth Earl of Huntley. Alexander Ogilvy of Ogilvy, in 1545, having disinherited his son James Ogilvy of Cardell, settled his estates of Finlater and Deskford upon John Gordon, who assumed the name of Ogilvie, which was the occasion of the animosity that existed between the two families. James Ogilvy of Cardell had been in France, and was Master of the Household of Queen Mary. He was now endeavouring to recover possession of his father's estates. The claim between the rival families of Gordon and Ogilvy having at length been referred to arbitration, the estates of Deskford and Finlater, in 1566, were affirmed to James Ogilvy, the ancestor of the Earls of Finlater; and this award was ratified in Parliament, 19th April 1567.

[3] According to most accounts James sixth Lord Ogilvy of Airly was so severely wounded in this conflict, on the 27th June 1562, that his life was considered to be in imminent danger; but he recovered and survived till the year 1606.

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markis. The said Johne was tane, and put in the Tolbuyth, whair he remanent certane dayis, and then brack his warde, some judged, at his fatheris commandiment; for he was macking preparatioun for the Quenis cuming to the North, as we will after hear.

The interview and meating of the two Quenis, delayed till the nixt year, oure Soverane took purpose to visyt the North, and departed from Striveling in the moneth of August. Whitther thair was any secreet pactioun and confederacye betwix the Papistis in the South, and the Erle of Huntley and his Papistis in the North; or, to speak more planelie, betwix the Quene hir self and Huntley, we can not certanlie say.[1] But the suspitionis war wounderous vehement, that thair was no good will borne to the Erle of Murray, nor yit to such as depended upoun him at that tyme. The History we shall faythfullie declair, and so leave the judgement free to the readaris.

That Johne Gordoun brack his ward, we have already heard, who immediately thairafter reapared to his father George, then Erle of Huntley;[2] and understanding the Quenis cuming, maid graite provisioun in Strabogye, and in other partis, as it war to receave the Quene. At Aberdene the Quene and Court remaned certane dayis to deliberat upoun the affaires of the countrey; whair some began to smell, that the Erle of Huntley was under gatthering, as heirefter shalbe declaired.

BOTHWELL BRAKE WARDE.

Whill thingis war so wyrking in the North, the Erle Bothwell brack his ward, and cam furth of the Castell of Edinburgh,

[1] In MS. G, "certanely affirme."

[2] George fourth Earl of Huntley succeeded his grandfather in 1524. He became a favourite of King James the Fifth, with whom he had been educated. He was admitted a Privy Councillor in 1535, and was constituted Lieutenant-General of the North in 1540. In 1546 he succeeded Cardinal Beaton as Lord Chancellor. He obtained in 1549 a grant of the Earldom of Murray, but this he was forced to resign in 1559. The estates and dignities of Mar and Murray having afterwards been conferred upon Lord James Stewart, this served to encrease those fatal dissensions which ultimately led to the Earl's death, at Corrichie, on the 28th October 1562.

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the 28th of August. Some say that he brack the stancheour of the wyndo; utheris whispered, that he gat easye passage by the yettis. One thing is certane, to wit, The Quene was litill offended at his eschaiping. Thair passed with him a servand of the Capitane's, named James Porterfield. The said Erle schew him self not verray affrayed, for his commoun residence was in Lowthean. The Bischope of Sanctandrois and Abbot of Crosraguell keapt secreat conventioun that same tyme in Paslay, to whom resorted diverse Papistis; yea, the said Bischope spack the Duck, unto whom also cam the Lord Gordon from the Erle of Huntley, requyring him "to putt to his handis in the South, as he should do in the North; and so it should not be Knoxis crying nor preaching that should stay that purpose." The Bischope, be he never so close, could not altogether hyd his mynd, but at his awin table said, "The Quene is gone into the North, belyke to seak disobedience: sche may perchance fynd the thing that sche seikis." It was constantlie affirmed, that the Erle Bothwell and the said Lord Gordon spack together, but of thair purpoise we heard no mentioun.

THE FALS BISHOPE AND HIS TRAFIQUE.

That same year, and at that instant tyme, war appointed Commissionaris by the Generall Assemblie to Carryk and Cunighame, Maister George Hay, who, the space of a moneth preached with great fruct in all the churches of Carryk. To Kyle, and to the partis of Galloway was appointed Johnne Knox, who besyde the doctrine of the evangell schawen unto the commoun people, forwarned some of the Nobilitie and Baronis of the dangearis that he feared, and that war appearing schortlie to follow; and exhorted thame to put thame selfis in sic ordour as that thei mycht be able to serve the autheritie, and yit not to suffer the ennemeis of Goddis treuth to have the upper hand. Whairupoun a great part of the Barenis and Gentilmen of Kyle and Cunynghame and Carrik, professing the treu doctrine of the evangell, assembled at Ayre;

COMMISSIONARIS.

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and after exhortationis maid, and conference had, subscrivit this Band. The tennour whairof followis:—

We, whais Names are underwrittin, do promesse, in the presence of God, and in the presence of his Sone our Lord Jesus Christ, that we, and everie ane of us, shall and will manteane and assist the preaching of his holy Evangell, now of his mear mercy, offered unto this Realme; and also will manteane the ministeris of the same against all personis, power, and authoritie, that will oppone the self to the doctrin proponed, and by us receaved. And farther, with the same solempnitie, we protest and promesse, that everie ane of us shall assist otheris; yea, and the hoill body of the Protestantis within this Realme, in all lawchfull and just actionis, against all personis; so that whosoever shall hurt, molest, or truble ony of our body, shalbe reaputed ennemye to the hoill, except that the offendar wilbe content to submit him self to the judgement of the Kirk, now stablissched amangis us. And this we do, as we desyre to be accepted and favored of the Lord Jesus, and reaccompted worthy of credyte and honestie in the presence of the godlie. At the Brough of Air, the ferd day of September, the yeir of God J^m V^c threscoir twa zeiris.

Subscrivit by all these with thair handis, as followis:—

Mr. Michaell Wallace, Provest of Air,[1]
James Lockart,[2]
Williame Montgomery,
Johnne Craufurd of Wolstoun,[3]
Glencarne,[4]
Ro. Boyd,[5]
R. Failfurd,[6]
Matthew Campbell of Lowden, knyght,
Allane Lord Caythcart,

[1] The Provost of Ayr was, no doubt, Wallace of Holmstone, on the south bank of the river, about a mile from the town.
[2] Probably Sir James Lockhart of Lee.
[3] Or Walston, parish of Tarbolton.
[4] Alexander fourth Earl of Glencairn.
[5] Robert fourth Lord Boyd; see page 259, note 7.
[6] Robert Cunningham, minister of Failfurd: see a subsequent note.

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JOHNNE MURE in Wode,
HEW WALLACE of Carnell,
JAMES CHALMER of Gathgirth,
HEW MONTGOMERY of Hesheilhead,
JOHNNE FULLARTOUN of Dreghorne,
I WILLIAME CUNYGHAME, with my hand,
SKELDOUN,[1]
FARGUSHILL,[2]
MR. OF BOYD,[3]
JOHNNE LOCKART of Bair,
WILLIAME CUNYGHAME of Caprington younger,
ROBERT KER of Carsland,
ROBERT CRAWFURD,
DAVID CRAWFURD,
WILLIAME CUNYGHAME,
CHARLES CAMPBELL, Burgess of Air,
JAMES DALRYMPLE of Stayre,
MUNGO MURE,
JAMES REID,
JAMES KENNEDY, Burgess of Air,
GEORGE LOCKART, Burgess thair,
JOHNE CUNYNGHAME of Caprington,
CUNYNGHAMHEID,[4]
VCHILTRIE,[5]
GEORGE CRAUFURD of Lefnoreise,
JOHNE MURE of Rowallane,
HEW CUNYGHAME of Watterstoun,
ROBERT CUNYGHAME,
ARYNHARVYE,[6]
MYDDISTOUN,[7]
JOHNE WALLACE of Cragie,
JOHNE BOYD of Narstoun,
ROBERT CAMPBELL of Kingzeancleuchbt,
GILBERT ECCLES,
THOMAS CAITHCARTE, with my hand,
ALLANE CAITHCART of Clawence,[8]
ADAM REYD of Barskymming,
JOHNNE CAITHCART of Gibiszard,[9]
JOHNE REID, with my hand,
JOHNE [10]

[1] William Campbell of Skeldon, in the parish of Dalrymple.

[2] John Fergushill of Fergushill, in the parish of Kilwinning.

[3] Robert Master of Boyd. He predeceased his father Lord Boyd.

[4] Sir William Cunningham of Cunninghamhead.

[5] Andrew second Lord Stewart of Ochiltrie.

[6] In the list this appears as a distinct name, but Robert Cunningham was Laird of Auchinharvy.

[7] The Laird of Middleton was also a Cunningham.

[8] Or Clavanes, parish of Dundonald.

[9] Or Gibb's-yard.

[10] In all the copies of Knox this name is left blank, his transcriber in 1566 apparently being unable to decypher it.

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Robert Schaw, Burgess thair,
Johnne Dunbar of Blantyre,
Robert Chalmer of Martnem,[1]
Rubert Huntar of Huntarstoun,
Robert Rankin,
Archibald Boyle,
Alexander Nysbett,
James Lockart,
Williame Stewart of Halrig,
Heroour Dunbar of Clounting,
James Campbell of Louchley,
Adam Caithcart of Bardarocht,
George Ryd of Chapellhouse,
Hew Wallace of the Meanfurd,
Robert Campbell of Cragdow,
Andro Neven of Monkredden,
Williame Caithcart,
David Craufurd of the Kerse,
Johnne Kennydie of Ternganoche,
Patrik Kennydie of Daljarocht,[2]
Allane Caithcart of Carlton.
Robert Boyd of Penmont,[3]
Williame Campbell of Horsclewcht,[4]
Williame Caithcart, brother to the Lord Caithcart,
Johnne Macquhidhill,
George Corry of Kelwod,
Williame Kennydie of Ternganocht,
Johnne Kennydie of Kirkmichaell,
Thomas Mack Alexandir of Corschais.[5]*

[1] Or Martinham, parish of Dalrymple.
[2] Or Daljarrock, parish of Colmonell.
[3] Or Piedmont.
[4] Or Horseleuch, in the parish of Cumnock, a designation assumed by the Campbells of Skerrington, although probably at first by a distinct branch of the family.
[5] Or Corseclays, in the parish of Colmonell.

* In MS. G, at the end of this list of names is added, "With many uther Gentilmen of worth, and Burgesses." In MS. L 4, the list is dated, the 3d of September; but the names of the Subscribers of this Bond are only partially given; but adding these words, "with an hundreth more gentlemen," &c. Calderwood also gives a similar abridged list. (Hist. vol. ii. p. 202.)

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These thingis done at Ayr, the said Johne passed to Nethisdaill and Galloway, whair, in conference with the Maister of Maxwell,[1] a man of great judgment and experience, he communicat with him such thingis as he feared; who by his motioun wrayit to the Erle Bothwell, to behave himself as it became a faythfull subject, and to keape good quyetness in the partis committed to his charge, and so wold his cryme of the breaking of the ward be the more easelis pardoned. Johne Knox wrait unto the Dukis Grace, and earnestlie exhorted him neather to geve eare to the Bischope[2] his bastard brother, nor yit to the persuasionis of the Erle of Huntley; for yf he did, he assured him, that he and his House should come to a suddane ruyn.

By such meanis war the South partis keapte in reasonable quyetness, during the tyme that the trubles war in brewing in the North. And yit the Bischope and the Abbote of Corsraguell,[3] did what in thame lay to have rased some truble; for besydis the fearfull bruytes that thei sparsed abroad, (sometymes that the Quene was tacken; sometymes that the Erle of Murray and all his band war slane; and sometymes that the Quene had gevin her self unto the Erle of Huntley,—besydis such bruites) the Bischope, to brek the countrey of Kyle, whair quyetness was greatest, rased the Craufurdis against the Readis for the payment of the Bischopis Pasche fynes; but that was stayed by the laubouris of indifferent men, who favored peace.

The Abbot of Crosraguell requyred disputatioun of Johne Knox for mantenance of the Messe, which was granted unto DISPUTATIOUN.

[1] Sir John Maxwell of Terreglis, Warden of the West Marches: see vol. i. p. 319.

[2] Giving ear to the Bishop, that is, John Hamilton, Archbishop of St. Andrews.

[3] Quintin Kennedy was the fourth son of Gilbert second Earl of Cassillis. As a younger son, intended for the church, he pursued his studies at St. Andrews, and afterwards at Paris. He obtained the Abbacy of Crossraguell in Ayrshire, in the year 1549. He died on the 22d August 1564. See notice of his life in the Wodrow Miscellany, vol. i. p. 89.

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him, and whiche held in Mayboll thre dayis. The Abbot had the advantage that he requyred, to wit, He took upoun him to prove that Melchisedeck offered bread and wyne unto God, which was the ground that the Messe was builded upoun to be a Sacrifice, &c. But in the travaill of thre dayis thair could no prooff be produced for Melchisedeckis oblatioun, as in the same disputatioun (which is to be had in print[1]) clearlie may appear. The Papistis constantlie looked for a wolter, and thairfoir thei wold maid some bragg of reassonyng. The Abbote farther presented him self to the pulpit, but the voice of Maister George Hay[2] so effrayed him, that efter ones he wearyed of that exercise.

CROSRAGUELL OFFERED HIM ANES TO PREACH.

After that the Quene was somewhat satisfyed of hunting, and other pastyme,[3] sche cam to Abirdene, whair the Erle of

[1] The Disputation referred to took place at Maybole in September 1562. Knox published a detailed account of it, under the title of "The Copie of the Reasonyng which was betwix the Abbot of Crosraguell and Johne Knox, in Maybole, concerning the Masse," &c. Printed at Edinburgh by Robert Lekprewik, 1563, 4to. This, of course, will be reprinted in a subsequent volume of his Works.

[2] Mr. George Hay was first minister of Eddilston, and in or before 1563, was appointed Commissioner of the Diocese of Aberdeen and Banff, and also Minister of Ruthven. In August 1562, he had been appointed to visit Ayrshire (see page 847); and Knox's allusion is evidently to Hay's controversy with the Abbot at this time, which was published under this title, "The Confutation of the Abbote of Crosraguells Masse, set furth by Maister George Hay. Imprinted at Edinburgh, by Robert Lekprewik, 1563," 4to; dedicated "To the Most Noble, Potent, and Godly Lord James, Earle of Murray."

[3] The following is a brief notice of the Queen's progress in the North of Scotland. She set out from Edinburgh, on horseback, on the 11th August 1562, dined that day at Calder, and then reached the Palace of Linlithgow. Next day, after dinner, at Lord Livingstone's, in Callander House, she came to Stirling Castle, where she remained till the 18th. She proceeded to Aberdeen, where she arrived on the 27th, and remained till the 1st of September. Having changed her purpose of visiting the Earl of Huntley, she proceeded, stopping at places not so well prepared for her reception, passed the Spey, and reached Elgin on the 4th. On the 8th she passed forward to Kinloss Abbey; on the following day to Tarnaway Castle, the chief mansion of the Earldom of Murray, where a Privy Council was held on the 10th of September; and Lord James Stewart having resigned the title of Mar, produced his patent, and assumed the title of Murray. Next day the Queen reached Inverness. On the 15th she set out on her return, stopping at Tar-

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Huntley met hir and his Lady, with no small tryne, remaned in Court, was supposed to have the greatest credyte, departed with the Quene to Buchquhane, met hir again at Rothymay, looking that sche should have passed with him to Strabogye. But in the jorney certane word cam to hir that Johne Gordoun had brocken promesse in not re-entering in ward; for his father the Erle had promessed that he should enter agane within the Castell of Stryveling, and thair abyd the Quenis pleasur. But whetther with his fatheris knowledge and consent, or without the same we know not, but he refused to enter; which so offended the Quene, that she wold not go to Strabogye, but passed through Straythyla to Innerness, whair the Castell thairof was denyed unto hir. The Capitane was commanded to keape it, and looked for releaf, for so had Johne of Gordoun promessed; but being thairof frustrat, the Castell was randered, and the Capitane named Gordoun was executed; the rest war damned, and the handis of some bound, but eschaiped.

This was the begynning of farther truble; for the Erle of Huntley thairat offended, began to assemble his folkis, and spaired not to speak that he wold be revenged. But alwayes his Wyef bayre faire countenance to the Quene; and it is verrely supposed, that no other harme then the Quene hir self could easilie have stand content with, was ment unto hir awin persone. But the hoill malice lay upoun the Erle of Murray, Secreatarie Lethingtoun, and upoun the Lard of Pittarro. Yitt the Quene begane to be effrayed, and by procla-

naway and Spynie Castle, recrossed the Spey at Fochabers, and reached Aberdeen on the 22d, where the inhabitants shewed their loyalty on occasion of her public entry. Here she remained till the 5th of November, during which time the fatal conflict at Corrichie took place, ensuring the triumph of Murray, and the ruin of Huntley, which Chalmers and other writers assert was the chief object in inducing the Queen to undertake this journey. In her return she passed through Dunottar, Montrose, Dundee, Perth, and arrived at Holyrood on the evening of the 21st of November, after more than three months' absence. See Chalmers's Life of Queen Mary, vol. i. sect. iv.

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matioun caused warne Stryveling, Fyffe, Anguss, Mearness, and Straytherne, charge all substantiall men to be in Abirdene the fyfth day of October, thair to remane the space of twenty dayis. In hir returning from Innerness, sche required the Castell of Fynlater, which was lykewise denyed, and so was Auchendowne, which more inflammed the Quein. The Erle of Huntley was charged to caus deliver the said housses, under pane of treasson. To schaw some obedience, he caused the keyis of boyth to be presented by his servand, Mr. Thomas Keyr. But befoir had the Quene send young Capitane Stewarte, (sone to Capitane James,[1] who to this day hes neather bein stout, happye, nor trew,) with sex scoir of soldartis, to ly about the said place of Fynlater. They lodged in Culane, nott far distant from the said place. Upoun a nycht Johne Gordoun cam with a cumpany of horsemen, took the Capitane, slew certane of the soldiouris, and disarmed the rest. This fact, done (as the Quene alledged) under traist, so inflambed hir, that all hope of reconciliatioun was past; and so the said Erle of Huntley was charged, under pane of putting of him to the horne, to present him self and the said Johne befoir the Quene and Counsall within sax dayis: whiche charge he disobeyed, and so was denunced rebell. Whitther it was law or not, we dispute litill thairintill; but it was a preparative to otheris that after war served with that same measure. He was sought at his place of Strathbogye, but eschaped.

SO WAS THE DUCK, THE ERLIS ERGYLE, MURRAY, AND GLENCARNE, WITH ALL THAIR CUMPANIES AFTER SERVED.[2]

The evill encreased, for the Erle assembled his folk out of all partes of the North. He martched forward towardis Abirdene, and upoun the twenty-twa day of October, the year of God J^{m} V^{c} threscoir twa yearis, cam to the Loch of Skein. His army was judged to sevin or aught hundreth men. The

1562.

[1] Apparently Capt. Alexander Stewart, son of Capt. James Stewart of Cardonald, who is mentioned at page 329. On the 29th October 1562, there was paid by the Queen's speciale command "to Capitane Moffet ensinge to Capitane Stewart for his trew service done and to be done, £66, 13s. 4d."

[2] Being denounced rebels, in August and October 1565.—Some letters in this marginal note, cut away by the binder, are supplied from MS. G.

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Quenis army, boyth in nomber and manhead, far surmounted his, and yitt he took no fear; for he was assured of the most parte of thame that war with the Quene, as the ishew did witness. Within the toune thei stood in great fear; and thairfoir it was concluded that thei wold assaile the uttermost upoun the feildis. The Forbesses, Hayes, and Leslyes, took the vantgard, and promessed to feght the said Erle without any other helpe. Thei passed furth of the toune before ten houris. Thei putt thame selfis in array, but thei approached not to the enemye till that the Erle of Murray and his cumpanye war come to the feildis, and that was efter two at efter none; for he was appointed with his cumpanye onlye to have beholden the battell. But all thingis turned otherwyese then the most parte of men supposed.

The Erle of Huntley was the nycht befoir determined to have retyred him self and his cumpanye; but that mornyng he could not be walkened before it was ten houres, and when he was up on foote his spreitis failed him, (be reassone of his corpolencie,) so that rychtlie a longe tyme he could do nothing. Some of his freindis, fearing the danger, left him. When that he looked upoun boyth the cumpanyes, he said, "This great cumpany that approcheth neyest to us will do us no harm, thei ar our freindis. I only fear yonder small cumpayne that stand upoun the hill-syd, yone ar our enemyes. But we ar anew for thame, yf God be with us." And when he had thus spoken, he fell upoun his knees, and maid his prayer in this forme. "O Lord, I have been a bloode thristye man, and by my meanes hes mekle innocent bloode bein spilt; but wilt thou geve me victory this day, and I shall serve thee all the dayis of my lyef."—Note and observe, good Readar, he confessed that he had bein a blood-thristy man, and that he had bein the cause of the schedding of much innocent bloode: but yitt wold he have had victorye; and what was that ellis, but to have had power to have schedd more, and then wold he have satisfied

THE ERLE OF HUNTLEYIS PRAYER.

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God for all togetther. Wherein is expressed the nature of hypocrytis, whiche neather farther feareth nor loveth God then present danger or profficitt maadeth. But to our Historye.

CORRECHY BURNE, OR FARA BANK.

The Leslyes, Hayes, and Forbesses, espying the Erle of Murray and his to be lyghted upoun thair foote, maid fordwarde against the Erle of Huntley and his, who stoode in Correchie Burne, (some call it Fara Bank;)[1] but or thei approched, ney by the space of the schote of ane arrow, they caist frome thame thair spearis and long weaponis, and fled directlie in the faces of the Erle of Murray and his company. The danger espyed, the Lard of Pettarro, a man boyth stout and of a reddy wytt, with the Maister, now Lord Lyndsay, and Tutour of Pettcur,[2] said, "Let us cast downe spearis to the formest, and lett thame nott come amanges us, for thair is no doubt but that this flying is by treassone." And so thei did: so that they that fled keapt thame selfis apart frome the few nomber that war marching upoun foote in ordour. The Erle of Huntley, seing the vantgard flie, said unto his company, "Oure freindis ar honest men, they have keapt promesse: lett us now rencounter the rest." And so he and his, as suyre of victorye, martched fordwarte.

THE TREASONABLE FACT OF THE NORTH.

SECRETARIE LETHINGTOUN HIS ORISONE ATT CORRECHIE.

The Secreatarie, in few wordis, maid a vehement orisoun, and willed everie man to call upoun his God, to remember his deuitie, and nott to fear the multitude; and, in the end, concluded thus: "O Lord, thou that reallis the heavin and the earth, look upoun us thy servandis, whose bloode this day is most unjustlie sought, and to man's judgement is sold and

[1] The battle of Corrichie takes its name from the vale or small stream so called, in the parish of Mid-Mar, about twenty miles west of Aberdeen. The hill of Fare is computed to be 1793 feet above the level of the sea.

[2] This veteran has been several times mentioned by Knox: see vol. i. p. 317; vol. ii. pp. 56, 68. It may be added that at a later period of life he obtained a grant of the Commendatorship of the Priory of Pittenweem. As elsewhere mentioned he died in 1588, aged seventy. He was buried in the church of Dundee, and the inscription on his monument, which, I believe, is still preserved, was published by Monteith, in his "Theater of Mortality." Edinb. 1713, 8vo.

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betrayed: Our refuge is now unto thee and our hope is in thee. Judge thou, O Lord, this day, betwix us and the Erle of Huntley, and the rest of our ennemyes. Yf ever we have injustlie sought his or thair destructioun and bloode, lett us fall in the edge of the sweard. And, O Lord, yf thou knowest our innocencye, manteane thou and preserve us for thy great mercyes saik."

Schort after the speaking of these and the lyke wordis, the formar rankis joyned, for Huntleyis cumpany maid great haist. They war repulsed by the Maister of Lyndsay, and the cumpanyes of Fyffe and Anguss. Some of thame that fledd returned, and followed the Erle of Murray, but gave na straykis till that Huntleyis cumpanye geve back. In the front thair war slane about eighteen or twenty-foure men, and in the fleyeing thair fell ney a hundreth. Thair was tacken a hundreth, and the rest war spaired. The Erle himself was tacken alyve; his two sons, Johne foirsaid, and Adam Gordoun, war tacken with him. The Erle, immediatlie after his tacken, departed this lyiff without any wound, or yitt appearance of any strock, whairof death might have ensewed; and so, becaus it was laitt, he was cassen over-thorte a pair of crealles, and so was caryed to Abirdene, and was laid in the Tolbuyth thairof, that the response whiche his wyffis wyttches had gevin myght be fulfilled, whay all affirmed (as the most parte say,) that that same nycht should he be in the Tolbuyth of Abirdene without any wound upoun his body. When his Lady gatt knowledge thairof, sche blamed hir principale witche, called Janet; but sche stoutlie defended hir self, (as the devill can ever do,) and affirmed that she geve a trew answer, albeit she spack nott all the treuth; for she knew that he should be thair dead:[1] but that could nott proffeit my Lady.[2] Scho was angrye and

THE RESPONSE OF THE ERLE OF HUNTLEIS WYTTCHES.

[1] In MS. I, 4, all the words after "should be there dead," are omitted.

[2] Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Robert Lord Keith, who with his father William third Earl Marischal, was killed at Flodden in 1513.

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sorye for a seassone, but the Devill, the Messe, and wyttches have als great eredyte of hir this day as thei had sevin yearis ago.

19 JUNII. 1566.[1]

The Erle of Murray send message unto the Quene of the mervalouse victorye, and humblie prayed hir to schaw that obedience to God as publictlie to convene with thame, to geve thankis unto God for his notable deliverance. Sche glowmed boyth at the messenger[2] and at the requeast, and skarselie wold geve a good worde or blyth countenance to any that sche knew earnest favoraris of the Erle of Murray, whose prosperitie was and yitt is, a verray vennoume to hyr boldened harte, against him for his godlynes and uprycht plainess. Of many dayes she bair no better countenance; whairby it myght have bene evidentlie espyed, that sche rejosed nott greatlie of the successe of that mater; and albeit sche caused execut Johne Gordoun and diverse otheris, yitt it was the destructioun of otheris that sche sought.

Upoun the morow after the disconfiture, the Lady Forbess, a woman boyth wyese and fearing God, cam amangis many other to vesytt the corps of the said Erle; and seing him ly upoun the cold steanes, having onlye upoun him a doublat of cammoise, a pair of Scottishe gray hoise, and covered with ane arrass-work,[3] she said, "What stabilitie shall we judge to be into this world: thair lyeth he that yesterday in the morneyng was holden the wyesest, the richest, and a man of greatest power that was within Scotland." And in verray dead sche lyed nott; for, in mannis opinioun, under a prince, thair was not suche a one these thre hundreth yearis in this Realme produced. Bott felicitie and worldlye wisdome so blynded him, that in the end he perished in thame, as shall all those that dyspyse God, and trust in thame selfis.[4]

THE LADY FORBES HIR WOURDIS.

[1] In MS. G, this marginal date is inserted in the text.

[2] In MS. 1566, "message."

[3] In MS. L 4, "an Yrish work."

[4] In MS. G, in this place there is a marginal note, "Let utheris that yet live mark this."

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Johne Gordoun,[1] at his death, confessed many horrible thingis, devised by his father, by his brother, and by him self. Thair war letteris found in the Erles pocket, that disclosed the treassone of the Erle of Sutherland, and of diverse otheris. Mr. Thomas Keir, who befoir was the hole counsallour to the Erle foirsaid, disclosed whatsoever he understoode myght hurte the Gordones and thair freyndis: and so the treassone planelie disclosed, whiche was, that the Erle of Murray with certane otheris should have bene murthered in Strabogye; the Quene should have bene tane, and keapt at the devotioun of the said Erle of Huntley.

These thingis (we say) reveilled, the Quene left the North,[2] and cam to Dondye, Sanct Johnestoun, Stirveling, and then to Edinburgh.[3] The Erle of Huntleyis body was caryed about in a boat,[4] and laid without buriall in the Abbay of Halyrudhouse, till the day of his forfaltour, as after shall be declaired.[5]

[1] See page 345, note 2.

[2] In MS. L 4, this sentence reads, "These thingis thus reveilled, the Quene returned shortlie efter, leaving the Thesaurer, Mr. James M'Gill, Mr. John Spence of Condie, and the Laird of Pittarrow in Aberdene, to compone for the eschetes of those who were in the fields with the Erle of Huntlie." Calderwood (Hist. vol. ii. p. 200) copies these words verbatim. The Treasurer in his Accounts from February 1561-2 to February 1562-3, charges himself with £3542, 6s. 8d., as the composition of various persons in the North for assisting, &c. George Earl of Huntley, "in Campo de Correchie, in mense Oct. ult." In October £33 was paid to Archibald Earl of Argyle, Lord Justice, and £62 to Sir John Bellenden, Justice Clerk, for the time they remained in Aberdeen. "Item, to John Johnstoun, Clerk of the Secreit Counsel, for his extraordinar wagis and ane servand, awaiting upoun the Quenis grace and Lordis of hir Secreit Counsel, all the tyme fra hir Grace departing furth of Edinburgh towart the North partis, fra the first day of August, 1562 zeris, to the last day of November in the said zeir, extending to 122 dayis, &c. £100."

[3] On the 21st November.

[4] The following payments in the Treasurer's Accounts, confirm this notice of the Earl's contemplated forfeiture:—
1562, November, Item to Patrick Hume, for the fraucht of his schip, of Abirdene to Leith, ... £10
— for the carriage of ane kist, quhairin wes contenit my Lord of Huntleis bodie, of Leith to Edinburgh, . 4s.
— for bandis for the same, . . 10s.
— to Robert Hendersone, chirurgen, for expensis maid be him upoun spicis, vinagre, acquavitie, pulderis, odouris, and hardis, with sindrie utheris necessaris, and for his laubouris in the handeling of the said Erle of Huntleis bodie that it suld nocht putrefie, as compt gevin in be the said Robert, beris. . . . . £28, 3s. 4d.

[5] See *infra*, page 380.

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The Duck apprehended the Lord Gordoun[1] his sone in law, becaus that the Quene had straitlie commanded him so to do, yf he repaired within his boundis. Befoir he delivered him, the Erle of Murray laubored at the Quenis hand for the saiftye of his lyeff, which hardly was granted; and so was he delivered within the Castell of Edinburgh, the twenty-aught day of
1562. November, whair he remaned till the aught of Februare, when he was put to ane assise, accused, and conviet of treassone; but was restored agane, first to the Castell foirsaid, and thairafter was transported to Dumbar, whair he remaned preasoner till the moneth of August, the year of God J^m V^c threscoir fyve yearis, as we will after hear.

In this meantyme the trubles war hote in France; and the intelligence and outward familiaritie betwix the two Quenis was great. Lethingtoun was direct with large commissioun both to the Quene of England and unto the Guisianes. The mariage of our Queyn was in all mannis mouth. Some[2] wold

[1] George Lord Gordon was the second son of the Earl of Huntley. He succeeded his elder brother Alexander Lord Gordon, who died in 1553, without issue. Alexander married Lady Margaret, the second daughter, and George, Lady Anne, the third daughter of the Duke of Chastelherault. On his father's death at Corrichie, George became fifth Earl of Huntley. But being apprehended, he was convicted of treason on the 8th February 1562-3, his estates forfeited, and he himself sentenced to be executed. The latter part of the sentence however being delayed, he was sent to Dunbar Castle, where he remained a prisoner until August 1565. He was then restored to favour, and adhered to the Queen's party. He was advanced to be Lord Chancellor in March 1566, and after several changes of fortune, he died in 1576.

[2] Of the five persons here named, who were proposed as husband to Queen Mary, the first was Don Carlos, Infant of Spain, son of Philip the Second, born in 1545, and died in 1568. The next was the Archduke Charles, a younger son of the Emperor Ferdinand the First, and brother of Maximilian the Second, born in 154[illegible], and died in 1596. The third was Lord Robert Dudley, the favourite of Queen Elizabeth, who created him Earl of Leicester, born in 1532, and died in 1588. The fourth was James (of the house of Savoy) Duke de Nemours, born in 1531, and died in 1585. He was reckoned as "l'un des plus beaux Princes de son tems, et des plus braves, fut liberal, magnifique, et sçavoit des langues." In 1566, he married Anne d'Este, widow of Francis Duke de Guise. (Anselme, Hist. Geneal. vol. iii. p. 512.) The last was Henry Lord Darnley, eldest son of Matthew Earl of Lennox, born 1545, and whom she afterwards married, 29th July 1565.

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have Spaine; some the Emperouris brother; some Lord Robert Dudlye; some Duck de Nemours; and some unhappilie gessed at the Lord Darnlye. What Lethingtounis credyte was, we know not; but schorte after thair began much to be talked of the Erle of Levenox, and of his sone, the Lord Darnlye. It was said that Lethingtoun spack the Lady Margarete Dowglass,[1] and that Robert Melven[2] receaved ane horse to the Secreatare's use, fra the Erle of Levenox, or from his wyff. Howsoever it was, Maister Foullare, servand to the said Erle, cam with letteris to the Quenis Grace, by the which, licence was permitted to the Erle of Levenox to cum to Scotland, to travell in his lauchfull busynes. That same day that the licence was granted, the said Secreatarye said, "This day have I tacken the deadlie haiterent of all the Hamyltonis within Scotland, and have done unto thame no less displeasur than that I had cutted thair throttis." MENIS JUDGEMENTIS OF THE QUENIS MARIAGE.

The Erle Bothwell, who befoir had brocken ward, fearing apprehensioun, prepared to pas to France; but by storme of weather was dryven into England, whair he was stayed, and was offerred to have bein randered by the Quene of England. But our Quenis ansuer was, "That he was no rebell, and thairfoir sche requeasted that he should have libertie to pas whair it pleiseth him."[3] And thairto Lethingtoun helped not a litill; for he travailled to have freindis in everie factioun of the Courte. And so obteined the said Erle licence to pas to France.

The wynter after the death of the Erle of Huntley, the

[1] See page 335, note 2.

[2] Robert Melvin or Melville, the second son of Sir John Melville of Raith. In May 1555, "Robert Melville, servand to the Quenis Grace, received be hir speciale command," the sum of £50; and in September following, £75, as his pension for the Whitsunday term, that year. He had long resided at the Court of France, during the reign of Henry the Second; and was afterwards much employed in public affairs. He was knighted in 1582, and was raised to the Peerage, by the title of Lord Melville of Monimail, in 1616, having survived till 1621, when he died at the very advanced age of 94.

[3] In MS. G, "quhair he pleased."

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Courte remaned for the maist part in Edinburgh. The Preacheouris war wonderous vehement in reprehensioun of all maner of vice, which then began to habound; and especiallie avarice, oppressioun of the poor, excesse, ryotouse chear, banketting, immoderat dansing, and hurdome, that thairof enseuis. Whairat the Courteouris began to storme, and began to pyck querrallis against the Preachearis, alledging that all thair preaching was turned to raylling. Whairunto one of thame gave ansuer as followeth: "It cumis to our earis that we ar called raillaris, whairof albeit we wounder, yitt we ar not eschamed, seing that the most worthy servandis of God that befoir us have travalled in this vocatioun, have so bein styled. But unto you do I say, that that same God, who from the begyning has punished the contempt of his word, and hes poured furth his vengeance upoun such proude mockaris, shall not spair you; yea, he shall not spair you befoir the eyis of this same wicked generatioun, for the pleasur whairof ye dispyse all holsome admonitionis. Have ye not sein ane greattar than any of you sitting whair presentlie ye sitt, pyck his naillis, and pull down his bonet ower his eyis, when idolatrie, witchecraft, murther, oppressioun, and such vices war rebuked? Was not his commoun talk, When thei knaiffis have railled thair fill, then will thei hald thair peace? Have ye not heard it affirmed to his awin face, that God should revenge that his blasphemy, evin in the eyis of such as war witnesses to his iniquitie? Then was the Erle Huntley accused by you, as the manteanar of idolatrie, and only hinderar of all good ordour. Him hes God punished, evin according to the threatnyngis that his and your earis heard; and by your handis hath God executed his judgementis. But what amendment in any caise can be espyed in you? Idolatrie was never in greattar rest:

THE PREACHEOURIS RAILLED UPOUN OF THE COURTEOURIS.

THE PREACHERIS ADMONITIOUN AFTER THE DEATH OF THE ERLE HUNTLEY.

HUNTLYE.[1]

[1] In MS. G, "mening of Huntlie."

[2] In MS. 1566, the marginal note at the top of the next page, judging from the different hand and colour of ink, was evidently added in 1571. The words "then was," refer to the year 1562-3. The note occurs in MS. G, with this addition, "then was (as he is now)."

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vertew and verteouse men war never in more contempt: vice was never more bold, nor less feared punishement. And yitt who guydis the Quene and Court? Who but the Protestantis? O horrible sclanderaris of God, and of his holie evangell. Bettir it war unto you plainelie to renunce Christ Jesus, then thus to expone his blessed Evangell to mockage. Yf God punishe not you, that this same aige shall see and behold your punishement,[1] the Spreit of rychteous judgement guydis me not."

LET THE WARLDE JUDGE NOWE, 1571, FOR LETHINGTOUN THEN WAS THE FATHER OF ALL MISCHEIF.[2]

This vehemence provocked the hatterent, not onlie of the Courteouris, but also of diverse otheris against the speakar;[2] for such as be in credyte never lack flatteraris. "Thair brethren of the Courte war irreverentlie handilled. What was that, but to raise the heartis of the people against thame? Thei did what thei myght; such speaking wold cause thame do less." And this was the frute the Preachearis gatthered of thair just reprehensionis.

THE DEFENCE OF THE COURTEOURIS.

The Generall Assemblie of the Churche,[3] holden the twenty-fyve of December, the year of God 1562, approched, in the which, great complentis war maid, that churches lacked Ministeris; that Ministeris lacked thair stipendis; that wicked men war permitted to be School-maisteris, and so to infect the youth; amongis whom one Maister Robert Cumyn, schoolmaister in Aberbrothok, was compleaned upoun by the Laird of Dun,[4] and sentence was pronunced against him. It was

1562.

[1] In MS. G, is this marginal note, which cannot be attributed to the author:—"The end declared thair words to be trew." Lethington, it is well known, having adhered to the Queen's party, he remained in the Castle of Edinburgh during the whole time of the siege by the English troops in 1573, until its surrender, under promise that the Governor and his associates should be favourably treated. But Queen Elisabeth delivered them up to their implacable enemy the Regent Morton; and Lethington was with Kirkaldy of Grange, and the other prisoners, carried to Leith; but whether it was his own act, to save the disgrace of a public execution, or that of others, he died, "not without suspicion of poison," on the 9th June 1573.

[2] In MS. G, "the speaker, quhilk was John Knox."

[3] In MS. G, "of the Kirk."

[4] John Erskine of Dun, Superintendent of Angus and Mearns. Calderwood repeats this notice, and says, that Cumming was accused "for infecting the youth committed to his charge with idolatrie."

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farther compleaned, that idolatrie was erected in diverse partis of the Realme; for redress whairof, some thought best, that new supplicatioun should be presented to the Quenis Grace. Otheris demanded, what ansuer was receaved of the formar? The Superintendent of Lowtheane confessed the deliverance of it, "But," said he, "I receaved no ansuer." It was ansuered for the parte of the Quene, (for hir suppostis war ever thair,) "That it was weill knawin to the hoill Realme what trubles had occurred since the last Assemblie; and thairfoir, that thei should not wounder albeit that the Quene had not ansuered: but betwix that and the Parliament which was appointed in May, thei doubted not but that such ordour should be tacken, as all men should have occasioun to stand content." This satisfyed, for that tyme, the hoill assemblie: And this was the practise of the Quene and of hir Counsall, with fair wordis to dryve tyme, as befoir we have said.

THE QUENIS PRACTISE.

The Assemblie, nochtwithstanding, proceidit forward in establessing of such ordouris, as whairby vice myght be punished, and vertew myght be manteaned. And becaus that thair was a great sclander rissen upoun Paule Meffen,[1] of whom mentioun is maid in the Secound Booke of this Historie, commissioun and charge was gevin unto Johne Knox, minister of Edinburgh, and unto certane of the eldaris of the Kirk of Edinburgh, to pass to the toune of Jedburgh, whair the said sclander was rased, and to be found thair the thrid of Januar nixt, for the tryall to be tane in the sclander rased, and to hear the articules and complaynt of the said Paule; and after the tryall, to report the treuth to the Sessioun of the Churche of Edinburgh; to whom, with the assistance of the Superin-

[1] Knox has previously mentioned Paul Methven as an active and zealous preacher, (vol. i. p. 300.) The proceedings against him by order of the Assembly, contained in the Book of the Kirk, consist of extracts from Calderwood. Knox was appointed on the 30th December 1562, to proceed to Jedburgh, and on the 3d of January to take trial of the slander raised against Methven. At the next General Assembly, on the 25th June 1563, Knox reported that Methven had been removed from his charge, and excommunicated.

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tendent of Lowthiane, commissioun was gevin to decern thairintill. The tryall and examinatioun of that cryme was difficill. The sclander was universall in that toune and countrey. The servand woman of the said Paule had betwix termes left his house; sche had borne a child; no father to it could she fynd; but alledged hir self to have bein oppressed late in ane evening. The said Paule constantlie affirmed him self innocent, and wold have gevin his publict purgatioun; but becaus that his accusatouris had tacken upoun thame to prove thair accusatioun, that was denyed. Many witnesses war produced, of whom some deponed so clearlie, that the Commissionaris suspected that thei had bene suborned, and thairfoir thei requyred to have inspectioun of the places, whair some said thei saw, and some said thei heard thame in the verray act of iniquitie. The syght and consideratioun of the places augmented greatlie the suspitioun. But one thing was most suspitiouse of all otheris; for the wyiff of the said Paull, ane auncient matron, was absent from him the space of aucht or nyne weakis in Dundye; which tyme (or at least a great part thairof) thei suspected, and he lay nyghtlie in ane house, without other cumpany than a child of sevin or eight yearis of aige.

The Judges, notwithstanding these suspitionis, haveing a good opinioun of the honestye and godlynes of the man, travalled what thei could (conscience not hurte) to purge him of the sclander. But God, who wold not that such vilanye should be clocked and conceiled within his Churche, otherwyese had decreed; for he brought the brother of the gyltie woman to the toune, having no mind of such materis, who being produced by the accusatouris, as one that was prevey of the fact, and knew the veritie with all circumstances: This witness, (we say,) which could not be suspected, being produced, maid the mater so plane and clear, that all suspitioun was removed; for he it was that convoyed the woman away; he it was that caused the child to be baptised, alledging it to

HEIR THE INIQUITIE OF PAULL MEFFEN WAS CLEARLIE PROVEN

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be his awin: he it was that caryed frequent message betwix thame, and from Paull caryed money and claythis diverse tymes. How soon that ever the said Paule saw that man produced, as witnesse, he withdrew himself, and left the toune, by that mean plainlie tacken upon him the cryme; and so the Commissionaris with full informatioun returned to Edinburgh, and notified the fact unto the Churche, who caused publictlie summond the said Paull to hear the sentence pronunced; who not compearing, in the end, for his odiouse cryme and contumacye, was publictlie excommunicated, and depryved of all functioun within the Churches of Scotland: and so left he the Realme.

For two causes we insert this horrible fact, and the ordour keapt in punishment of the same: formar, To foirwarne such as travaill in that vocatioun, that, according to the admonitioun of the Apostle, "Suche as stand, tack head lest thei fall." No man in the begyning of the Evangell was judged more fervent and more upryght, and yit we have heard how far Sathane has prevailled against him. God grant that we may hear of his reapentance.[1] Neather yitt aught his fall any thing to prejudge the authoritie of the doctrin which he taucht; for the doctrin of God have authoritie of no creature, but has the assurance of God him self, how weak or imperfite that ever the instrumentis be by whom it pleases God to publishe the same. The treason of Judas, the adulterie of David, and the abnegatioun of Petir, did derogat nothing to the glorie of Christis evangell, nor yit to the doctrin which befoir thei had taught; but declaired the one to be a reprobat, and the other to be instrumentis in whome mercy must neadis surmount judgement. The other caus is, That the world may

[1] The writer of the Fifth or Supplemental Book of the present work, notices Methven's contrition and public repentance; and his earnest desire to be received again into church-fellowship. It does not appear that he was permitted to resume his ministerial functions.

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see what difference thair is betwix light and darknes, betwix the uprychtness of the Churche of God, and the corruptioun that ringes in the synagoge of Sathan, the Papisticall rable; for how many of that sorte hath bein, and still remane openlie knowin hooremongaris, adulteraris, violataris of virgenis, yea, and committaris of such abhominationis as we will nott name; and yit ar thei called and permitted to be Bischoppis, Archbischoppis, Cardinallis, and Papis thame selfis. For what synnes can unable the sworn servandis of Simonye, and of his father the devill? For bragg what thei lyst of Christ, of Petir, and of Paule, thair lyves and conversationis bearis witnesse whom to they belong. But we return to our Historye of thingis done in Courte.

Amongis the monzeonis of the Courte,[1] thair was one named Monsieur Chattelett,[2] a Frencheman, that at that tyme passed

[1] The following account of Chastelard, in MS. L 4, is introduced with a passage relating to "Danvill, son to Annas Montmorrencie, Constable of France," who had accompanied "the Guises to Scotland;" but the reference, "as Thuanus sayeth," clearly shews it to be a subsequent interpolation. "When he (Danvill) departed, he left behind him Monsieur Chattellet, nephew to the famous knyght Pierr Tertall, by his daughter. Whill he is left a brocker between Danvill and the Queen, he lauboured to conquist hir affection to himself. He passed all others in credit," &c. See Cald. Hist. vol. ii. p. 211. It may be added, in reference to this MS. L 4, that it corresponds very closely with the MS. portion of Mr. M'Crie's copy of Vautrollier's edition; and the latter was probably the copy that Calderwood the Historian made use of, as his extracts correspond with it, and the MS. additions resemble the handwriting of his amanuensis.

[2] The name of Chastelard, among other varieties by different writers, occurs as Chatelar, Chastellet, Charterlet, Chatillon. But we cannot well identify him with a person of nearly the same name who had been attached to the household of the Queen Regent in 1555, as appears from this entry in the Treasurer's Accounts, on the 7th January:—"Item, Given to *Franschois Chattillihon*, kepar of the Quenis Grace chalmer dur, be ane precept and speciale command at his departing to Fransche—1 lb." (£50.)

Chastelard arrived in Scotland in 1561, as one of the suite of M. de Damville. He returned with him to France; but in November 1562, he again visited Scotland as the bearer of letters to the Queen. He remained about the Court until the 12th of February 1562-3, the night when he concealed himself in the Queen's bed-chamber in the Palace of Holyrood. He followed her to Fife, and two days later, he was discovered, as Knox relates, at Burntisland, and being

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all otheris in credytt with the Quene. In dansing of the Purpose, (so terme thei that danse, in the which man and woman talkis[3] secreatlie—wyese men wold judge such fassionis more lyke to the bordell than to the comelynes of honest wemen,) in this danse the Quene chosed Chattelett, and Chattelett took the Quene. Chattelett had the best dress. All this wynter Chattelett was so familiare in the Quenis cabinett, ayre and laitt, that scaralye could any of the Nobilitie have access unto hir. The Quene wold ly upoun Chattelettis shoulder, and sometymes prively she wold steall a kyss of his neck. And all this was honest yneuch; for it was the gentill entreatment of a stranger. But the familiaritie was so great, that upoun a nycht, he privelie did convoy him self under the Quenis bed; but being espyed, he was commanded away. But the bruyte arysing, the Quene called the Erle of Murray, and bursting furth in a womanlie affectioun, charged him, "That as he loved hir, he should slay Chattelett, and let him never speak word." The other, at the first, maid promesse so to do; but after calling to mynd the judgementis of God pronunced against the scheddaris of innocent bloode, and also that none should dye, without the testimonye of two or thre witnesses, returned and fell upoun his kneis befoir the Quene, and said, "Madam, I beseak your Grace, cause not me tack the blood of this man upoun me. Your Grace hes entreated him so familiarlie befoir, that ye have offended all your Nobilitie; and now yf he shalbe secreatlie slane at your awin commandiment, what shall the world judge of it? I shall bring him to the presence of Justice, and let him suffer be law according to his deserving." "Oh," said the Quene, "ye will never let him speak?" "I shall do," said he, "Madam, what in me lyeth to saiff your honour."

CHATTELETT AND THE QUENE.

THE QUENIS DESYRE CONCERNYNG CHATTELETTIS DEATH.

arrested, he was conveyed and tried at St. Andrews, where he was executed on the 22d February 1562-3. No account of his trial has been preserved, the scroll Court-book of Justiciary, from May 1562 to May 1563, being lost. (Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. i. p. 427.)

[3] In MS. G, "talketh."

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Poor Chattelett was brocht back from Kinghorne to Sanctandrois, examinat, putt to ane assise, and so beheaded, the twenty-twa day of Februar, the year of God J^m V^c threscoir twa. He begged licence to wryte to Fraunce the cause of his death, which, said he, in his toung, was, "Pour estre trouvé en lieu trop suspect;" that is, "Becaus I was found in a place too much suspect." At the place of executioun, when he saw that thair was no remeady but death, he maid a godly confessioun, and granted, that his declyning from the treuth of God, and following of vanitie and impietie, was justlie recompensed upoun him. But in the end he concluded, looking unto the heavenis, with these words, "O cruelle Dame," that is, "Cruell Maistress."[1] What that complaint imported, luvaris may devine. And so receaved Chattelett the reward of his dansing; for he lacked his head, that his toung should nott utter the secreattis of our Quene. "Deliver us, O Lord, from the raige of such inordinat reullaris."

THE PUNISHMENT OF GOD FOR MAINTEYNYNG AND ERECTING OF THE MESSE.

DEARTH AND FAMYN IN THE NORTH.

The year of God a thousand fyve hundreth threscoir thre yearis, thair was ane universall dearth in Scotland. But in the northland, whair the harvest befoir the Quene had travailled, thair was ane extreame famyn, in the quhilk many dyed in that countrey. The dearth was great ower all, but the famyn was principallie thair. The boll of wheat gave sax pound: the boll of bear, sax markis and ane half: the boll of meill, four markis: the boll of aittis, fyfty schillingis: ane ox to draw in the pleuch, xx markis: a weddir, thretty schillingis.

[1] Brantome has given a tolerably full account of Chastelard, and says, he was a gentleman of Dauphiné, and grandnephew on the mother's side of the celebrated M. de Bayard. On the day of his execution, he says, when brought to the scaffold, he took into his hands the hymns of the French poet Ronsard, "et, pour son éternelle consolation, se mit à lire tout entièrement l'hymne de la mort, *qui est très-bien fait, et propre pour ne point abhorrer la mort*; ne s'aydent autrement d'autre livre spirituel, ny de Ministre, ny de Confesseur." He then adds that Chastelard turned to the place where he supposed the Queen to be, and cried aloud,—"Adieu, the most beautiful and the most cruel Princess of the world." (Oeuvres, tome ii. p. 857.) Randolph, however, says, "he died with repentance." (Tytler's Hist. vol. vi. p. 274.)

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And so all thingis apperteanyng to the sustentatioun of man, in tripill and more exceaded thair accustomed prices. And so did God, according to the threatnyng of His law, punish the idolatrie of our wicked Quene, and our ingratitud, that suffered hir to defyle the land with that abominatioun agane, that God so potentlie had purged, by the power of his wourd. For the ryotouse feasting, and excessive banquetting, used in Court and countrey, whair soevir that wicked Woman repaired, provocked God to stryck the staff of braid, and to geve his maledictioun upoun the fructis of the earth.[1] But, O allace, who looked, or yit lookis to the very cause of all our calamities.

PASCH OR EASTER.

Lethingtoun was absent, as befoir we have heard, in the Quenis effairis.[2] The Papistis, at that Pasche,[3] anno lxiij°, in diverse partis of the Realme, had erected up that idoll, the Messe; amongis whom the Bisshope of Sanctandrois, the Priour of Whithorne,[4] with diverse otheris of thair factioun,

[1] Bishop Keith animadverts with some severity on Knox's language in thus attributing this dearth and high price of provisions "as an immediate punishment upon what he calls 'the idolatry of our wicked rulers.'" (Hist. vol. ii. p. 193.) He also quotes an Act of Privy Council, 11th February 1562-3, against eating flesh during the season of Lent, because, as the Act bears, "The cattle had suffered much by the tempestuous storms of the winter bypast."

[2] On the 13th February 1562-3, "Williame Maitland apperand of Lethingtoun, and Secretar to our Soverane Ladie, depairtit furth of Edinburgh to France in ambassatorie, to quhat effect none knowis." (Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 75.) Keith has printed from what he calls "the Shattered MS.," the "Instructions by the Queen of Scots to her Secretary, Mr. William Maitland, younger of Lethingtoun." (Hist. vol. ii. p. 188.) They have reference, however, to his mission to Queen Elizabeth, and not to the Court of France. The date, 12th February 1562-3, is confirmed by a letter quoted by Mr. Tytler, vol. vi. p. 275.

[3] Easter Sunday, 11th April.

[4] Whitehorn or Candida Casa, was a Priory in Wigtonshire, founded in the reign of David the First, by Fergus, Lord of Galloway. The Commendator here mentioned was Malcolm Fleming, supposed to be a younger son of John second Lord Fleming, who died in 1524. Dns. Malcolmus Flemyng Vicarius chori Glasg., was incorporated in the University of Glasgow, 29th October 1519. He was Commendator and Vicar-General of the Diocese of Galloway, in December 1541. His name as Commendator occurs in February 1545-6, (Chalmers's Caledonia, vol. iii. pp. 429, 419.) Also, in 1565, (ib. p. 482.) He died intestate in the year 1568. John Lord Fleming being "decernit executor dative." (Register of Confirmed Testaments.)

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wold avow it. Besydis the first proclamatioun, thair had letteris past in the contrair, with certificatioun of death to the contraveanar.

The brethren universallie offended, and espying that the Quene, by hir proclamationis, did but mock thame, determined to put to thair awin handis, and to punishe for example of otheris. And so some Preastis in the westland war apprehended, intimatioun maid unto otheris, (as unto the Abbot of Crossraguell,[2] the Parsone of Sanquhair,[3] and such,) that thei should nether complayne to Quene nor Counsall, but should execute the punishment that God has appointed to idolateris in his law, by such means as thei mycht, whairever thei should be apprehended. THE STOUTNES OF THE PROTESTANTIS IN THE WEST.[1]

The Quene stormed at sick fredome of speaking, but she could not amend it; for the Spreit of God, of boldness and of wisdom, had not then left the most part of such as God had used instrumentis in the begynyng. Thei war of one mynd to manteane the treuth of God, and to suppresse idolatrie. Particularties had not divided thame; and thairfoir could not the devill, working in the Quene and Papistis, do then what thei wold; and, thairfoir, she began to invent a new craft. She send for Johne Knox to come unto hir, whair she lay at Lochleaven.[4] She travailled with him earnestlie two houris befoir hir suppar, that he wold be the instrument to perswaid the people, and principallie the gentilmen of the West, not to put handis to punishe any man for the using of thame selfis in thair religioun as pleased thame. The other perceaving hir craft, willed hir Grace to punishe malefactouris according to JOHNE KNOX SEND FOR BY THE QUENE.

[1] This marginal note is omitted in MS. G.

[2] Quintin Kennedy, Abbot of Crossraguell in Ayrshire, (see *supra*, pp. 351, 352.)

[3] Mr. Robert Creichton was Parson of Sanquhar, in Dumfries-shire, and Canon of Glasgow, in 1549. He was educated at the College of Glasgow, being incorporated in 1521. He died 16th January 1570-1. (Register of Confirmed Testaments.)

[4] This interview is supposed to have taken place on the 13th April 1563. On the 15th of that month the Queen removed from Lochlevin to Perth.

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the lawis, and he durst promesse quietness upoun the part of all thame that professed the Lord Jesus within Scotland. But yf hir Majestie thought to delude the lawis, he said, he feared that some wold lett the Papistis understand, that without punishement, thei should not be suffered so manifestlie to offend Goddis Majestie.

REASONYNG BETWIX THE QUENE AND JOHNE KNOX.

"Will ye," quod sche, "allow that thei shall tack my sweard in thair hand?"

"The Sweard of Justice," quod he, "Madam, is Goddis, and is gevin to Princes and reuallaris for ane end, which, yf thei transgresse, spairing the wicked, and oppressing innocentis, thei that in the fear of God executis judgement, whair God hes commanded, offendis not God, althought Kingis do it not; neather yitt synne thei that brydillis kingis to stryck innocent men in thair raige. The examples ar evident; for Samuell feared not to slay Agag, the fat and delicate king of Amalech, whom king Saule had saved. Neather spaired Helias Jesabellis fals propheittis, and Baallis preastis, albeit that king Achab was present. Phyneas was no magistrat, and yit feared he not to stryck Cosby and Zimbrye in the verray act of fylthie fornicatioun. (And so, Madam, your Grace may see that otheris then theaf magistrattis may lauchfullie punishe, and hes punished, the vice and crymes that God commandis to be punished.) And in this case I wold earnestlie pray your Majestie to tack good advisement, and that your Grace should lett the Papistis understand, that thair attemptatis will not be suffered unpunissed. For power, be Act of Parliament, is gevin to all judges within thair awin boundis, to searche mesmongaris, or the heareris of the same, and to punishe thame according to the law. And thairfoir it shalbe profitable to your Majestie, to considder what is the thing your Grace's subjectis lookis to receave of your Majestie, and what it is that ye aught to do unto thame by mutuall contract. Thei ar bound to obey you, and that not but in God. Ye ar bound to keape lawis unto

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thame. Ye crave of thame service: thei crave of you protectioun and defence against wicked doaris. Now, Madam, yf ye shall deny your dewtie unto thame, (which especialle craves that ye punishe malefactouris) think ye to receave full obedience of thame? I feare, Madam, ye shall not."

Heirwith, she being somewhat offended, passed to hir suppar. The said Johne Knox left hir, informed the Erle of Murray of the hoill reassonyng, and so departed of finall purpose to have returned to Edinburgh, without any farther communicatioun with the Quene: But befoir the sonne, upoun the morne, war two direct (Watt Melven was the one[1]) to him, commanding him not to departe whill that he spack the Quenis Majestie; which he did, and met hir at the halking[2] be-weast Kynross. Whitther it was the nychttis sleape, or a deape dissimulation lokked in hir breast, that maid hir to forget hir formar anger, wyese men may doubt; but thairof sche never moved word, but began diverse other purposses; such as the offering of a ring to hir by the Lord Ruthven,[3] "Whome," said she, "I can not love, (for I know him to use enchantment,) and yit is he maid one of my Privy Counsall."

"Whome blamis your Grace," said the other, "thairof?"

"Lethingtoun," said she, "was the haill cause."

[1] In MS. G, "war two directed, (Walter Melvill was the one.)"—Walter Melville, a younger son of Sir John Melville of Raith, was in the Queen Regent's service, and at the time of her death received £30. At this time he was in the Queen's service. He afterwards became one of the gentlemen of the Earl of Murray's chamber. His brother, Sir James Melville, in reference to him and Kirkaldy of Grange, says, "Quhilk twa tint him sa schone (soon) as he became Regent, and lykwise my self; for we had bene famyliar with him, and had assisted him in all his troubles; but when he was Regent, wald reprove, admonish, and tell his faltis, wherby we tint his favour. And uthers that had ay bene in his contrair befoir, cam in and flatterit him in his proceedings, and bekkit wery laiche to him, calling him 'Your Grace,' at ilk word, &c." (Memoirs, Bann. Club, edit. p. 260.)

[2] Hawking appears to have been a favourite pastime of the Queen. In April 1562, Matthew Ker succeeded James Lindesay as "Maister Falconar." In the same month £20 was paid to two persons, "passand of Edinburgh to Scheitland for halkis."

[3] Patrick Lord Ruthven. His grandson, John second Earl Gowrye, was also accused of dealing in magic.

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"That man is absent," said he, "for this present, Madam; and thairfoir I will speak nothing in that behalf."

"I understand," said the Quene, "that ye ar appointed to go to Drumfreise, for the electioun of a Superintendent to be establessed in thai countreys."

"Yis," said he, "these quarteris have great nead, and some of the gentilmen so require."

"But I hear," said she, "that the Bischope of Athenis[1] wold be Superintendent."

"He is one," said the other, "Madam, that is put in electioun."

"Yf ye knew him," said sche, "als weall as I do, ye wold never promote him to that office, nor yit to any other within your Kirk."

"What he hes bein," said he, "Madam, I neather know, nor yitt will I enquyre; for, in tyme of darkness, what could we do but grop and go wrang evin as darkness caryed us? But yf he fear not God now, he deceaves many ma then me. And yitt, (said he,) Madam, I am assured God will not suffer his Churche to be so far deceaved as that ane unworthy man shalbe elected, whair free electioun is, and the Spreit of God is earnestlie called upoun to decyd betwix the two."

THE QUENIS JUDGEMENT OF THE BISCHOPE OF ATHENIS.

"Weall," says she, "do as ye will, but that man is a dangerouse man."[2]

And thairintill was nott the Quene deceaved; for he had corrupted most part of the gentilmen, not onlie to nominat him, but also to elect him; which perceaved by the said

[1] In MS. G, "the Bishop of Cathenis;" (but the marginal note in that MS. reads correctly "Bishop of Athens.") This error in the printed copies has led Mr. Tytler and others into the mistake of saying, that the Queen here referred to "the Bishop of Caithness." The titular Archbishop of Athens, Alexander Gordon, afterwards Bishop of Galloway, &c., (see page 259, note 10,) was undoubtedly the person alluded to.

[2] In the proceedings of the General Assemblies, held between June 1562 and August 1575, (or less than three months of his death,) Bishop Gordon's name frequently occurs. Having petitioned the Assembly in June 1562, it was declared, the Assembly "cannot acknow-

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Johne, Commissionare, delayed the electioun, and left with the Maister of Maxwell, Mr. Robert Pont, (who was put in electioun with the foirsaid Bischope,) to the end that his doctrin and conversatioun mycht be the better tryed of those that had not knawin him befoir. And so was the Bischope frustrat of his purpose for that present. And yit was he, at that tyme, the man that was most familliare with the said Johne, in his house, and at table. But now to the formar conference.

When the Quene had long talked with Johne Knox, and he being oft willing to tack his leave, she said, "I have one of the greatest materis that have tweiched me since I cam in this Realme, to open unto you, and I maun have your help into it." And she began to maik a long discourse of hir sister, the Lady Ergyle,[8] how that sche was not so circumspect

ledge him for a Superintendent lawfully called for the present, but offered unto him their aid and assistance, if the Kirks of Galloway shall suit (solicit), and the Lords present;" and enjoins him to subscribe the Book of Discipline, (although he seems actually to have done so in 1561: see page 258.) On the 29th December 1562, the Assembly nominated for that office, "Mr. Alexander Gordon, entituled Bishop of Galloway, and Mr. Robert Pont, minister of Dunkell;" and ordered the inauguration of the person elected to take place in the Parish Kirk of Dumfries, "on the last Lord's day of April." The election, as Knox intimates, did not take place. But Gordon was continued as Commissioner for planting and visiting the churches of that diocese; although there were frequent complaints made against him.

[8] Lady Jane Stewart, a natural daughter of King James the Fifth, and Elizabeth, daughter of John Lord Carmichael. Her marriage with Archibald fifth Earl of Argyle took place in April 1554, and proved unfortunate for both parties; but no separation ensued till about the year 1564. She received from her sister, Queen Mary, a pension of £150, in June 1565. She was one of the party at supper in Holyrood Palace the night of Riccio's murder, 9th March 1566. She stood sponsor for Queen Elizabeth at the baptism of James the Sixth. In 1567, (15th November,) the Treasurer paid "to Dame Janet Stewart, Comptis of Ergile," £133, 6s. 8d. The action of Divorce founded upon the complaints of both parties, led to a lengthened litigation, of which Mr. Riddell has furnished a detailed account in his most valuable work on Peerage and Consistorial Law, vol. i. pp. 547-551. In 1569, the Earl offered to adhere, and to receive her in his Castle of Dunoon, but the Lady now refused. At length the Earl, on the 23d June 1573, "obtained, (says Mr. Riddell,) a decree of divorce, *simpliciter*, by the Commissaries of Edinburgh, adjudging her to have 'lost her tocher *ad donationis propter nuptias*.'" The Earl immediately availed himself of this judgment, by forming an alliance with Lady Jane Cunningham, daughter

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in all thingis as that sche wisshed hir to be. "And yitt," said sche, "my Lord, hir husband, whom I love, entreattis hir not in many thingis so honestlie and so godlie, as I think ye your self wold requyre."

"Madam," said he, "I have been trubled with that mater befoir, and anes I put sick ane end to it, (and that was befoir your Grace's arryvall,) that boith she and hir freindis seamed fullie to stand content: And she hir self promessed befoir hir freinds, that sche should never complain to creature, till that I should first understand the controversie by hir awin mouth, or ellis [by an] assured messinger. I now have heard nothing of hir part; and thairfoir I think thair is nothing but concord."

"Weall," said the Quene, "it is war then ye beleve. But do this mekle for my saik, as anes agane to put thame at unitie; and if sche behave not hir self so as she aught to do, she shall find no favouris of me: But, in any wyse, (said sche,) let not my Lord know that I have requested you in this mater; for I wald be verray sorry to offend him in that or any other thing. And now, (said sche,) as tuecching our reassonyng yisternycht, I promess to do as ye requyred; I sall caus summond all offendaris, and ye shall know that I shall minister Justice."

"I am assured then," said he, "that ye shall please God, and enjoy rest and tranquillitie within your Realme; which to your Majestie is more profitable than all the Papes power can be." And thus thei departed.

This conference we have inserted to let the world see how deaplie MARIE, QUENE OF SCOTLAND, can dissembill; and how that she could cause men to think that she bare no indigna-

of Alexander Earl of Glencairn, in the month of August. Having died within a month of his second marriage, 12th September 1573, (see page 258;) his first wife soon afterwards raised an action of Reduction of the Divorce, styling Lady Jane Cunningham, as "pretendit spous of umquhil Archibald Erle of Argyle." She died in the Canongate, 7th January 1586-7, and was interred in the Royal Vault in the Abbey of Holyrood House. Her own settlement became the subject of litigation. (Commissary Court Records, 11th March 1587.)

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tician for any controversie in religioun, whill that yitt in hir hearte was nothing but vennome and destructioun, as short after did appear.

Johne Knox departed, and prepaired him self for his jorney, appointed to Drumfreise; and from Glasgow, according to the Quenis commandiment, he wraitt this Lettir to the Erle of Ergile, the tenour whairof followis:—

"*The Lord cumith and shall not tarie, &c.*

"After commendatioun of my service unto your Lordschipe, yf I had knawin of your Lordshipis suddane departing, the last tyme it chaunsed me to see and speak you, I had opened unto you somewhat of my greaf. But supposing that your Lordshipe should have remaned still with the Quenis Grace, I delayed at that tyme to utter any part of that which now my conscience compelleth me to do. Your behaviour toward your wyff is verray offensive unto many godlie. Hir complant is grevouse, that ye altogetther withdraw the use of your body from hir. Yf so be, ye have great nead to look weill to your awin estait; for albeit that ye within your self felt no more repugnance, than any flesche this day on earth, yitt by promesse, maid befoir God, ar ye debttour unto hir, as reassonablie ye shalbe requyred of hir. But yf that ye burne on the one syd, (albeit ye do no worse,) and sche in your defalt upoun the other, ye ar not onlie mensworne befoir God, but also doeth what in you lyeth, to kendle against your self his wraith and havie displeasour. These wordis ar scharpe, and God is witnesse that in dolour of heart I wraitt thame; but becaus thei ar trew, and pronunced by God himself, I dar not but admonische you, perceaving you, as it war, sleaping in synne. The proude stubburnes, whairof your Lordship hath oft compleaned, will not excuise you before God; for yf ye be not able to convict hir of one cryme, ye aught to beir with other imperfectionis, and that ye wold that she should bear with you, in the

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lyik. In the bowellis of Christ Jesus, I exhort you, my Lord, to have respect to your awin salvatioun, and not to abuse the lenitie and long suffering of God: for that is a fearfull treasure that ye heap upoun your awin head, whill that he calleth you to reapentance, and you obstinatlie contineu in your awin impietie; for impietie it is, that ye abstract your confort and cumpany from your lauchfull wyff. I wrytt nothing in defence of hir mysbehavour towardis your Lordship in any sort; but I say, yf ye be not able to convict hir of adulterie committed since your last reconciliatioun, which was in my presence, that ye can never be excuissed befoir God of this freammed and strange intreatment of your wyff. And yf by you such impietie be committed, as is bruited, then, befoir God, and unto your awin conscience I say, that everie moment of that fylthie pleasure shall turne to you in a yearis displeasur; yea, it shalbe the occasioun and caus of everlasting dampnatioun, onless spedelie ye reapent: and reapent ye can nott, except that ye desist from that impietie. Call to mynd, my Lord, 'That the servand knawing the will of his Lord, and doing the contrarie, shalbe plagued with many plagues.' Syn, my Lord, is sweat in drinkyng, but in digesting more bitter then the gall. The Eternall move your heart earnestlie to considder, how fearfull a thing it is ever to have God to be [ane] ennemye.

"In the end, I most heartlie pray your Lordship, not to be absent from Edinburgh the nynetene of this instant, for sick causses as I will not wraitt. This much onlie I foirwarne your Lordship, that it will nott be profitable for the commoun quyetness of this Realme, that the Papistis brag, and that justice be mocked that day. And thus I cease farther to truble your Lordship, whom God assist. In haist from Glasgu, the 7. of May 1563. Your Lordships to command in godlynes.

(*Sic subscribitur.*)

"JOHNE KNOX."

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This bill was not weall accepted of the said Erle; and yitt did he utter no part of his displeasur in publict, but contrairrelie schew him self most familiar with the said Johne. He keapt the dyett, and sat in judgment him self, whair the Bischope and the rest of the Papistis war accused, as after followis.

The summondis war direct against the Messe-mongaris with expeditioun, and in the streatest form. The day was appointed the xix of May, a day onlie befoir the Parliament. Off the Papis knychtis[1] compeared the Bischop of Sanctandrois,[2] the Priour of Whitthorne,[3] the Parsone of Sanquhair,[4] Williame Hammyltoun of Camskeyth, Johne Gordoun of Barskeoghe, with otheris diverse. The Protestantis convened hoill to crave for justice. The Quene asked counsall of the Bischope of Ross,[5] and of the old Laird of Lethingtoun,[6] (for the youngar was absent, and so the Protestantis had the fewar unfreindis,) who affirmed, "That she must see hir lawis keapt, or ellis she wold get no obedience." And so was preparatioun maid for thair accusationis. The Bischope, and his band of the exempted sorte, maid it nyse to entyre befoir the Erle of Argyle who sat in judgement;[7] butt at last he was compelled to entir within the barr. A meary man, (who now sleapis in the Lord,)

[1] On the 15th of February 1562-3, proclamation had been made for Parliament to assemble on the 20th March. It was delayed till the 26th of that month: see next page, note 2.

[2] On the 19th of May 1563, John Archbishop of St. Andrews, and forty-seven others, chiefly persons in holy orders, were tried before the Court of Justiciary for celebrating Mass, and attempting to restore Popery, at Kirk Oswald, Maybole, Paisley, and Congalton. Among the pannels were the persons mentioned by Knox—Malcolm Prior of Whitehorn, Robert Creichton, parson of Sanquhar, William Hamilton, tutor of Cammiskeyth, and John Gordon of Barskeocht. Most of the persons were committed to ward in Edinburgh, Dumbarton, and other places. See Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. i. p. *427, and the Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 75.

[3] See page 870, note 4.

[4] See page 871, note 3.

[5] Henry Sinclair, Bishop of Ross, and President of the Court of Session.

[6] Sir Richard Maitland of Lethington. This venerable Judge was born in 1496, and survived till 1586. His attachment to literature has conferred an enduring celebrity on his name.

[7] Archibald Earl of Argyle, as hereditary Lord Chief Justice, presided on such occasions.

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ROBERT NORWALLIS FACT.

Robert Norwell, instead of the Bischoppis croce, bair befoir him a steyll hammer; whairat the Bischope and his band was not a lytill offended, becaus the Bischoppis priviledges war nott then currant in Scotland, (which day God grant oure posteritie may see of longar continuance then we possessed it.) The Bischope and his fellowis, after much ado, and long dryft of tyme, cam in the Quenis will, and war committed to warde, some to one place, some to ane other. The Lady Erskin,[1] (a sweatt morsall for the devillis mouth,) gatt the Bischoppis for hir part. All this was done of a most deape craft, to abuse the simplicitie of the Protestantis, that thei should not prease the Quene with any other thing concernyng materis of religioun at that Parliament, quhilk began within two dayis thairefter.[2] Sche obteined of the Protestantis whatsoever sche desyred; for this was the reassone of many, "We see what the Quene has done; the lyek of this was never heard of within the Realme: we will bear with the Quene; we doubt not but all shalbe weill." Otheris war of a contrarie judgement, and foirspak thingis, as after thei cam to pas, to wit, that nothing was meant but deceat; and that the Quene, how soon that ever Parliament was past, should set the Papistis at freedome: and thairfoir willed the Nobilitie not be abused. But becaus many had thair privat commoditie to be handilled at that Parliament, the commoun cause was the less regarded.

THE JUDGEMENT OF SOME.

The Erle of Huntley, whose corps had lyn unburyed till

[1] Daughter of Sir William Murray of Tullibardine: see page 128, note 2.

[2] The meeting of Parliament took place on the 26th May 1563. Randolph, on the 8d June, writes thus to Cecil: "The Parliament began 26th May, on which day the Queen came to it in her robes, and crowned; the Duke carrying the crown, Argill the scepter, and Murray the sword. She made in English an oration publiquely there, and was present at the condemnation of the two Earles, Huntley and Sutherland." In like manner, the Diurnal of Occurrents states, that "Upon the xxvj day of the said moneth of Maij, the Quenis Majestie come to the Tolbuith of Edinburgh, with the Lordis of Parliament, in the maist honourable manner, and past thairin; and efter that she had maid hir proposition and orisoun in Parliament, the Lordis chesit the Lordis of the Articles," &c. (p. 76.)

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that tyme, it was brought to the Tolbuyth:[1] he was accused, his armes rent of, him self, the Erle of Sudderland, and ellevin Baronis and Lairdis, bearing Gordoun to surname, war that day foirfalted. The Lady Huntley craftely protested, and asked the support of a man of law. In that Parliament war restored the Laird of Grange in Fyff, Maister Henrie Balnaves, Johne Lesly, and Alexander Whytlaw.[2] HUNTLEY FOIRFALTED.

Such styncken pryde of wemen as was sein at that Parliament, was never sein befoir in Scotland. Thre syndrie dayis the Quene raid to the Tolbuyth. The first day sche maid a paynted orisoun;[3] and thair mycht have bene hard among hir flatteraris, "*Vox Dianæ!* The voce of a goddess, (for it could not be *Dei*,) and not of a woman! God save that sweat face! Was thair ever oratour spack so properlie and so sweitlie!" THE PRYDE OF WEMEN AT THAT PARLIAMENT. FLATTERARES VNEW.

All thingis myslyking[4] the Preachearis, thei spack boldlie against the tarejatting of thair taillies, and against the rest of thair vanitie, which thei affirmed should provock Goddis vengeance, not onlie against those foolishe women, but against the hoill Realme; and especiallie against those that manteaned thame in that odiouse abusing of thingis that mycht have bene better bestowed. Articles war presented for ordour to be tacken for apperall, and for reformatioun of other enormities; but all was scripped at. The Earldome of Murray neaded confirmatioun, and many thingis war to be ratified that concerned

[1] According to a barbarous custom, the body of a person deceased, when accused of treason, was brought into Court. It will be seen from the note at page 359, that Huntley's body, in the view of carrying through his forfeiture, had been brought to Edinburgh in December 1562. And, "Upoun the xxviij day of the said moneth, [May 1563] the Quenis Majestie come to the Tolbuith of Edinburgh and Lordis of Parliament, at ane efternone, and foirfaltit George Erle of Huntlie, *being in the said Tolbuyth in ane kist*, &c.; and als Alexander Erle of Sutherland was foirfaltit, and the saidis Erlis armes reven and deletit furth of memorie." (Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 76.)

[2] The record of this Parliament is lost; and in the printed Acts no mention is made of the forfeitures of Kirkaldy of Grange, Balnavis of Halhill, Lesley of Parkhill, and Whytlaw of New-Grange, having been rescinded.

[3] In MS. G, "an oration."

[4] In MS. G, "mislyked."

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WHY RELIGIOUN AND THE COMMOUNWEALTH WAR BOYTH NEGLECTED.

the help of friendis and servandis; and thairfoir thei myght nott urge the Quene, for yf thei so did, she wald hald no Parliament; and what then should become of thame that had melled with the slaughter of the Erle of Huntley? Lett that Parliament pas ower, and when the Quene asked[1] any thing of the Nobilitie, as sche most do befoir hir mariage, then should the Religioun be the first thing that should be establessed. It was answered, That the poetts and paynteris erred nott altogether, that fayned and paynted Occasioun with a bald hynd-head:[2] for the first, when it is offered, being lost, is hard to be recovered againe. The mater fell so hote betwix the Erle of Murray and some otheris of the Courte, and Johne Knox, that familiarlie after that tyme thei spack nott togetther more then a year and half; for the said Johne, by his letter, gave a discharge to the said Erle of all further intromissioun or cayr with his effaires. He maid unto him a discourse of thair first acquaintance; in what estait he was when that first thei spack togetther in London;[3] how God had promoted him, and that abuf manis judgement; and in the end maid this conclusioun, "But seing that I perceave myself frustrat of my expectatioun, which was, that ye should ever have preferred God to your awin affectioun, and the advancement of his treuth to your singular commoditie, I committ you to your awin wytt, and to the conducting of those who better can please you. I praise my God, I this day leave you victour of your enemyes, promoted to great honouris, and in credytt and authoritie with your Soverane. Yf so ye long continew, none within the Realme shalbe more glad than I shalbe: but yf that after this ye shall dekay, (as I fear that ye shall,) then

VARIANCE BETWIX THE ERLE OF MURRAY AND JOHNE KNOX.

[1] In MS. G, "sall ask."

[2] In MS. G, is this marginal note, "Occasioun painted with a bald hindheid."

[3] This was probably in July 1552, Lord James having remained for some time in London on his way to France, or upon his return in December following. In 1556-7, he subscribed the letter sent to Knox at Geneva, inviting him to return to Scotland. See vol. i. p. 267.

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call to mynd by what meanes God exalted you; quhilk was neather by bearing with impietie, neather yitt by manteanyng of pestilent Papistis."

JOHNE KNOXES DISCHARGE TO THE ERLE OF MURRAY.

This bill and discharge was so pleasing to the flatteraris of the said Erle, that thei triumphed of it, and war glad to have gotten thair occasioun; for some invyed that so great familiaritie was betwix the said Erle and Johne Knox. And thairfoir fra the tyme that thei gat ones that occasioun to separat thame, thei ceassed nott to cast oyle in the burnyng flambe, which ceassed nott to burne, till that God by watter of afflictioun, began to slocken it, as we shall after hear. But least that thei[1] should alltogetther have bein sein to have foirsaikin God, (as in verray deid boyth God and his Word was far frome the hearttis of the most parte of the Courteouris in that aige, and a fewe excepted,) thei began a newe schift, to wit, to speak of the punishement of adulterye, of witchcraft, and to seik the restitutioun of the glebes and manses to the Ministeris of the Kirk, and of the reparatioun of churches: and thairby thei thought to have pleased the godlye that war hyghtlie offended at thair slackness.

The Act of Oblivioun passed, becaus some of the Lordis had intresse; but the actis against adulterye, and for the mansses and gleibes, war so modifyed, that no law, and such law mycht stand *in eodem predicamento;* to speak plaine, no law and such Actis war boyth alyik. The Actis ar in prynt:[2] lett wyese men read, and then accuse us, yf without cause we compleane.

[1] After the words, "least that they," in the margin of MS. 1566, there was added, "Lethingtoun and his Companyons;" but this note was afterwards deleted. At this Parliament, Lethington was not present. Two or three slight corrections in the text of the MS. also occur in this place.

[2] The Acts of this Parliament were printed in a separate form at Edinburgh by Robert Lekprewik, 1565, folio, —an edition of great rarity. The Acts of 1563, are twenty-five in number, "extractit furth of the buikis of Parliament," by Maister James Makgill, Clerk Register. They are included in the collected edition of the Acts of 1424 to 1564, which issued from the same press in 1566, and in all the subsequent editions.

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JOHNE KNOX HIS SERMON.

In the progresse of this corruptioun, and befoir the Parliament dissolved, Johne Knox, in his sermon befoir the most parte of the Nobilitie, began to enter in a deape discourse of Goddis mercyes which that Realme had felt, and of that ingratitude quhilk he espyed almost in the hoill multitude, which God had marvelouslie delivered from the boundage and tyrannye boyth of body and saule. "And now, my Lordis," said he, "I praise my God, throught Jesus Christ, that in your awin presence I may powre furth the sorowis of my hearte; yea, your selfis shalbe witnesse, yf that I shall maik any ley in thingis that ar bypast. From the begyning of Goddis myghty wirking within this Realme, I have bein with you in your most desperat tentationis. Ask your awin consciences, and lett thame answer you befoir God, yf that I, (not I, but Goddis Spirite by me,) in your greatest extremitie willed you nott ever to depend upoun your God, and in his name promissed unto you victorye and preservatioun from your ennemyes, so that ye wold only depend uponn his protectioun, and preferr his glory to your awin lyves and worldlie commoditie. In your most extreame dangearis I have bein with you: Sanct Johnestoun, Cowper Mure, and the Craiggis of Edinburgh, ar yitt recent in my heart; yea, that dark and dolorouse nyght whairin all ye, my Lordis, with schame and feare left this toune,[1] is yitt in my mynd; and God forbid that ever I forgett it. What was (I say) my exhortatioun unto you, and what is fallen in vane of all that ever God promised unto you by my mouth, ye your selfis yitt lyve to testifie. Thair is nott one of you against whom was death and destructioun threatned, perished in that danger: And how many of your ennemyes hes God plagued befoir your eyis! Shall this be the thank-

[1] After the skirmish of Restalrig, (see vol. i. pp. 460-463,) on Monday the 6th November 1559, "the said day at evin in the nycht, the Congregatioun depairtit furth of Edinburgh to Lynlithquo, and left thair artailzerie void upon the calsay lyand, and the Toun [of Edinburgh] desolute." (Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 54.)

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fulness that ye shall render unto your God, to betray his cause, when ye have it in your awin handis to establesh it as ye please? The Quene, say ye, will not agree with us: Ask ye of hir that which by Goddis word ye may justlie requyre, and yf she will not agree with you in God, ye ar not bound to agree with hir in the Devill: Lett her plainelie understand so far of your myndis, and steall not from your formar stoutness in God, and he shall prosper you in your interpryses. But I can see nothing but such a reculling frome Christ Jesus, as the man that first and most spedelie flyeth from Christis enseignzie, holdeth him self most happy. Yea, I hear that some say, That we have nothing of our Religioun establesshed, neather by Law or Parliament. Albeit that the malitious wordis of sick can neather hurte the treuth of God, nor yitt us that thairupoun depend, yitt the speakar for his treasone against God committed, and against this poore Commounwealth, deserves the gallowes. For oure Religioun being commanded, and so establesshed by God, is accepted within this Realme in publict Parliament; and yf thei will say that was no Parliament, we man, and will say, and also prove, that that Parliament was also lauchfull as ever any that passed befoir it within this Realme. Yea, yf the King then lyving[2] was King, and the Quene now in this Realme be lauchfull Quene, that Parliament can nott be denyed.

[1] THE SPEAKAR WAS THE DEANE OF RESTALRIG.

"And now, my Lordis, to putt end to all, I hear of the Quenis mariage: Duckis, brethren to Emperouris, and Kingis, stryve all for the best game; but this, my Lordis, will I say, (note the day, and beare witnesse efter,) whensoever the Nobilitie of Scotland professing the Lord Jesus, consentis that ane infidell (and all Papistis are infidellis) shalbe head to your Soverane, ye do so far as in ye lyeth to banishe Christ Jesus from this Realme; ye bring Goddis vengeance upoun

JOHNE KNOX HIS AFFIRMATIOUN.

[1] Mr. John Sinclair, Dean of Restalrig, and afterwards Lord President of the Court of Session.

[2] This refers to Queen Mary's first husband, Francis the Second, who was styled King of France and Scotland.

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the countrey, a plague upoun your self, and perchaunse ye shall do small conforte to your Soverane."

These wordis, and this maner of speaking was judged intollerable. Papistis and Protestantis war both offended; yea, his most familiaris disdained him for that speaking. Placeboes and flatteraris posted to the Courte to geve advertisement that Knox had spockin against the Quenis mariage. The Proveist of Lyncluden,[1] Dowglass of Drumlangrik by surname, was the man that geve the charge that the said Johne should present him self befoir the Quene: quhilk he did sone after dennar. The Lord Ochiltrie, and diverse of the faythfull, bayr him cumpany to the Abbay; but none past in to the Quene with him in the cabinet but Johne Erskine of Dune, then Superintendent of Anguss and Mearnes.[2]

[1] In MS. 1566, it was originally written "The Persone of Dundrennan," but this is deleted, and "Proveist of Lyncluden, Douglas of Drumlanrig by name," inserted. In the MS. the name Lyncluden appears as if written Glyncluden; and this form of the name is retained in the later MSS., adding an additional blunder, by writing, "N. Douglas *of Lanerk* by surname, &c."—Lincluden was a Priory or Convent of Black Nuns, situated upon the water of Cluden a few miles above Dumfries; but owing to their scandalous lives, the Priory had been changed by the Earl of Douglas, in the reign of Robert the Third, into a College or Provostry. (Keith's Catalogue, pp. 459, 470.)

According to the peerage writers, Mr. Robert Douglas, Provost of Lincluden, (from whom the Douglasses of Burford are descended,) was the second son of Sir William Douglas of Drumlanrig, who was killed at Floddon in 1513. But Chalmers has shown, that he was the natural son of Sir James Douglas of Drumlanrig, who succeeded to the estates in 1513, and died in 1578. Mr. Robert Douglas obtained letters of legitimation, 8th October 1559, being twelve years after his appointment as Provost of Lincluden, 16th September 1547. (Caledonia, vol. iii. p. 809.) In December 1585, Mr. Robert Douglas still retained his title as Provost of Lincluden, and the fruits of the benefice, when a gift of the Provostrie was ratified by an Act of Parliament in favour of William Douglas, lawful son to —— Douglas of Drumlanrig. (Acta Parl. Scot. vol. iii. pp. 415, 436.) About the same time he was appointed Collector General and Treasurer of the New Augmentations: he is so styled in deeds and Parliamentary proceedings between 1587 and 1594. William Douglas of Lincluden and Grenelaw, "the eldest son and apparent heir of William Douglas of Baitford," was tried and executed at Edinburgh in September 1610. (Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. iii. p. 90.)

[2] This interview with the Queen must have been at the end of May or beginning of June, as Knox says it was immediately after a sermon he had preached before Parliament was dissolved.

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The Quene, in a vehement fume, began to cry out, that never Prince was handled as she was. "I have," said sche, "borne with you in all your rigorouse maner of speaking, bayth against my self and against my Uncles; yea, I have sought your favouris by all possible meanes. I offerred unto you presence and audience whensoever it pleassed you to admonishe me; and yitt I can nott be quyte of you. I avow to God, I shalbe anes revenged." And with these wordis, skarslie could Marnock,[1] hir secreat chalmer-boy, gett neapkynes to hold hyr eyes drye for the tearis; and the owling, besydes womanlie weaping, stayed hir speiche.

THE QUENIS FUME AGAINST JOHNE KNOX.

The said Johne did patientlie abyde all the first fume, and att opportunitie answered, "Trew it is, Madam, your Grace and I have bein att diverse controversies, into the which I never perceaved your Grace to be offended at me. Butt when it shall please God to deliver you fra that bondage of darknes and errour in the which ye have been nurisshed, for the lack of trew doctrin, your Majestie will fynd the libertie of my toung nothing offensive. Without the preaching place, Madam, I think few have occasioun to be offendit at me; and thair, Madam, I am nott maister of my self, but man obey Him who commandis me to speik plane, and to flatter no flesche upoun the face of the earth."

ANSURE.

"But what have ye to do," said sche, "with my mariage?"

"Yf it pleise your Majestie," said he, "patientlie to hear me, I shall schaw the treuth in plane wordis. I grant your Grace offered unto me more than ever I requyred; but my answer was then, as it is now, that God hath not sent me to await upoun the courtes of Princesses, nor upoun the chamberis of Ladyes; but I am send to preache the Evangell of Jesus Christ,

[1] Evidently the same person with Marna, whose name occurs among the "gentilhomes servans," in the "Menu de la Maison de la Royne, faict par Mons. de Pinguillon," 1562; as the names of persons, in this curious record, are very incorrectly written. A few copies were printed for private circulation, by Thomas Thomson, Esq., in 1818, 4to.

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to such as please to hear it; and it hath two partes, Repentance and Fayth. And now, Madam, in preaching reapentance, of necessitie it is that the synnes of men be so noted, that thei may know whairin thei offend; but so it is, that the most parte of your Nobilitie ar so addicted to your affectionis, that neather God his word, nor yitt thair Commounwealth, ar rychtlie regarded. And thairfoir it becomes me so to speak, that thei may know thair dewitie."

"What have ye to do," said sche, "with my mariage? Or what ar ye within this Commounwealth?"

"A subject borne within the same," said he, "Madam. And albeit I neather be Erle, Lord, nor Barroun within it, yitt hes God maid me, (how abject that ever I be in your eyes,) a profitable member within the same: Yea, Madam, to me it apperteanes no lesse to foirwarne of suche thingis as may hurte it, yf I foirsee thame, then it does to any of the Nobilitie; for boyth my vocatioun and conscience craves playness of me. And thairfoir, Madam, to your self I say that whiche I speak in publict place: Whensoever that the Nobilitie of this Realme shall consent that ye be subject to ane unfaythfull husband, thei do as muche as in thame lyeth to renunce Christ, to banishe his treuth from thame, to betray the fredome of this Realme, and perchance shall in the end do small conforte to your self."

LETT PAPISTIS JUDGE THIS DAY, 1567.

At these wordis, owling was heard, and tearis mycht have bene sein in greattar abundance than the mater requyred. Johne Erskin of Dun, a man of meak and gentill spreit, stood besyd, and entreated what he could to mitigat hir anger, and gave unto hir many pleasing wordis of hir beautie, of hir excellence, and how that all the Princes of Europe wold be glaid to seak hir favouris. But all that was to cast oyle in the flaming fyre. The said Johne stood still, without any alteratioun of countenance for a long seasson, whill that the Quene gave place to hir inordinat passioun; and in the end he said,

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"Madam, in Goddis presence I speak: I never delyted in the weaping of any of Goddis creatures; yea, I can skarslie weill abyd the tearis of my awin boyes whome my awin hand correctis, much less can I rejoise in your Majesties weaping. But seing that I have offered unto you no just occasioun to be offended, but have spocken the treuth, as my vocatioun craves of me, I man sustean (albeit unwillinglie) your Majesties tearis, rather then I dar hurte my conscience, or betray my Commounwealth through my silence."

Heirwith was the Quene more offended, and commanded the said Johne to pass furth of the cabinet, and to abyd farther of hir pleasur in the chalmer. The Laird of Dun taryed, and Lord Johne of Coldinghame cam into the cabinet, and so thei boyth remaned with hyr neyr the space of ane houre. The said Johne stood in the chalmer, as one whom men had never sein, (so war all effrayed,) except that the Lord Ochiltrie bayre him companye: and thairfoir began he to forge talking of the ladyes who war thair sitting in all thair gorgiouse apparell; whiche espyed, he mearelie said, "O fayre Ladyes, how pleasing war this lyeff of youris, yf it should ever abyd, and then in the end that we myght passe to heavin with all this gay gear. But fye upoun that knave Death, that will come whitther we will or not! And when he hes laid on his areist, the foull wormes wilbe busye with this flesche, be it never so fayr and so tender; and the seally sowll, I fear, shalbe so feable, that it can neather cary with it gold, garnassing, targatting, pearle, nor pretious stanes." And by suche meanes procured he the cumpany of women; and so past the tyme till that the Laird of Dun willed him to departe to his house quhill new advertisement. The Quene wold have had the censement of the Lordis of Articles, yf that such maner of speaking deserved not punishement; but sche was consailled to desist: and so that storm quiettit in appearance, but never in the hearte.

JOHNE KNOX HIS TALK AMONGIS THE QUENIS LADYIS.

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Schort after the Parliament, Lethington returned frome his negotiatioun in England[1] and France. God, in the Februare befoir, had strycken that bloody tyrane the Duke of Gueise,[2] which somwhat brak the fard of our Quene for a seassone. But schort after the returnyng of Lethington, pryde and malice begane to schaw thame selfis agane. Sche sett at libertie the Bischope of Sanctandrois, and the rest of the Papistes that befoir war put in preasone for violating of the lawis. Lethingtoun, at his returnyng, shew him self nott a litill offended, that any bruit should have rissen of the Quenis mariage with the King of Spane; for he took upoun him that suche thing never entered in hir hearte: but how trew that was we shall after hear. The end of all his acquittance and complaynt was to discreditt Johne Knox, who had affirmed, that such ane mariage was boyth proponit, and, upoun the parte of our Quene, by the Cardinall accepted.[3] Lethingtoun, in his absence, had run intill ane verray evill bruite among the Nobilitie for too muche serving the Quenis affectionis against the Commounwealth; and thairfoir had he, as one that lacketh no worldly wisdome, maid provisioun boyth in England and in Scotland: For in England he travailled for the freedome of the Erle Bothwell, and by that meane obteaned promesse of his favour. He had thair also tacken ordour for the hamecuming of the Erle of Levenox, as we shall after hear. In Scotland he joyned with the Erle of Atholl: him he promoted, and sett fordwart in Courte; and so began the Erle of

THE BISCHOPPE OF SANCTANDROIS SETT AT LIBERTIE.

LEDINGTHONIS PRACTISES.

[1] Lethington returned from England towards the end of June. Keith says, "The Secretary was not in Council on the 18th of June, but he was present next Council-day, viz. 8th July."

[2] Francis de Lorraine succeeded his father as Duke de Guise, in 1550. He died 24th February 1562-3, having been assassinated by one of his own gentlemen, named Poltrot, while besieging the city of Orleans, which was defended by the Protestants. In the following month, the Grand Prior, (see page 268, note 7,) another of the Queen's uncles, was slain at the battle of Dreux.

[3] The Cardinal de Lorraine, in August 1563, had actually proposed the Archduke Charles of Austria to Queen Mary for a husband; but she declined such an overture.

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Murray to be defaced. And yitt to the said Erle, Lethingtoun at all tymes schew a fayre countenance.

The rest of that Sommer the Quene spent in hir progresse throught the West countrey, whair in all tounes and gentilmennes places she had her Messe.[1] Which cuming to the earis of Johne Knox, he began that forme of prayer which ordinarlie he sayeth after thankis-giving at his table: "1. Deliver us, O Lord, from the boundage of Idolatrie. 2. Preserve and keap us from the tyranny of strangearis. 3. Continew us in quyetnesse and concord amangis our selfis, yf thy good pleasur be, O Lord, for a seassone," &c. Whille that diverse of the familiaris of the said Johne asked of him why he prayed for quyetnesse to continew for a seassone, and nott rather absolutlie that we should continew in quyetness? His answer was, "That he durst nott pray but in fayth; and faith in Goddis word assured him, that constant quietness could nott continew in that Realme whair Idolatrie had bene suppressed, and then was permitted to be erected agane."

JOHNE KNOX HIS ANSURE TOWARDIS HIS PRAYER.

From the West countrey, the Quene past in Ergyll[2] to the hunting, and after returned to Striveling. The Erle of Murray, the Lord Robert of Halyrudhouse,[3] and Lord Johne of Coldinghame, past to the Northland. Justice Courtis war halden; thevis and murtheraris war punished; twa witches war burnt, the eldest was so blynded with the Devill, that sche affirmed, "That na Judge had power ower hir."

[1] Knox, in a letter to Cecil on the 6th October 1563, (quoted by Mr. Tytler,) expresses this same feeling in regard to the Queen's progress, when he says, "the carrying of the Mass through those quarters which longest had been best reformed, had dejected the hearts of many, and caused him to disclose the plainness of a troubled heart." (Hist. vol. vi. p. 286.)

[2] Randolph, on the 13th June 1563, informs Cecil that "The Queen, the Parliament now ended, hath made her Highland apparel for her journey into Argile." The absence of the English ambassador from Scotland during the next three months, has deprived us of much minute information. Keith states that the Queen "sat in Council at Glasgow on the 8th of July, after which day both she and the Earl of Argyle were not in Council until the 19th of August at Dumfries."

[3] See vol. i. p. 458; vol. ii. pp. 271, 321.

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THE LAST COMMENDATIOUN OF LORD JOHNE TO THE QUENE.[2]

That same tyme Lord Johne of Coldinghame[1] departed this lyfe in Innerness. It was affirmed, that he commanded suche as war besyd him to say unto the Quene, "That onless she left hir idolatrie, that God wold nott fail to plague hir. He asked God mercy, that he had so far borne with hir in hir impietie, and had manteaned hir in the same:[3] And that no one thing did him more regreat then that he had flattered, fostered, and menteyned hir in hir wickednes against God and his servandis." And in verie deid great cause had he to have lamented his wickednes; for besydes all his other infirmities, in the end, he, for the Quenis plesour, became enemie to verteu and all verteous men, and a patrone to impietie to the uttermost of his power: yea, his vennome was so kendled against God and his word, that in his rage he bursted furth thir wordis: "Or I see the Quenis Majestie sa trubled with the railing of thir knaves, I shall have the best of thame sticked in the pulpett." What farther villanie came fourth of baith their stinking throttes and mouthes, modestie will not suffer us to wryte; wherof, yf he had grace to unfeynedlie repent, it is no small document to Godis mercyes. But howsoever God wrought with him, the Quene regarded his wordis as wynd, or ellis thocht thame to have been forged be otheris, and not to have proceaded from him self; and affirmed plainlie, that they wer devysed be the Laird of Pettarro and Mr. Johne Wode,

[1] Lord John Stewart, Commendator of Coldingham: see page 320, note 5. By his marriage with the sister and sole heir of James Hepburn Earl of Bothwell, his family inherited a reversion of that lordship; and his son, Francis Stewart, in 1587, obtained the dignity of Earl of Bothwell.

[2] In the MS. 1566, these words, "quhairof more is spoken after," form part of this note, but are deleted, probably when the additional passage was inserted: see next note.

[3] The remaining portion of this paragraph is added in the MS. 1566, upon a separate slip of paper, written in a hand very like Knox's own; and there is written as a marginal direction to his amanuensis, "*Tak in this that is sewed in this place quhar it is scraped out.*" The words that are so scored through to be deleted, are: "When such thingis war schawin unto the Quene, thei war but mocked at, sche affirmyng that thei war devised by Maister Johne Woode and by the Laird of Pettarrow; as we sall after more planelie heare." See fac-simile.

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whome sche both hated, because they flattered hir not in hir danceing and other doinges.[1] One thing in plane wordis she spak, "That God tuik alwyse from hir thay persounes in whome sche had greatest pleasour:" and that she repented; but of farther wickednes no mentioun.

Whill the Quene lay at Striveling, with hir idolatrie in hir chapell, in the Palice of Halyrudhouse war left certane dontybouris, and otheris of the Frenche menzie, who raised up thair Messe more publictlye then they had done at any tyme before. For upon those same Sundayes that the Church of Edinburgh had the ministration of the Lordis Table, the Papistis in great number resorted to the Abbay, to thair abomination. Which understand, dyverse of the brethren, being sore offended, consulted how to redress that inormitie; and so war appoynted certane of the most zelous, and most upryght in the religion, to await upon the Abbay, that thai myght note such persones as resorted to the Messe. And perceaving a great number to enter into the chapell, some of the brethren burst also in; whereat the Preist and the Frenche dames being affrayed, made the schout to be sent to the town; and Madame Raylie,[2] maistres to the Quenis dontiboures, (for maides that Court could not then beare,) posted on with all diligence to the Comptrollar, the Laird of Pettarro, who then was in Sanct Gelis Kirk at the sermon; and cryed for his assistance, to save

[1] In MS. G, "uther things."

[2] In MS. G, "Madame Baylie."—This Madame Raylie was the wife of Mons. Raullet or Roullet, the Queen's private Secretary. The disturbance which is here alluded to, happened on Sunday the 15th of August 1563. Roullet is frequently mentioned in Queen Mary's correspondence. He was sent to Flanders with letters of credit from the Queen, addressed to the Cardinal de Granville, in January 1564-5. (Labanoff, Recueil, &c., vol. i. pp. 197-206, vol. vii. p. 291.) He died 30th August 1574, as the Queen informs Beaton, Archbishop of Glasgow, in a letter dated Sheffield, 4th September, (ib. vol. iv. p. 216.) The Earl of Shrewsbury took this occasion to search his coffers in the hope of discovering letters or papers that might implicate his Royal Mistress, the unfortunate Queen of Scots. (Chalmers's Life, &c., vol. ii. p. 68.) In 1586, in the list of the Queen's attendants, one of the "gentlewomen of her chamber," was Renee Rallay *alias* Beauregard. (Labanoff, Recueil, &c., vol. vii. p. 252.)

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hir lyfe, and to saif the Quenis Palice: Who, with greattar haist then nead requyred, obeyed hir desyre, and tuik with him the Provest, the Baillies, and a great part of the faithfull. But when they came where the feare was bruted to have bene, they fand all thingis quyet, except the tumult they broght with thame selves, and peaceable men luiking to the Papistis, and forbidding thame to transgress the lawis. Trew it is, a zelous brother, named Patrick Cranstoun, past into the chapell, and fynding the altar covered, and the Preast reddye to go to that abomination, said, "The Quenis Majestie is not heir: how dar thou then be so malepart, as opinlie to do against the law?" No farther was done nor said, and yit the bruit heirof was posted to the Quene, (with such information as the Papistis could give; which fand such credit, as thair heartis could have wished for,) which was so haynous a cryme in hir eyes, that satisfactioun for that syn was there none without bloode. And therfore, without delay was summoned Andro Armstrang[1] and Patrik Cranstoun, to fynd suyrtie to undirlie the law, for forethought, fellonie, hamesukkin, violent invation of the Quenis Palice, and for spoliation of the same.

These letteris divulged,[2] and the extremitie feared, Brethren (the few that war within the town) consulted upon the next remedie; and in the end concluded, that Johne Knox (to whom the charge was geven to mak advertismentis whensoever daunger sould appear) should wryte to the Brethren in all quarteris, geving information as the matter stoode, and re-

[1] Andrew Armstrong and George Rynd, burgesses of Edinburgh, on the 1st October, found surety "to underly the law," on the 24th of that month, for breaking the Queen's proclamation, "in carrying sundry pistollets, and for convocation of the lieges at the Palace of Holyrood, and invading sundry of the Queen's domestick servants therein." The case was postponed to the 13th November, when Patrick Cranston was commanded to appear. (Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. i. p. *434.) No account of the subsequent proceedings has been preserved. At the same time Christian Pinkerton, spouse of James Rogers, and twenty-one other persons, of whom eight were females, were impannelled for being present at the celebration of Mass, in the Chapel of Holyrood, on the 8th August.

[2] In MS. 1566, "devulgat."

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quyring thair assistance: which he did in tennour[1] as heir followes:—

THE SUPERSCRIPTIOUN.

"*Wheresoever two or thre are gathered together in my name, thare am I in the middest of thame.*

"It is not unknawen unto yow, deare Brethren, what conforte and tranquillitie God gave unto us, in tymes most dangerous, by our Christian assemblies, and godly conferences, as oft as any danger appeared to any member or members of oure bodye; and how that since we have neglected, or at the least not frequented our conventionis and assemblies, the adversaries of Christ Jesus his holie Evangill have interprysed, and boldened thame selves publictlie and secretlie, to do many thingis odious in Goddis presence, and maist hurtfull to the libertie of trew religion, now of Goddis great favour granted unto us. The holie Sacramentis are abused be profane Papistis. Messes have bein (and yit are) opinlie said and manteyned. The bloode of some of our dearest ministeris has bein shed, without fear of punishment or correction craved be us. And now last, are two of our dear brethren, Patrik Cranstoun and Andro Armstrang, summoned to underly the law, in the town of Edinburgh, the 24th of this instant October, 'For forethought fellonie, pretended murther, and for invading the Quenis Majesties Palice of Halyrudhouse, with unlauchfull convocatioun, &c.' This terrible summonds is direct against

MR. ROBERT PONT STRIKEN IN THE HEAD WITH A QUHINGAR BE CAPTANE LAUDER.[2]

[1] In the MS. 1566, the transcriber has written thirteen lines of the paragraph at page 397, beginning, "The Brethren advertissed," &c., preceded with the words, "as after we shall heare." Having obtained a copy of his own letter, all this is deleted; the words "as heir followes" are added, and the paragraph itself repeated, after the letter: see p. 397.

[2] This marginal note is omitted in MS. G; but it occurs in MS. L 4; and in MS. L 8, it forms part of the text.—The name of Captain Robert Lauder occurs in the Treasurer's Accounts for 1561, and at other times. Captain Robert Lauder had a charter of the lands of Straegthrow, in Forfarshire, 20th July 1566. Parliament, in 1578, passed an Act of Pacification in his favour. (vol. iii. p. 111.) In March 1566-7, we find the names of "Capitanes Robert and Hew Lauderis, Alexander Stewart, and James Culane." (This Stewart was probably the person mentioned at p. 354.)

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owre Brethren, because that they with two or thre more, passed to the Abbey upon Sunday, the 15th of August, to behald and note what persones repared to the Messe; and that because that the Sunday before, (the Quenis Grace being absent,) there resorted to that idole a rascall multitude, having opinlie the least devillissh ceremonie (yea even the conjuring of thair accurssed watter) that ever they had in the tyme off greatest blyndnes. Becaus, (I say,) our said Brethren passed, and that in maist quyet maner, to note sick abusearis, thir fearfull summondis ar directed against thame, to mak (no doubt) preparation upon a few, that a door may be opened to execute creweltie upon a greattar multitude. And yf so it come to pass, God, no doubt, has justlie recompanced oure formare negligence and ingratitude, towardis hym and his benefittis receaved in oure awin bosoms. God gave to us a most notable victorie, of his and our ennemies: he brak thair strength, confounded thair counsailles: he sett us at fredome, and purged this Realme (for the maist part) of oppin idolatrye; to the end, that we, ever myndfull of so wounderous a deliverance, should have keapt this Realme clean from sick vyle filthiness, and dampnable idolatrie. But we, alace! preferring the pleasour of flesche [and blude,] to the pleasour and commandement of our God, have suffered that idoll, the Messe, to be erected agane, and therfore justlie sufferis he us now to fall in that danger that to luke to ane idolatour, going to his idolatrie, salbe repute a cryme lityll inferiour to treasone. God grant that we fall not farther. And now I, whom God has of his mercye made one amangis many to travell in setting fordward of his trew religion within this Realme, seing the same in danger of ruin, can not but of conscience crave of you, my Brethren, of all estaitis, that have professed the treuth, your presence, comfort, and assistance, at the said day, in the Town of Edinburgh, even as that ye tender the advancement of Goddis glorie, the saiftie of your brethren, and

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your awin assurance, togedder with the preservatioun of the Kirk in thir appearing daungers. It may be, perchance, that persuasions be made in the contrarie, and that ye may be informed, that either your assemblie is not necesser, or ellis that it will offend the uppar poweris: But my gude hope is, that nether flatterie nor feare sall mak you sa far to declyne fra Christ Jesus, as that, against your publict promise and solempned band, ye will leave your brethren in sa just a cause. And albeit there ware no great daunger, yet cannot oure assemblie be unproffitable; for many thingis requyre consultation, quhilkis can not be had, onles the wysest and godliest convein. And thus, doubting nothing of the assistance of owre God, yf that we uniformlie seik his glory, I cease farther to trouble you, committing you heartlie to the protection of the Eternall.

"JOHNE KNOX.

"Fra Edinburgh, the 8th of October 1563."

THE Brethren, advertissed be this bill, prepaired thameselves, so many as war thocht expedient for everie town and province, to keap the day appoynted. But by the meanis of false brethren, the letter came to the handis of the Quene; and the maner was this: It was read in the town of Ayre, whare wes present Robert Cunyghame, minister of Faillfurde,[1] who then was halden an earnest professor of the Evangell; who (be what meanes we knaw not) gat the said letter, and send

THE MINISTER OF FAILL, AND BISHOPE OF ROSSE.

[1] Failfurd, the seat of a convent of Red Friars, in the parish of Torbolton, Ayrshire, was founded in 1252. "The chief who ruled this convent," says Chalmers, "was styled *Minister*. The *Minister* of Failfurd was Provincial of the Trinity Order in Scotland. From being the head of the Order, he appears to have had a seat in Parliament." (Caledonia, vol. iii. p. 492.) In 1540, Robert Cunningham, a natural son of William Earl of Glencairn, at the age of twenty-two, was appointed *Minister*; and he sat in Parliament among the clergy in 1546; and also in 1560. "William Wallace, brother to John Wallace of Cragy, had a letter of presentation to the benefice of the ministrie of Failfurde, vacant be deceis of umquhile Robert Cunnynghame, last minister thairof," dated 18th April 1576. (Register of Signatures.)

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it with his token to Maister Hendrie Sinkclare, then President of the Seat and College of Justice, and styled Byshope of Ross, ane perfyct hypocrite, and ane conjured ennemye to Christ Jesus,[1] whome God after straik according to his deservingis. The said Mr. Hendrie being ennemie to all that unfeynedlie professed the Lord Jesus, but cheiflie to Johne Knox, for the libertie of his toung; for he had affirmed, as ever still he doth affirme, that a Bischope that receaves proffit, and feidis not the flock, even be his awin labouris, is boith a theif and a murderare: The said Mr. Hendrie, we say, thinking him self happie that had found so gude occasion to trouble him, whose life he hated, posted the said letter, with his counsaill to the Quene, who then lay in Striveling.[2]

The letter being read, it was concluded be the Counsale of

[1] Mr. Henry Sinclair, (see vol. i. p. 274,) was successively Rector of Glasgow and a Lord of Session in 1587, Abbot of Kilwynning in 1541, Dean of Glasgow in 1550, and President of the Court of Session in 1559. The Queen Regent, on the 27th March 1560, had written in his favour, to be advanced to the See of Ross, then vacant by the death of David Panter, as mentioned by the French envoys De la Brosse and the Bishop of Amiens, in their letter of that date, to the Cardinal de Lorraine, and the Duke de Guise:—"La Royne Douugere vous escript pour les expeditions de l'Evesché de Rosse en faveur du Doyen de Glascou, qui est President de la Session. Son age, et fort bonne vye, et emynent scauoir le recommendent assez; et n'avons voulu faillir a vous en porter sa tesmoignage, et vous dire qu'il est bien affectioné et bien necessaire pardeça. L'Evesché est encores entièr." (Stevenson's Illustrations, &c. p. 80.)

[2] Calderwood says, that Sinclair "was a speciall enemy to Mr. Knox, becaus he still affirmed, that a Bishop receiving profite, and not feeding the flock by his owne labours, is a theefe and a murtherer." (Hist. vol. ii. p. 283.) Knox employs no measured terms in also speaking of his brother John Sinclair, who became Bishop of Brechin, and his successor as President, "as ane perfyte hypocrite," (vol. i. pp. 265.) Queen Mary, on the 20th February 1563-4, applied to Queen Elizabeth for a safe conduct "unto our traist Counsalour. Henry Bischop of Ross, (quhom we haif licent to pas to the partes of France, to seke cure and remedie of certane maladyis quhairwith he is presentlie diseasit,") &c. (Labanoff, Recueil des Lettres, &c., vol. vii. p. 298.) On the 18th September 1564, the Queen applied for a safe conduct to "oure weil belovit Clerk, Maister Johne Sinclair, Dene of Restalrig, being in the partes of France, and willing to returne hamewart in this oure Realme." (Ib. vol. i. p. 227.) In the above passage Knox evidently alludes to the disease of which the Bishop of Ross died, at Paris, on the 2d January 1564-5. (Diurnal of Occurrents, pp. 77, 79.)

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the Cabinet, that is, be the maist Secreat Counsale, that it imported treason: wherof the Quene was not a little rejoised, for she thoght anes to be reveanged of that hir great ennemie. It was concluded that the Nobilitie sould be written for, that the condampnation sould have the greatter authoritie. The day was appointed about the middest of December; which was keapt of the hoill Counsale, and of dyvers utheris, such as the Maister of Maxwell, the auld Laird of Lethingtoun, and the said President.

In the meane tyme, the Erle of Murray returned from the North, to whom the Secretary Lethingtoun opened the matter as best pleased him. The Master of Maxwell[1] gave unto the said Johne, as it had bene, a discharge of the familiaritie which before wes great betwix thame, onles that he wald satisfie the Quene at hir awin syght.

THE MAISTER OF MAXWELIS DISCHARGE TO JOHNE KNOX.

The answer[2] [of Johne Knox] was, "He knew no offence done be him to the Quenis Majestie, and therfoir he wist nocht quhat satisfactioun to mak."

REASONYNG BETWIX YE MAISTER OF MAXWELL AND JOHNE KNOX.[2]

"No offence!" said the uther. "Haif ye not writtin let-

[1] In MS. G, "the Maister of Maxwell, efter maid Lord Herries." In a previous note, (vol. i. p. 319,) it will be seen that Sir John Maxwell, whose name occurs repeatedly in Knox, married the eldest daughter and co-heiress of Lord Herries of Terreglis. Sometimes he is styled the Master of Maxwell, as presumptive heir of the title. He was much employed in public affairs, and was long Warden of the West Marches. Having joined himself with the Lords of the Congregation, on the 2d February 1559-60, he was one of the ambassadors sent by them to England. He was generally known as Sir John Maxwell of Terreglis; and this barony, in 1566, was erected into a Lordship, and Sir John took his seat in the Parliament 1567, as Lord Herries. In the latter period of his life, he became one of the most constant and zealous adherents of Queen Mary.

[2] The portion of the MS. which bears internal evidence of having been transcribed in 1566, terminates with the commencement of this paragraph. In what follows, having the marginal note 8 as a kind of title at the head of the page, and extending in all to twenty-nine leaves, the transcription could not have been earlier than December 1571, (yet during Knox's life.) This concluding portion is hastily written, more like a scroll copy from dictation, than an accurate transcript—many of the words are omitted or inaccurately written. Various minute corrections, chiefly in orthography, have therefore been adopted from MS. G. It may further be add-

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teris desyring the Bretherin from all pairts to convene to Andro Armstrang and Patrik Cranstounis day?"

"That I grant," said the uther; "but thairin I acknawledge no offence [done be me."

"No offence,"][3] said he, "to convocat the Quenis liegis?"

"Not for sua just ane cause," said the uther; "for grytter thingis wer reput no offence within thir two yeiris."

"The time," said he, "is now uther; for than our Soverane wes absent, and now sche is present."

"It is neather the absence nor the presence of the Quene," said he, "that reulis my conscience, but God speiking plainlie in his word; quhat was lauchfull to me last yeir, is yit lauchfull, becaus my God is unchangeable."

"Weill," said the Maister, "I haif gevin you my counsell, do as ye list; but I think ye sall repent it, gif ye bow not unto the Quene."

"I understand not," said he, "Maister, quhat ye mene. I nevir maid my self ane adversarie pairtie unto the Quenis Majestie, except in to the heid of religioun, and thairintill I think ye will nocht desyre me to bow."

"Weill," said he, "ye are wise eneuch; but ye will find that men will nocht beir with you in times to cum, as thay haif done in tymes bypast."

"Gif God stand my freind," said the uther, "as I am assurit he of his mercie will, so lang as I depend upon his promeise, and prefer his glorie to my life and warldlie proffeit, I littill regaird how men behave thame selffis towardis me; nether yit knaw I quhairin till ony man hes borne with me in times past, unles it be, that of my mouth thay haif heard the word of God, quhilk in times to cum, gif thay refuise, my hairt

ed, that from the irregular manner of the writing, the marginal notes have suffered so much in the binder's hands, that some of them can scarcely be deciphered; but the Glasgow MS. fortunately serves to supply such deficiencies.

[3] The words inclosed within brackets are supplied from MS. G.

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wilbe persit, and for ane seasone will lament; but the incommoditie wilbe thair awne."

And efter thir wordis, quhairinto the Laird of Lochinvar[1] wes witness, thai departit. But unto this day, the 17th of December 1571,[2] thay met nocht in sick familiaritie as thay had befoir.

The bruit of the accusatioun of Johne Knox being divulged, Mr. Johne Spens of Condie, Advocat,[3] a man of gentill nature, and ane that professit the doctrine of the Evangell, came, as it wer, in secreit to Johne Knox, to inquyre the cause of that grit bruit. To quhom the said Johne wes plane in all thingis, and schew unto him the dowbill of the letter. Quhilk heard and consydderit, he said, "I thank my God, I came to you with ane feirfull and sorrowfull hairt, feiring that ye had done sick ane cryme as lawis mycht haif punischit, quhilk wald haif bene na small trubill to the hairtis of all sik as hes ressavit the worde of life quhilk ye haif preichit; but I depairt gritlie rejosit, alsweill becaus I persaif your awin confort, evin in the myddis of your trubillis, as that I cleirly understand, that ye haif committit no sik cryme as ye ar burdenit with: Ye wilbe accusit, (said he,) but God will assist you." And sua he departit.

BEFOIR THAY DISDAINED NOT TO CUM TO HIS AWIN HOUS.

The Erle of Murray and the Secretarie send for the said Johne to the Clerk of Registeris house, and began to lament that he had so heighlie offendit the Quenis Majestie, the quhilk thai feirit sould cum to ane grit inconvenient to him self, gif he wer not wyselie forsene. Thay schew quhat paines and travell thai had tackin to mittigat hir anger, but thai could find na thing but extremitie, unless he him self wald

THE SECRETOURIS COUNSELL TO JOHN KNOX.

[1] Sir John Gordon of Lochinvar: see *supra* p. 260, note 27.

[2] This date forming part of the text, proves that this portion of the MS. must have been transcribed at that date: see introductory notice, vol. i. p. xxx.

[3] Mr. John Spens of Condie was Queen's Advocate from 1558, and has several times been mentioned by Knox: see vol. i. p. 419. He died in June 1573. (Register of Confirmed Testaments, 5th March 1577-8.)

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confes his offence, and put him in hir Grace's will. To quhilk heidis the said Johne answerit as followis:—

JOHN KNOX His ANSUER.

"I praise my God, through Jesus Chryst, I haif keirnit nocht to cry conjuratioun and tressoun at everie thing that the godles multitude dois condempne, neither yit to feir the thingis that thai feir. I haif the testimonie of ane gude conscience, that I haif gevin no occasioun to the Quenis Majestie to be offendit with me; for I haif done na thing but my dewtie, and so quhatsoevir sall thairof insew, my gude houpe is, that my God will gif me patience to beir it. But to confes ane offence whair my conscience witnesseth thair is nane, far beit from me."

"How can it be defendit?" said Lethingtoun: "Haif ye not maid convocatioun of the Quenis leigis?"

"Gif I haif nocht," said he, "a just defence for my fact,[1] lat me smart for it."

"Lat us heir," said thai, "your defensses; for we wald be glaid that ye mycht be found innocent."

"Nay," said the uther, "for I am informit, and that be diverse, and evin be you, my Lord Secreatarie, that I am allreddie condampnit, and my cause prejudged: Thairfoir I mycht be reputed ane fooll, gif I wald mak you previe to my defensses."

THIS WES THE FIRST TYME THAT THE ERLE OF MURRAY SPAK TO THE SAID JOHN[2] EFTER THE PARLIAMENT.

At thoise wordis thai semeit baith offendit; and so the Secretarie departit. But the said Erle remanit still, and wald haif interit in farder discourse of the estait of the Court with the said Johne, quho ansuerit, "My Lorde, I understand mair than I wald of the effairis of the Court; and thairfoir it is nocht neidfull that your Lordschip trubill you with the recompting thairof. Gif ye stand in gude caise I am content; and gif ye do not, as I fear you do nocht allreddie, or ellis ye sall nocht do or it be lang, blame nocht me. Ye haif the Counsalouris quhome ye haif chosin; my waik judgement

[1] In MS. 1566, "my falt." [2] In MS. G, "spack to Johne Knox,"

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baith ye and thay dispyseit: I can do no thing but behald the end, quhilk, I pray God, be other than my trubilled hairt feireth."

JOHN KNOX CALLIT BEFOIR THE QUENE AND COUNSELL IN ANNO 1563.[1]

Within four days, the said Johne wes callit befoir the Quene and Counsell betwix sax and sevin houris at nycht:[2] The seassoune of the yeir wes the middes of December. The bruit rysing in the toune, that Johne Knox wes send for be the Quene, the brethering of the Kirk[3] followit in such noumer, that the inner close was full, and all the stairs, evin to the chalmer dure whair the Quene and Counsall sat; quho had bene ressonyng amangis thame selves befoir, but had nocht fullie satisfeyit the Secretaris mynd. And so wes the Quene retyreit to hir cabinet, and the Lordis wer talkand ilk one with uther, as occasioune served. Bot upoun the entre of John Knox, thay wer commandit to tak thair places, and so thai did, sytting as Counsalouris one aganis ane uther.

The Duke, according to his dignitie, began the one syde. Upone the uther syde sat the Erle of Argyle, and consequentlie followit the Erle of Murray, the Erle of Glencarne, the Erle of Merchell, the Lord Ruthven, the commoun officeris, Pettarro than Controllor, the Justice Clark, Mr. John Spens of Condie Advocat; and diverse utheris stude by. Removeand from the tabill sat auld Lethingtoun, father to the Secretour, Mr. Henrie Synclare then Bischope of Rosse, and Mr. James M'Gill Clark Register.

Thingis thus put in ordour, the Quene cam furth, and with no littill warldlie pomp, wes placeit in the chyre, haifing twa

[1] In MS. G, "in December 1563."

[2] Knox states that his examination before the Privy Council was the middle of December. Randolph, in one of his dispatches to Cecil, on the 21st December, mentions that the Lords had assembled for three causes, the last of which was, "To take order with Knox and his faction, who intended, by a mutinous assembly made by his letter before, to have rescued two of their brethren, (viz. Armstrong and Cranston,) from course of lawe, for usinge an outrage upon a Priest saying Masse to the Queen's household at Halliruydhous." (Keith's Hist., vol. ii. p. 210.)

[3] In MS. G, "the brethren of the Toun."

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faithfull supportis, the Maister of Maxwell upoun the ane tor, and Secretour Lethingtoun on the uther tor of the chyre; quhairupoun thay waittit dillegentlie all time of that accusatioun, sumtymes the one occupying hir ear, sumtymes the uther. Hir pomp lackit one principall point, to wit, womanlie gravitie; for when sche saw John Knox standing at the uther end of the tabill bair-heided, sche first smyleit, and efter gaif ane gawf lauchter. Quhairat quhen hir placeboes[1] gaif thair *plaudite*, affirming with lyke countenance, "This is ane gude begyning," sche said: "But wat ye whairat I lauch? Yon man gart me greit, and grat never teir him self: I will see gif I can gar him greit." At that word the Secretoure quhisperrit hir in the ear, and sche him agane, and with that gaif him ane letter. Efter the inspectioun thairof, he directit his vissage and speche to Johne Knox in this maner:—

"The Quenis Majestie is informit, that ye haif travellit to raise a tumult of hir subjectis against hir, and for certificatioun thairof, thair is presented to hir your awin letter subscryvit in your name. Yit because hir Grace will do na thing without ane gude advysement, sche hes convenit you befoir this pairt of the Nobilitie, that thai may witness betwix you and hir."

"Lat him acknawlege," said sche, "his awin hand writ, and than sall we juge of the contentis of the letter."

And so wes the letter presentit from hand to hand to Johne Knox, who, taking inspectioun of it, said, "I glaidlie acknawlege this to be my hand writ: and also I remember, I dyteit ane letter in the month of October, giffin significatioun to the brether in sindrie quarteris, of sick thingis as displesit me. And that gude opinioun haif I of the fidelatie of the Scribes that willinglie thai wald nocht adulterat my originall, albeit I left diverse blankis subscryvit with thame; and so I acknawlege boith the hand write and the dytement."

[1] In MS. 1566, "hir placebo boyis."

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"Ye haif done more," said Lethingtoun, "than I wald haif done."

"Charritie," said the uther, "is not suspicious."

"Weill, weill," said the Quene, "reid your awin letter, and than answer to such thingis as salbe demandit of you."

"I sall do the best I can," said the other; and so with loud voce he began to reid as befoir expressed.

Efter that the letter was red to the end, it was presentit agane to Mr. Johne Spens; for the Quene commandit him to accuse, as he efter did, but verie gentillie,—Efter, we say, that the letter was red, the Quene, behalding the hoill tabill, said, "Hard ye evir, my Lordis, ane mair dispitfull and tressonable letter?"[1]

Quhill that no man gaif ansuer, Lethingtoun addressit him to John Knox, and said, "Maister Knox, ar ye nocht sorie from your hairt, and do ye nocht repent that sick ane letter hes past your pen, and from you is cumin to the knawlege of utheris."

Johne Knox ansuerit, "My Lord Secretour, befoir I repent I maun be taucht of my offence."

"Offence," said Lethingtoun, "gif thair wer na mair but the convocatioun of the Quenis leigis, the offence can nocht be denyit."

"Remember your self, my Lord," said the uther, "thair is a differens betwix ane lauchfull convocatioun, and ane unlauchfull. Giff I haif bene giltie in this, I haif oft offendit sen I come [last] in Scotland: for what convocatioun of the brethering hes ever bene to this day into quhilk my pen servit not? Befoir this no man led it to my chairge as ane cryme."

"Than wes than," said Ledingtoun, "and now is now: We haif no neid of sick convocatiounis as sometimes we haif had."

[1] The Letter on which this accusation was founded, is printed at page 395.

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Johne Knox ansuerit, "The time that hes bene is evin now befoir my eyis; for I see the pure flock[1] in no less daunger nor it hes bene at ony time befoir, except that the Devill hes gottin a vissorne upon his face. Befoir he come in with his awin face, discoverit be opin tyrannie, seiking the destructioun of all that hes refuissit idolatrie; and than I think ye will confess the brethering lauchfullie assembled thame selfis for defence of thair lyffeis. And now the Devill cumis under the cloke of Justice, to do that quhilk God wald nocht suffer him to do by strength."

"What is this?" said the Quene. "Me think ye tryfill with him. Quho gaif him authoritie to mak convocatioun of my leigis? Is nocht that tressoun?"

"Na, Madam," said the Lord Ruithven, "for he makis convocatioun of the pepill to heir prayer and sermoun almost daylie, and whatevir your Grace or utheris will think thereof, we think it no tressoun."

"Hald your peace," said the Quene, "and let him mak ansuer for him self."

"I began, [Madam]" said Johne Knox, "to ressoun with the Secratour, quhome I tak to be ane far better dialectician[2] then your Grace is, that all convocatiouns ar nocht unlauchfull: and now my Lord Ruithven hes gevin the instance, quhilk gif your Grace will deny, I sall addres me for the prufe."

"I will say nathing," said the Quene, "aganis your religioun, nor aganis your convenyng to your sermonis: But quhat authoritie haif ye to convocat my subjectis quhen ye will, without my commandiment?"

"I haif no plesour," said Johne Knox, "to declyne from the formar purpoise. And yit, Madam, to satisfie your Grace's two questiounis, I ansuer, that at my will I nevir convenit four persounis in Scotland; but at the ordour that the bre-

[1] In MS. 1566, "folk." [2] In MS. 1566, "dalectiane."

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therin hes appoyntit, I haif gevin diverse adverteismentis, and grit multitudis haif assemblit thairupone. And gif your Grace complane that this wes done without your Graceis commandiment, I answer, sa hes all that God hes blissed within this Realme from the begyning of this actioun. And thairfoir, Madam, I maun be convyckit be ane just law, that I haif done aganis the deutie of Godis messinger in writting of this letter, befoir that either I be sorie, or yit repent for the doing of it, as my Lord Secretour wald perswaid me: For what I haif done, I haif done [at] the commandiment of the generall Kirk of this Realme; and thairfoir, I think, I haif done na wrang."

"Ye sall not eschaip so," said the Quene. "Is it nocht tressoun, my Lordis, to accuse ane Prince of creweltie? I think thair be Actis of Parliament aganis sick whisperaris." That wes grantit of monie.

"But whairintill," said Johne Knox, "can I be accusit?"

"Reid this pairt of your awin bill," said the Quene, quhilk began, "Thir feirfull summondis is direct aganis thame, (to wit, the bretherin foirsaid,) to make, no dout, preparatioun[1] upoun ane few, that ane dore may be opened till execute creweltie upoun ane grytter multitude." "Lo," said the Quene, "quhat say ye to that?"

Quhill monie doubtit quhan the said Johne sould answer, he said unto the Quene, "Is it lauchfull for me, Madam, to answer for my self? Or sall I be dampned befoir I be hard?"

"Say what ye can," said sche; "for I think ye haif eneuch ado."

"I will first [then] desyre this of your Grace, Madam, and of this maist Honorabill audience, quhidder gif your Grace knawis nocht, that the obstinat Papistis ar deidlie ennemeis to all sick as profess the Evangill of Jesus Christ, and that thai moist eirnistlie desyre the exterminatioun of thame, and of the trew doctrine that is taucht within this Realme?"

[1] In MS. G, "a preparatyve."

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The Quene held hir peace: but all the Lordis, with commoun voce, said, "God forbid that either the lyves of the faythfull, or yit the staying of the doctrine, stude in the power of the Papistis: for just experience hes tauld us what creweltie lyis in[1] thair hertis."

"I maun proceid than," said Johne Knox, "seing that I persaif that all will grant that it wer ane barbarous creweltie to destroy sick ane multitude as profess the Evangell of Jesus Christ within this Realme, quhilk ofter then anis or twyse thai haif tempit to do be force, as thingis done of lait dayis do testify, quhairof thay, be God and his providence, being dissapointit, haif inventit moir craftie and daingerous practises, to wit, to mak the Prince pairtie under cullour of law: and so what thai could not do [be] oppin force, thai sall perform be craftie deceat. For who thinkis, my Lordis, that the insatiable crewaltie of the Papistis, within this Realme, I meane, sall end in the murthering of these two bretherin now injustlie summond, and moir unjustlie to be accusit. I think no man of judgement can sa esteme, but raythor the direct contrair, that is, that by this few noumer thai intend to prepair a way to thair bloodie interprises aganis the whole. And thairfoir, Madam, cast up when ye list the Actis of your Parliment. I haif offendit nathing aganis thame; I accuse nocht in my letter your Grace, nor yit your natoure of creweltie. But I affirm yit agane, that the pestilent Papistis, quho have inflamit your Grace without caus againis those pure men at this present, ar the sonis of the devill; and thairfoir maun obey the desires of thair father, quho hes bene ane liar and ane murtherour from the begyning."

"Ye forget your self," said ane; "ye ar not now in the pulpit."

"I am in the place," said the uther, "quhair I am demandit of conscience to speik the treuth; and thairfoir I speik.

[1] In MS. G, 1566, "is in."

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The treuth I speik impung it quhoso list. And heirunto [I add,] Madam, that honest, gentill, and meik naturis be appeirance, be wickit and corrupt counsallouris, may be convertit and alter[1] to the direct contrair. Exampill we haif of Nero, who in the begyning of his impyre, we find haifing some naturall schame;[2] but efter that his flatteraris had encuraged him in all impietie, alleging, that na thing wes either unhonest nor yit unlauchfull for his personage, quho wes Empriour abuif utheris: quhen he had drunken of this coup, I say, to quhat enormiteis he fell, the historeis beiris witnes. And now, Madam, to speik planelie, Papistis and conjureit ennemeis to Jesus Christ, haif your Graceis eare patent at all tymeis. I assure your Grace thai ar daingerous counsallouris, and that your Mother fand."

LAT THE WARLD JUGE QUHAT EFTER SCHORTLIE ANSUERIT.[3]

As this wes said, Ledingtoun smyleit,[4] and spak secreitlie to the Quene in hir eare; what it wes, the tabill hard nocht. But immediatlie sche addressit hir vissage, and spack to Johne Knox, and said, "Weill, ye speik fair eneuch heir befoir my Lordis; but the last tyme I spak with you secreitlie, ye causit me weip monie salt teiris, and said to me stubernelie, 'Ye set not by my greitting.'"

"Madam," said the uther, "becaus now the secound tyme your Grace hes burdened me with that crime, I maun ansuer, as [leist] for my silence I be haldin gyltie. [If your Grace] be rypelie rememberit, the Laird of Dun, yit leving to testifie the treuth, was present at that tyme quhairof your Grace complenis. Your Grace accuseit me, that I had irreventlie handyllit you in the pulpat; that I denyit. Ye said, What ado had I to speik of your marriage? What was I, that I sould mell with syk maiteris? I ansuerit, As tueching natour, I wes ane worm of this earth, and yet ane subject of this Com-

[1] In MS. G, "be subverted and altered."

[2] In MS. 1566, "some mortell."

[3] This marginal note is omitted in MS. G.

[4] In MS. G, "smyrklit."

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mounwelth; but as tuoching the office whairintill it hes pleait God to place me, I wes ane watchman, bayth over the Realme, and over the Kirk of God gatherit within the same; be reasoun whairof I wes bound in conscience to blaw the trumpet publictlie, so oft as evir I saw onie upfall, onie appeiring dainger,[1] either of the one or of the other. But sa it wes, that ane certane bruit affermed that traffick of mariage wes betwix your Grace and the Spanishe allya; quhairinto I said, that gif your Nobylattie and Estaitis did agrie, unles that bayth ye and your husband sould be so straitlie bound, that neither of you mycht hurte this Commounwealth, nor yit the pure Kirk of God within the same, that in that cais I wald pronunce, that the consentaris wer trubleris[2] of this Commounwelth, and ennemeis to God, and to his promeis plantit within the same.[3] At these wordis, I grant, your Grace stormed, and burstit furth into ane unreasonable weiping. Quhat myttigatioun the Laird of Dun wald haif maid, I suppois your Grace hes not forget. But whill that nathing wes abill to stay your weiping, I wes compellit to say, I tak God to record, that I never tuik plesour to see onie creatour weip, [yea, not my children quhen my awin hands had bett thame,[4]] meikle less can I rejoise to see your Grace mak siek regreat. But seing I haif offerit your Grace no such occasioun, I maun rather suffer your Grace to tack your awin plesour, or that I dar conceil the treuth, and so betray baith the Kirk of God and my Commounwelth. Thir wes the maist extreme wordis that I spak that day."

Efter that the Secretar had conferrit with the Quene, he said, "Mr. Knox, ye may returne to your hous for this nicht."

"I thank God and the Quenis Majestie," said the other. "And, Madame, I pray God to purge your hairt from Papeis-

[1] In MS. G, "ony upfall or apparand danger." In MS. 1566, "apfaw."

[2] In MS. G, "wer traytors."

[3] In MS. G, "and to his truth plantcd within the same."

[4] These words omitted in MS. 1566.

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trey, and to preserve you from the counsall of flatteraris; for how pleasand that thei appeir to your ear and corrupt affectioun for the tyme, experience hes tauld us in what perplexatie thay have brocht famous princes."

Ledingtoune and the Maister of Maxwell [were] that nycht the two stoupeis of hir chair.

Johne Knox being departit, the Tabill of the Lordis, and utheris that wer present, wer demandit, everie man be his vote, Gif Johne Knox had nocht offendit the Quenis Majestie. The Lordis voteit uniformelie thai coulde find no offence. The Quene wes past to hir cabinet. The flatteraris of the Courte, and Ledingtoune pryncipally, raged. The Quene wes brocht agane, and placeit in hir chyre, and thai commandit to vote oure agane: quhilk thing heichlie offendit the haill Nobylattie, and began to speik in opin audience, "What! sall the Laird of Lethingtoune haif power to controle us: or sall the presence of ane woman caus us to offend God, and to dampne ane innocent aganis oure conscience for plesour of onie creatour?" And so the haill Nobylattie absolved Johne Knox agane, and praisit God for his modestie, and for his plane and sensible ansueris. Yit befoir the end, ane thing is to be noittit, to witt, that amangis sa monie placeboes, we mene the flatteraris of Courte, thair wes nocht ane that planelie durst condampne the pure man that was accusit, this same God reuling thair tounge that sometymeis reulit the toung of Balaam,[1] when gladlie he wald haif cursit Godis pepill.

THE TANT OF THE QUENE TO MR. HENRIE SYNCLAIR.

This persaveit, the Quene began to upbraid Mr. Henrie Synclair, then Bischope of Ross, and said, heiring his vote to agree with the rest, "Trubill nocht the barne: I pray you trubill him nocht; for he is newlie walknit out of his sleip. Why soulde nocht the aulde fule follow the futestapis of thame that haif passit befoir him." The Bischope answerit cauldlie, "Your Grace may considder, that it is neither affec-

[1] In MS. 1566, "Balam."

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tioun to the man, nor yit lufe to his proffessioun that moved me to absolve him; but the sempill treuthe, quhilk planelie appeiris in his defence, drawis me efter it, albeit that utheris wald haif condampnit him." And this being said, the Lordis and haill assisteris araise and departit. That nycht wes nether dansing nor fyddilling in the Courte; for Madame wes disappoyntit of hir purpois, quhilk wes to haif had Johne Knox in hir will be vote of hir Nobylattie.

THE CRAFT OF THE COURTE.

Johne Knox, absolved be the votes of the grittest pairt of the Nobylattie from the cryme intendit aganis him, evin in the presence of the Quene, sche rageit, and the placebois of the Courte stormed: And so began new assaultis to be maid at the handis of the said Johne, to confes ane offence, and to put him in the Quenis will, and thay soulde promeis that his gryttest punischement sould be to go within the Castell of Edinburgh, and immediatlie to returne to his awin hous. He answerit, "God forbid that my confessioune soulde dampne those nobill men that of thair conscience, and with displasour of the Quene, have absolved me. And forder, I am assureit, ye will nocht in earnist desyre me to confes ane offence, onles that thairwith ye wald desyre me to ceise from preiching: for how can I exhorte utheris to peace and Cryssin quyetnes, gif I confes myself ane authour and mover of seditioun?"

QUHILK BEGAN THE 25 OF DECEMBER.[1]

The Generall Assemblie of the Kirk approcheit. But the juste petitiounis of the Mynisteris and Commissionaris of Kirkis wer dispysit at the first, and that with thir wordis,

THE COURTE REFUISIT THE MINISTERIS.

"As Mynisteris will not follow our counsellis, so will we suffer Mynisteris to labour for thame selfis, and see what speid thai cum." And when the quhole Assemblie said, "Gif the Quene will not [provide for our Ministeris], we man; [for] bayth Thrid and Tua pairt ar rigyrrouslie takin frome us, and frome

[1] This note is taken into the text in MS. G. In MS. L 4, the paragraph reads:—"The Generall Assemblie of the Kirk convened at Edinburgh in the New Tolbuith, the 25th of December." And this marginal note is added:—"Quick speeches betwix some Courteours, Barrons, and Ministers."

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our tennentis." "Giff utheris," said one, "will follow my counsell, the gaird and the Papistis sall complene als lang as our Mynisteris haif done." At these wordis the former scherpnes wes cullourit, and the speikare allegit, that he menit not of all Mynisteris, bot of sum to quhome the Quene wes no dettour; for what Thrid ressavit sche of Borrowis? Cristopheir Gudeman[1] ansuerit, "My Lord Secretour, gif ye can schaw me what [just] tyttill either the Quene hes to the Thrid, or the Papistis to the Twa pairt, then I think I soulde solve[2] quhidder sche wer dettour to Mynisteris within broughis or not." But thairto he ressavit this check for ansure, "*Ne sit peregrinus curiosus in aliena Republica;*" that is, "Lat not ane strainger be curious in a strainge Commounewelth." The man of God ansuerit, "Albeit I be ane strainger in your pollicey, yit so am I not in the Kirk of God; and thairfoir the cair thairof does no less appertene to me in Scotland than gif I wer in the myddis of Ingland."

Monie wonderit at the sylence of Johne Knox; for in all those quick ressonyngis he openit not his mouthe. The cause thairof he himself expressit in those wordis: "I haif travellit, rycht honorabill and belovit Bretherin, sen my last arryval within this Realme in ane uprycht conscience befoir my God, seiking no thing more, as he is [my] wytness, than the advancement of his glorie, and the stabillitie of his Kirk within

[1] Christopher Goodman was a native of Chester, born about the year 1520, and educated at Oxford. During the persecutions in England, after Queen Mary's accession to the throne, he went first to Frankfort, then to Strasburg, and in September 1555, he was chosen Knox's colleague at Geneva. In 1558, he published his celebrated treatise, "How Superior Powers ought to be obeyed," which rendered him so obnoxious to Queen Elizabeth, on account of his statements on "The Regiment of Women." Finding no encouragement, on returning to England, he accompanied Knox's wife and family to Scotland, in September 1559, and became minister of Ayr. He was soon afterwards translated to St. Andrews, as a place of greater importance. He returned to England towards the close of 1565. (Booke of the Kirk, vol. i. p. 72.) He died at an advanced age, at Chester, in 1601. See notices collected by Dr. M'Crie, Life of Knox, vol. ii. pp. 331-333, 459.

[2] In MS. 1566, "resonne."

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KNOX FALSLIE REPOIRTIT OF.

this Realme; and yit of lait dayis I haif bene accuseit as ane sedytious man, and as ane that usurpes unto my self power that becumis me nocht. Trew it is, I haif gevin adverteismentis into the bretherin in dyveris quarteris, of the extremitie intendit aganis certane faythfull for luiking to ane Preist going to Mess, and for observing of those that transgressit juste lawis; bot [that] thairintill I haif usurped farther power than is gevin into me, till that be you I be dampned, I utterlie deny; for I say, that be you, that is be the chairge of the Generall Assemblie, I haif als just power to adverteise the bretherin from tyme to tyme of daingers appeiring, as that I haif to preche the worde of God in the pulpett of Edinbrough; for be you I wes appoyntit to the one and to the uther; and thairfoir, in the name of God, I craif your jugementis. The dainger that appeirit to me in my accusatioun wes nocht sua feirfull as the wordis that come to my earis wer dollorous to my hairt; for thir wordis wer planelie spokin, and that be sum Protestantis, 'What can the Pape do mair then send furth his Letteris, and requyreit thame to be obeyit.' Lat me haif your jugementis thairof, quhidder that I haif usurped onie power to my self, or gif I haif bot obeyit your commandiment."

The flatteraris of the Courte, amangis quhome Sir Johne Ballentyne, Justice Clerk,[1] wes then not the leist, began to storme, and said, "Sall we be compellit to justifie the rasch doingis of men?" "My Lorde," said Johne Knox, "ye sall speik your plesour for the present: of you I craif no thing; bot gif the Kirk that is heir present do not either absolve me, or ellis condampne me, nevir sall I in publict or in privat, as ane publict mynister, open my mouthe in doctrine or in ressonyng."

[1] In MS. G, "Bellenden," the same name during the 16th century being written Ballenden, Bellenden, Ballantyne, Bannatyne. Sir John Bellenden of Auchinoul, Justice-Clerk, is repeatedly mentioned by Knox: see notes in vol. i. pp. 358, 418.

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Efter lang contentioun, the said Johne being removed, the whole Kirk fand, that a chairg wes gevin unto him to adverteis the Bretherin in all quarteris as oft as evir dainger appeirit; and thairfoir avowit that fact not to be his onlie, bot to be the fact of all. Thairat wer the Quenis claw-backis mair inrageit than evir thai wer; for sum of thame had promissit to the Quene to get the said Johne convyct, baith be the Consall and be the Kirk;[1] and being frustrat of boith, sche and thai thocht thame selffis nocht [a little] dissapoyntit.

In the verie tyme of the Generall Assemblie, thair cumis to publyct knawlege ane heinous murdour committed in the Courte, yea, not far from the Quenis awin lap; for ane Frenche woman, that servit in the Quenis chalmer had playit the hure with the Quenis awin hipoticary.[2] The woman conceveit and bare ane child, quhome with commoune consent the father and the mother murthered. Yit wer the cryis of ane new borne barne hard; searche wes maid, the chylde and mother wes baith deprehendit; and so wer baith the man and the woman dampned to be hangit upoun the publict streit of Edinburgh. The punischment wes notable, becaus the cryme wes heinous. Bot yit wes not the Courte purged of hureis and huredome, quhilk wes the fontane of sik enormiteis; for it wes weill knawin, that schame haistit mariage betwix Johne Sempill, callit the Danser, and Marie Levingstoune, surnameit the Lustie.[3] What bruit the Maries and the rest of the

1563.

HURDOME AND MURDOUR IN THE COURTE.

SEMPILL AND LEVINGSTOUN.

[1] In MS. G, "Churche" is now generally used for "Kirk."

[2] MS. G, "Hypothecary;" in MS. L 4, "Apothecar." No notice of their trial and execution is elsewhere given; and the Record of the Criminal Court at this period, which might have furnished the same, is not preserved.

[3] John Sempill was the son of Robert third Lord Sempill, by a second marriage with Elizabeth Carlyle. (Wood's Peerage, vol. ii. p. 494.) Mary Levingstone was one of the Queen's Maries who accompanied her to France, and was the youngest daughter of Alexander fifth Lord Levingstone. It may have been to ensure their marriage that the Queen, by a special grant under the Privy Seal, to "John Sempill, sone to hir cousin Robert Lord Sempill, and Marie Levingstoun his spous, sister to William Lord Livingstone," granted a charter of various lands, in consideration that "it had pleisit God to move thair hartis to

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dansaris of the Courte had, the ballattis of that aige[4] did witnes, quhilk we for modesteis sake omit. Bot this wes the commoune complaint of all godlie and wyse men, that giff thai thocht that sick ane Courte soulde lang continew, and giff thai luikit for no uther lyffe to cum, thay wald haif wissit thair soneis and dochteris rather to have bene brought up with fydlaris and dansaris, and to have bene exerceit in flinging upone ane flure, and in the rest that thairof followis, than to haif bene nurisched in the companie of the godlie, and exerceissit in vertew, quhilk in that Courte wes haittit, and fylthines not onlie maintenit, bot also rewairded. Witnes the Lordschip[5] of Abercorne, the baronie of Authormortie,[6] and diverse utheris pertenyng to the patrimonie of the Crowne, gyffin in heritage to scouparis, dansaris, and dalliaris with damis. This wes the begyning of the regement of Marie Quene of Scottis, and thir wer the fructeis that sche brocht furth of France. "Lorde,

MARIES REGIMENT.

joyne togidder in the stait of matrimonye." It is dated 9th March 1564-5. In the Parliament 19th April 1567, when it proposed to annul the forfeiture of George Earl of Huntley, which would affect various grants that had been made, the charter of infeftment in the lands of Auchtermuchty, Stewarton, and others, to Sempill, was anew ratified by the Queen. (Acta Parl. Scot., vol. ii. p. 559.) The same favour was continued by James the Sixth, on the penult November 1581, from his general Revocation of grants, among other exceptions, "reservit and exceptit" the infeftment made by Queen Mary "to umquhile John Semple of Butress, and Marie Livingston his spous, of the town and lands of Auchtermuchtie, and otheris," &c. (ib. vol. iii. p. 245.) This shews that Semple was then deceased. He had acquired the lands of Beltrees in Renfrewshire—a name distinguished in the literature of Scotland during the 17th century.

[4] The ballads to which Knox specially alludes are not known to be preserved. Various enactments and proclamations were made from time to time, prohibiting, in 1556, for instance, "the odeous ballates and rymes laitly sett furth be sume evill inclinit personis of your toun." (Maitland's Hist. of Edinb., p. 14.)

[5] In MS. 1566, "Bischope of."

[6] In MS. G, "Achermoutie." It will be seen from the previous note 8, that the lands of Auchtermuchty, in Fife, had been conferred on John Sempill and Mary Levingstone, his wife, in 1565. The Lordship of Abercorn was probably bestowed about the same time upon one of the courtiers. At a later period, at least, John Levingstone, one of the Master Stabularis, had a grant in feu-farm of the lands, &c., of Abercorn, 10th October 1587, of which he obtained a ratification by Parliament, 5th June 1592. (Acta Parl. Scot., vol. iii. p. 643.)

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luik upone our mysereis, and delyver us from the tyrannie[1] of that hure, for thy awin meir mercies saik." PRAYIT AND WRITTEN QUHEN SHE WES IN GRYTEST AUTHORITIE.[2]

God from hevin, and upone the face of the eirth, gaif declaratioun that he wes offendit at the iniquitie that wes committit evin within this Realme; for upone the 20th day of Januare thair fell weit in grit aboundance, quhilk in the falling freisit so vehementlie, that the eirth wes bot ane scheit of yce. The foules baith grit and small freisit, and mycht nocht flee: monie deyit, and sum wer takin and laid besyde the fyre, that thair fetheris mycht resolve. And in that same moneth the sey stude still, as wes clerlie observed, and nather ebbit nor flowit the space of 24. houris. In the moneth of Februare, the 15th and 18th day thairof, wes sene in the fyrmament battelis arrayit, speiris, and utheris weapounis, and as it had bene the joinyng of two armeis. Thir thingis wer nocht onlie observed, bot also spokin and constantlie affyrmed be men of jugement and credit. But the Quene and our Court maid myrrie. Thair wes banketting upoun banketting. The Quene wald banket all the Lordis; and that wes done upoun polessie, to remove the suspitioune of hir displesour aganis thame, becaus thai wald nocht at hir devotioun dampne Johne Knox. To remove, we say, that jeloussie, sche maid the banket to the haill Lordis, quhairat sche wald haif the Duke amangis the rest. It behuifit thame to banket hir agane; and so did banketting continew till Fastronis-evin and efter. But the pure Mynisteris wer mockit, and reputed as monsteris; the gaird, and[3] the effairis of the kytcheing wer so gryping, that the Mynisteris stipendis could nocht be payit; and yit at the Assemblie precedeand, solemnitlie promeis wes maid in the Quenis name, be the mouth of Secretour Lethingtoune, in the audiance of monie of the Nobylatie and of the hoill Assemblie, who affyrmeit, that he had commandiment of hir Heichnes to

GREIT WEIT AND FROIST IN JANUARE 1568.

WONDARIS SENE IN FEBRUAR.

BANKITING IN THE COURTE, BOT CONTEMP OF THE MYNISTERIS.

THE QUENIS PROMEIS.

[1] In MS. 1566, "tyranitie."

[2] Or, in the year 1566.

[3] In MS. 1566, "regairdand" as one word.

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promeis[1] unto thame full contentatioun to all the Mynisteris within the Realme of thingis bygane; and of suche ordour to be keipit in all tymeis to cum, that the whole bodie of the Protestantis soulde haif occasioune to stand content. The Erle of Murray affermit the same, with monie uthair fair promeisses gevin be writ be Lethingtoune him self; as in the register of the Actis done in the Generall Assemblie may be sene.[2] Bot how that, or yit anie uther thing promissit by hir, or in hir name, unto the Kirk of God, wes observed, the Warlde can witnes.

The Mynisteris perceaving all thingis tend to ruyne, dischairgit thair conscience in publict and in previt; but thay ressaifit for thair laubouris haitred and indignatioun; and amangis utheris, that worthie servand of God, Mr. John Craig, speiking aganis the manifest corruptioun that then withoute schame or feir declareit the self, said, "Sum tymeis wer hypocriteis knawin be thair disgyseit habittis, and we had men to be monkis, and women to be nunis; but now all thingis ar so chaingit, that we can nocht dyscerne the Erle frome the Abbot, nor the Nun frome sik as wald be haldin the Nobillwemin;[3] so that we haif gottin ane new ordour of monkis and nunis. But, (said he,) seing that ye eschame not of that unjuste proffeit, wald God that thairwith ye had the coule of the nun, the vaill, yea, and the taill joyned with all,[4] that so ye mycht appeir in your awin cullouris."

LETHINGTOUNE TWYSE DEFYIT THE SERVANDIS OF GOD.

This lybertie did so provoik the choller[5] of Lethingtoune, that in opin audience he gaif him unto the Devill, gif that ever efter that day he sould regaird what become of Mynisteris, that he sould do what he could, that his companyeounis sould haif ane skair with him; "And lat thame bark and blaw," said he,

[1] In MS. 1566, "to pronunce."

[2] See the proceedings of the General Assembly, (Book of the Universall Kirk, vol. i. p. 48.)

[3] In MS. 1566, "gentillman."

[4] In MS. 1566, these words appear in this unintelligible form, "ze had the coule of the waill, ye and the taill junit with all."

[5] In MS. 1566, "the collowre."

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"alse loude as thay list." And so that wes the second tyme that he had gevin [his] defyance to the servandis of God. And heirupone raise whispering and complainttis, all be the flatteraris of the Courte, complenyng that men wer not cheritably[1] handyllit: "Mycht nocht synnis be repruifit in generall, albeit that men wer not so specialie taxed, that all the warlde mycht knaw of whome the preachour spak?" Quhairinto wes the ansuer maid, "Let men eschame publiklie to offend, and the Mynisteris sall abstene from specialiteis; but so lang as Protestantis ar not eschameit manifestlie to do aganis the evangill of Jesus Chryste, so lang can nocht the Mynisteris of God ceise to cry, that God wilbe revengit upoun sik abusearis of his holie worde."

And thus had the servandis of God ane doubill battell, fechting upoun the one syde aganis the idolatrie and the rest of the abominatiounis mentenit be the Quene; and upoun the uther pairt, aganis the unthankfulnes of sik as sumtyme wald haif bene estemed the cheiff pyllaris of the Kirk within the Realme.

The threitnyngis of the prechouris wer feirfull; but the Courte thocht the self in [such] securitie that it coulde nocht myscary.[2] The Quene, efter the banketting, keipit a dyett [be directioun of] Monsieur Lusury, Frenche man, who had bene acquaintit with hir maladie befoir, being hir physicioun:[3] And theirefter sche, for the secound tyme, maid hir progresses in the North,[4] and commandit to waird in the Castell of 1564.

[1] In MS. 1566, "chyrrable."

[2] In MS. 1566, "mynnistrey."

[3] In MS. G, "Monsieur la Usurie." The person referred to was Jacques Lusgerie, who had been the Queen's physician while she resided in France. He is mentioned by her in a letter to Catharine de Medicis, 12th March 1565. In May 1571, the Queen requests Beaton to send her a physician from France, with the advice, or recommended by Lusgerie. (Labanoff, Lettres, &c., vol. i. p. 256; vol. vii. p. 305.)

[4] Before the Queen's second progress in the North, she had visited the West of Scotland, and returned from Inverary through Ayrshire to Dumfries. This journey lasted from the 29th June till the beginning of September 1563. After stopping a few days in Edinburgh, she proceeded to Perthshire and Stirling. But the journey to which Knox here al-

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Edinburgh the Erle of Kaithness,[5] for ane murther committit be his servandis upoun the Erle of Merchellis men. He obeyit, bot he wes sodentlie relevit; for sik blude-thrystie men and Papeistis, sik as he is, ar best subjectis to the Quene. "Thy kingdome cum, O Lord; for in this Realme is no thing (amangis sik as soulde punische vyce and mentene vertew) but abhominatiounis abounding withoute brydell."

The flatteraris[6] of the Courte did daylie inrage aganis the pure Prechouris: happyest wes he that coulde invent the moist bytter tantis and disdainfull mokingis of the Mynisteris. And at lenth thai began to jest at the terme of Idolatrie, affirmyng, "That men wist nocht what thai spak, quhan thai callit the Messe Idolatrie." Yea, sum proceidit farder, and feirit nocht at opin tabilles to affirme, "That thai wald sustene the argument, that the Messe wes no Idolatrie." These thingis cuming to the earis of the prechouris, wer proclamit in publyct pulpett of Edinburgh, with this complaynt direct be the speikare[7] to his God. "O Lord, how lang sall the wyckit prevaill aganis the juste! How lang sall thou suffer thy self and thy blessit Evangill to be dyspysit of men; of men, we say, that makis[8] thame selfis defendaris of the treuth! For of thy manifest and knawin ennemeis we complene nocht, bot of such as unto whom thou hes reveilit thy lycht: for now it cumis into our eiris, that men, not Papistis, we say, bot cheif Protestantis, will defend the Messe to be no Idolatrie. Giff so wer, O Lord, myserablie haif I bene disavit, and myserablie, alace, O Lord,

ludes was in the following year. She rode from Edinburgh on the 22d of July 1564. She was at Perth on the 31st, when she went into the district of Athole "to the hunting." After crossing the mountains, and visiting some parts of Inverness-shire, and the Chanonry of Ross, she returned along the east coast, by Aberdeen and Dunottar, to Dundee and St. Andrews, reaching Holyrood on the 25th or 26th September, after an absence of upwards of two months.

[5] George fourth Earl of Caithness, who died 9th September 1582.

[6] In MS. 1566, "flattering."

[7] That is, by Knox himself.

[8] In MS. G, "that boastis."

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haif I deceavit thy peopill; quhilk thou knawis, O Lord, I haif evir moir abhorrit than a thousand deithis. Bot," said he, turnyng his face towardis the rowme where sik men as so had affirmed, sat, "Gif I be nocht able to prove the Messe to be the moist abhominable Idolatrie that evir wes useit sen the begynning of the Worlde, I offer my self to suffer the punischement appoyntit be God to a fals teichare; and it appeiris unto me," said the preichare, "that the affirmeris soulde be subject to the same law: for it is the treuthe of God that ye persecute and blaspheme; and it is the inventioun of the Devill, that obstinatlie aganis his Worde, ye menteyne. Whairat, albeit ye now flyrt and ye flyre, as [thocht] that all wer spokin wer but wind,[1] yit am I [als] assureit, as I am assureit that my God leveth, that sum that hear this your defectioun and railling aganis the treuthe and servandis of God, sall see ane pairt of Godis jugementis poured furth upoun this Realme, (and pryncipallie upoun you[2] that fastest cleifes to the favour of the Courte,) for the abominatiounes that ar be you menteneit." Albeit that suche vehemencie provoikit teiris of sum, yit those men that knew themselfis guilty, in a mocking maner said, "We must recant, and burne oure bill; for the Prechouris ar angrie."

The Generall Assemblie, halden in Junij 1564,[3] approcheit, ANNO 1564. unto the which greit[4] pairt of the Nobylatie, of those that ar callit Protestantis, convenit; sum for assistance of the mynisteris, and sum to accuse thame, as we will efter heir.[5]

A lyttill befoir the trubles, quhich Sathan raised in the bodie

[1] In MS. 1566, "wounde."

[2] In MS. M. there is added this remark, "But this threatening was accomplished in his owne person;" and the next paragraph is wholly omitted.

[3] At Edinburgh on the 25th June 1564.

[4] In MS. 1566, "aggreit."

[5] Here and a few lines above, in MS. 1566, of two marginal notes only some unintelligible letters remain unmutilated by the binder: but the notes occur in MS. G, as follows:—

"Lethingtounes countenance at the threatnings of the preichars."

"Let the Warld judge quhidder this has cummyn to pas or not, and quhat has fallin out sen that tyme."

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of the Kirk, began Davie[1] to grow grit in Courte. The Quene usit him for Secretarie, in thingis that appertenit to hir secreit effaires, in France[2] or ellis quhair. Grit men maid in Courte unto him, and thair sutes wer the better heard. Bot of the begynning and progress, we delay now forder to speik, becaus his end will requyre the descryptioune of the whole: [And referris it unto suche, as God sall rayse up to do the same.][3]

THIS WES NEVIR DONE BE THIS AUTHOR.

The first day of the Generall Assemblie, the Courtiouris nor the Lordis that dependit upoun the Court, presentit nocht thame selfis in the sessioun with thair Bretherin. Whairat monie wondering, ane anceyant and honorable man, the Laird of Lundie,[4] said, "Nay, I wonder nocht of thair present absence; but I wonder that at our last Assemblie, thai drew thame selfis ane pairt, and joynit nocht with us, but drew from us some of our mynisteris, and wylleit thame to conclude sik thingis as war never proponit in the publick Assemblie, [quhilk apperis to me to be a thing][5] verrie prejudiciall to the libertie of the Kirk. And, thairfoir, my jugement is, that thai salbe informit of this offence, quhilk the whole Bretherin haif consaveit of thair former falt; humblie requyring thame, that gif thai be Bretherin, thai will assist thair Bretherin with thair presence and counsall, for we had nevir grytter neid. And gif thai be myndit to fall back from us, it wer better we knaw it now than afterward." Thairto aggreyit the whole Assemblie, and gaif commissioun to certene Bretherin to signify the

[1] In MS. G, "began one Davie, ane Italiane." That is David Riccio: see article in the Appendix to this volume.

[2] The words "in France," are omitted in MS. 1566; and "effaires," is written "faires."

[3] The words enclosed within brackets, are supplied from MS. G. They occur in MS. L 4, but neither in L 3, or in MS. 1566. In place of this, on the margin of that MS. we find, as above, "THIS WES NEVIR DONE BE THIS AUTHOR;" a remark, which was probably added after Knox's death by his Secretary, or the person who transcribed this portion of the MS.

[4] Walter Lundie or Lundin of Lundie, in Fife. The name of the "Laird of Lundie" occurs very frequently in the Book of the Kirk.

[5] The words within brackets are omitted in MS. 1566.

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myndis of the Assemblie to the Lordis; quhilk wes done that same day efter noon.[1]

The Courteouris at first semeit nocht a lyttill offendit, that thay sould be as it wer suspectit of defectioun: yit, nevirtheles, upoun the morrow, thai joynit with the Assemblie, and come into it: But thai drew thame selfis, lyke as thai did befoir, apairt, and enterit the Inner Counsell-house. Thair wes the Dukis Grace, the Erles Argyle, Murray, Mortoun, Glencarne, Merchell, Rothes; the Maister of Maxwell, Secretour Lethingtoun, the Justice Clark, the Clark of Register, and the Controllour, the Laird of Pittarro.

Efter a lyttill consultatioun, thai direct ane messinger, Mr. George Hay,[2] than callit the Minister of the Court, requyring the Superintendantis, and sum of the leirnit ministeris, to confer with thame. The Assemblie ansuerit, "That thai convenit to delyberat upoun the commoun effairis of the Kirk; and, thairfoir, that thay could nocht lack thair Superintendantis and cheif ministeris, whose jugementis wer so necessarie, that without thame the rest sould sit as it wer idill; and thairfoir willand thame (as of befoir) that gif thay acknawlege thame selfis memberis of the Kirk, that thai wald joyne with the Bretherin, and propone in publict sik thingis as thai pleisait; and so thai sould haif the assistance of the whole in all thingis that mycht stand to Godis commandiment. But to send from thame selfis a portioun of thair companie, thai understand that thairof hurt and sclander mycht aryse, rather than anie proffeit or conforte to the Kirk: for thay feirit, that all men

[1] According to Calderwood, on the 26th June 1564, "The Laird of Lundie, and the Superintendent of Lowthian, war appointed to request the Lords of Secreit Counsell to assist the Assemblie with thair presence and counsell." In like manner, at the next General Assembly, on the 25th December, "William Wallace of Carnell, and Andrew Ker of Fadownside, war sent to the Lords of Secreit Counsell, to requist thair Honours to assist the Assemblie with thair presence and counsell."

[2] See note 2, page 352. In the proceedings of the General Assembly, 30th December 1563, Mr. George Hay is styled "Minister of the Privie Counsell."

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sould nocht stand content with the conclusioun, whair the conference and ressounis wer hard but of a few."

This ansuer wes nocht giffin without cause; for no small travell wes maid, to haif drawin sum mynisteris to the factioun of the Courtiouris, and to haif sustenit thair argumentis and opiniounis. But whan it wes persaifit be the moist politick amangis thame, that thai could not prevaill be that meanes, thai proponeit the matter in uther termis, purging thame selfis, first, that thai nevir ment to devyde[1] thame selfis from the sociatie of thair bretherin; but, because thai had certane heidis to confer with certane ministeris; thairfoir, for avoyding of confusioun, thai thocht it mair expedient to haif the conference befoir a few, rather than in the publict audience. But the Assemblie[2] did still reply, "That secreit conference wald thay nocht admit in those heidis that sould be concludit be generall voit." The Lordis promeissit, "That no conclusioun sould be taikin, nether yit voit requyreit, till that bayth the propositiounis and the ressounis sould be heard, and considderit of the whole bodie." And upoun that conditioun wer directit unto thame, with expressit chairge to conclude no thing without the knawledge[3] and advyse of the Assemblie, the Laird of Dun, Superintendant of Anguss, the Superintendantis of Lothyane and Fyffe,[4] Mr. John Row, Mr. John Craig, Williame Crystisoune, Mr. David Lyndesay, mynisteris, with the Rectour of Sanctandrois,[5] and Mr. George Hay; the Superintendant of Glasgow, Mr. Johne Willok, wes Moderatour, and Johne Knox waitit upoun the Scrybe. And so thay wer appoyntit to sit with the Bretherin. And that because the principall compleint tuychit[6] Johne Knox, he wes also callit for.

[1] In MS. G, "to separate."

[2] "Assemblie" is usually written "assemble;" but, as already remarked, the orthography in this portion of the MS. is very peculiar, and requires correction.

[3] In MS. G, "acknawlege."

[4] John Erskine of Dun, John Spottiswood, and John Wynrame.

[5] John Douglas.

[6] In MS. G, "concernit."

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LEDINGTOUN'S HARANGE AT THE ASSEMBLIE IN JUNIJ 1564 ZEIRIS.

Secretour Lethingtoun began the harangue,[1] which contenit these heidis: First, How much we wer addettit unto God, be whois providence we had libertie of religioun under the Quenis Majestie, albeit that sche wes nocht persuadeit in the same: Secoundlie, How necessarie ane thing it wes that the Quenis Majestie, be all gude offices, (so spak he,) of the Kirk, and of the mynisteris principally, sould be retenit in that constant opinioun, that thai unfeinzeitlie favourit hir advancement, and procureit hir subjectis to haif ane gude opinioun of hir: And, last, How daingerous ane thing it was, that mynisteris sould be noittit ane to disagree from ane uther, in form of prayer for hir Majestie, or in doctrine conserning obedience to hir Majesties authoritie: "And in these two last heidis, (said he,) we desyre you all to be circumspect; but especially we maun craif of you our brother, Johne Knox, to moderat your selff, als weall in form of praying for the Quenis Majestie, as in doctrine that ye propone tuyching hir estait and obedience. Neither sall ye tak this, (said he,) as spokin to your reproche, *quia nevus*[2] *interdum in corpore pulchro*, but becaus that otheris, by your example, may imitate the lyke libertie, albeit nocht with the same modestie and foirsycht; and what opinioun may ingedder[3] in the peopillis heidis, wyse men do forsee."

The said Johne prepairit him for ansuer, as followis: "Gif sueh as feir God haif occasioune to praise him, that becaus that idolatrie is maintenit, the servandis of God dispyseit, wyckit men placeit agane in honour and authoritie, (Mr. Henrie Synclair wes of schort tyme befoir maid President,[4] who befoir durst nocht haif syttin in jugement;) and, finalie, (said he,) gif we aucht to prais God becaus that vice and impyet-

[1] In MS. G, this marginal note stands: "Lethingtonis harrange in the Assembly in 1584;" a mistake in the date only worthy of notice, as affording an indication of the time when the MS. itself was transcribed.

[2] In MS. G, "*quia mens.*"

[3] In MS. G, "ingender."

[4] Sinclair had been appointed President of the Court of Session in 1559: see page 398, note 1.

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tie overfloweth this hoill Realme without punischment, than haif we occasioun to rejoise and to prayse[1] God: But gif those and the lyke use to provoik Godis vengeance aganis Realmis and Natiounis, than, in my jugement, the godlie within Scotland aucht to lament and murne; and so to prevent Goddis jugementis, leist that he, fynding all in a lyke security,[2] stryke in his hot indignatioun, begynning [perchance] at sik as think thai offend nocht."

"That is ane heid," said Lethingtoun, "whairinto ye and I nevir aggreyit; for how ar ye abill to prove that evir God straik or plaigit ane natioun or peopill for the iniquitie of thair Prince, gif that thame selfis levit godlie?"

"I lukeit," said he, "my Lord, to haif audience, till that I had absolvit the uther two pairtis; but seing it pleissis your Lordship to cut me off befoir the myddis, I will ansuer to your questioun. The Scriptour of God teichis me, that Jerusalem and Juda wes punischit for the sinne of Manasses; and gif ye will allege, that thai wer punischit because that thai wer wyckit, and offendit with thair King, and nocht because thair King wes wyckit; I ansuer, that albeit the Spreit of God makis for me, saying in expressit wordis, 'For the syn of Manasses,' yit will I nocht be so obstinat as to lay the whole syn, and plaigis that thairof followit, upoun the King, and utterlie absolve the peopill; but I will grant with you, that the whole peopill offendit with the King: but how, and in what fassioun, I feir that ye and I sall nocht agrie. I doute nocht but the grit multitude accumpanit him in all abhominatiounis quhilk he did; for idolatrie, and ane fals religioun haith evir bene, is, and wilbe plesing to the moist pairt of men. But to affirm that all Juda committit realie the actis of his impyetie, is but to affirm that quhilk nether hes certentie, nor yit appeirence of ane treuth: for who can think it to be possible, that all those of Jerusalem sould so schoirtlie turn to externall

[1] In MS. 1566, "and prayait." [2] In MS. 1566, "lyke secreit."

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idolatrie, considdering the notabill reformatioun laitlie befoir had in the days of Ezechias? But yit, says the text, 'Manasses maid Juda and the inhabitantis of Jerusalem to erre.' True it is; for the one pairt, as I haif said, willinglie followit him in his idolatrie, and the other, be ressoune of his authoritie, sufferit him to fyle Jerusalem, and the tempill of God, with all abhominatiounis, and so wer thai all cryminall for his sin; the one be act and deid, the uther be suffering and permissioun: even as hoill Scotland is guiltie this day of the Quenis idolatrie, and ye, my Lordis, speciallie above all utheris." [1] PARALI. 33.[1]

"Weill," said Lethingtoun, "that is the cheif heid quhairin we nevir aggreit; but of that we sall speik heirefter. What will ye say as tuyching the moveing of the peopill to haif ane gude opinioun of the Quenis Majestie, and as concerning obedience to be gevin to hir authoritie, as also of the form of the prayer quhilk commounlie ye use," &c.

"My Lord," said he, "moir eirnistlie to move the peopill, or yit utherwyse to pray than heirtofoir I haif done, a gude conscience will nocht suffer me; for He who knawis the secreittis of hertis, knawis that privilie and publictlie I haif callit to God for hir conversioun, and haif willit the peopill to do the same, schawing thame the dangerous estait quhairin nocht onelie sche hir self standis, but also the haill Realme, be the ressoun of hir indureit blindnes," &c.

"That is it," said Lethingtoun, "whairin we find gryttest falt. Your extremitie aganis hir Messe, in particular, passis meassour. Ye call hir ane slaif to Sathan; ye affirme that Godis vengeance hingis oure the Realme, be ressoune of hir impietie;[2] and what is this ellis but to rouse up the hairt of the peopill aganis hir Majestie, and aganis thame that serve hir."

[1] That is, *Paralipomena*, a name given by the Alexandrian translators to the two Books of Chronicles, as *things omitted*, or supplementary to the other historical records belonging to the Old Testament Canon. (Kitto's Biblical Cyclopedia.)

[2] In MS. G, "iniquity."

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Thair wes heard ane exclamatioun of the rest of the flatteraris, that sick extremittie could nocht proffit. The Maister of Maxwell said in plane wordis, "Gif I war in the Quenis Majesties place, I wald nocht suffer sick thingis as I heir."

THE MR. OF MAXWELL'S WORDS IN THE ASSEMBLIE.

"Gif the wordis of prechouris," said Johne Knox, "sall alwayis be rest to the worst pairt, than will it be hard to speik onie thing so circumspectlie, provyded that the treuth be spokin, quhilk sall not eschape the censure of the calamniatour. The moist vehement, and, as ye speak, excessive maneir of prayer that I use in publict is this, 'O Lord, gif thy plesour be, purge the hairt of the Quenis Majestie from the venoum of idolatrie, and deliver hir from the boundage and thraldom of Sathan, in the quhilk sche hes bene brocht up, and yit remanis, for the lack of true doctrine; and lat hir see, be the illuminatioun of thy Holie Spreit, that thair is no meane to pleis thee but be Jesus Christ thy onlie Son, and that Jesus Christ can nocht be found but in thy holie word, nor yit ressavit but as it prescrybeis; which is, to renunce our awin wittis, and preconsavit opinioun, and worschip thee as thou commandis; that in sa doing sche may avoid that eternall dampnatioun quhilk abydeis all obstinat and impenitent unto the end; and that this poor Realme may also eschaip that plaig and vengeance quhilk inevitablie followis idolatrie, menteinit aganis thy manifest worde, and the opin lycht thairof.' This, (said he,) is the form of my commoun prayer, as your selffis can witnes. Now, what is worthie reprehensioun in it I wald heir?"

JOHN KNOX HIS PRAYER FOR THE QUENE.

"Thair ar three thingis," said Lethingtoun, "that nevir lykeit unto me. And the first is, Ye pray for the Quenis Majestie with ane conditioun, saying, 'Illuminat hir hairt, gif thy gude plesour be;' quhairby it may appeir, that ye doute of hir conversioun. Whair haif ye the example of sik prayer?"

"Whairsoevir the exampillis are," said the uther, "I am assureit of the reule, whilk is this, 'Gif we sall ask onie thing according to his will, he sall heir us;' and our Maister, Chryst

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Jesus, commandit us to pray unto our Father, 'Thy will be done.'"

"But," said Lethingtoun, "whair evir find ye onie of the Propheitis so to haif prayit?"

"It sufficeth me," said the uther, "my Lord, that the Maister and teicheare of bayth Prophettis and Appossillis hes taucht me so to pray."

"But in so doing," said he, "ye put ane doute in the peopillis heid of hir conversioun."[1]

"Nocht I, my Lord," said the uther, "but hir awin obstinat rebellioune causis mo than me to doute of hir conversioun."

"Whairinto," said he, "rebellis sche aganis God?"

"In all the actiounis of hir lyffe," said he, "but in thir two heidis especiallie; former, That sche will nocht heir the preiching of the blissit evangill of Jesus Chryst; and secoundlie, That sche menteinis that idoll, the Messe."

"Sche thinkis nocht that rebellioune," said Lethingtoun, "but goode religion."

"So thocht thai," said the uther, "that sumtymes offerit thair childerin unto Moloch, and yit the Spreit of God affirmeis that thai offerit thame unto devillis, and nocht unto God. And this day the Turkis thinkis to haif ane better religioune than the Papistis haif; and yit, I think, ye will excuse nether of thame boith from committing rebellioun aganis God: nether yit justlie can ye do the Quene, onles that ye will mak God to be parcyall."

"But yit," said Lethingtoun, "why pray ye nocht for hir without moving onie doute?"

"Becaus," said the uther, "I haif leirnit to pray in faith. Now Faith, ye know, dependis upoun the wordis of God, and so it is that the word teichis me, that prayeris proffettis the sonis and dochteris of Godis electioun, of which noumer, quhether sche be ane or nocht, I haif just cause to doute;

[1] In MS. 1566, "conversatioun."

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and, thairfoir, I pray God 'illuminat hir hairt, gif his gude plesour be.'"

"But yit," said Lethingtoun, "ye can produce the exampill of none that so hes prayit befoir you."

"Thairto I haif alreddy ansuerit," said Johne Knox; "but yit for farther declaratioun, I will demand ane questioun, quhilk is this, Quhider gif ye think that the Appossillis prayit thame selves as thai commandit utheris to pray."

"Who douttis of that?" said the haill companie that wer present.

"Weill than," said Johne Knox, "I am assureit that Peter said thir wordis to Symoun Magus, 'Repent thairfoir of this thy wyckitness, and pray to God, that gif it be possible the thought of your hairt may be forgevin thee.' Heir we may cleirlie see that Peter joynes ane conditioun with his commandiment, That Symoun sould repent and pray, to wit, gif it wer possible that his sin mycht be forgevin; for he wes nocht ignorant that sum synnis wer unto the deith, and so without all houpe of repentence or remissioun. And think ye nocht, my Lord Secretar, (said he,) but the same doute may tuich my hairt, as tuyching the Quenis conversioun, that then tuiched the hairt of the Appossill?"

"I wald nevir," said Lethingtoun, "heir you or onie uther call that in doubt."

"But your will," said the uther, "is no assurance to my conscience: And to speik frelie, my Lord, I wonder gif ye your self doute nocht of the Quenis conversioun; for more evident signes of induratioun haif appeirit, and still do appeir in hir, than Peter outwartlie could haif espyit in Symoun Magus. For albeit sum tymes he wes ane sorcerar, yit joynit he with the Appossillis, belevit, and wes bapteissit; and albeit that the venome of avarice remaneit in his hairt, and that he wald haif bocht the Holie Goist, yit when he heard the feirfull threitnyngis of God pronunceand aganis him, he trymbillitt,

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desyreit the assistance of the prayeris of the Appossilis, and so humblit him self, so far as the jugement of man could perss, lyke ane true penitent, and yit we see that Peter douttis of his conversioun. [Quhy then may not all the godly justly doubt of the conversioun[1]] of the Quene, wha hes usit idolatrie, quhilk is no less odious in the sicht of God than is the other and still continewis in the same, yea, that dispyseis all threitnyngis, and refuisses all godlie admonitiounis?"

"Quhy say ye that sche refuisses admonitioun?" said Lethingtoun. "She will glaidlie heir ony man."

"But what obedience," said the uther, "to God or to his worde, ensewis of all that is spokin unto hir? Or when sall sche be sene to gif hir presence to the publict preiching?"

"I think nevir," said Lethingtoun, "so lang as sche is thus intreittit."

"And so lang," said the uther, "ye and all utheris maun be content that I pray so as I may be assureit to be heard of my God, that his gude will may be done, ether in making hir comfortable to his Kirk, or gif that he hes appoyntit hir to be ane scurge to the same, that we may haif patience, and sche may be brydellit."

"Weill," said Lethingtoun, "lat us cum to the Secound Heid. Whair find ye that the Scriptour callis onie the bound slaiffis to Sathan? or that the Propheittis of God speik so irreverentlie of kingis and princes?"

"The Scriptour," said Johne Knox, "sayis, that 'be natour we are all the soneis of wraith.' Our Maister, Chryst Jesus, affirmes, 'that sik as do sin ar servandis to sin,' and that it is the onlie Son of God that settis men at freedome. Now what difference thair is betwix the sonnis of wraith, and the servandis of sin, and the slaiffis to the devill, I understand nocht, except I be taught; and gif the scharpnes of the terme offendit you, I haif nocht inventit that phrase of speich, but,

[1] These words are omitted in MS. 1566.

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haif leirnit it out of Godis Scriptour; for those wordis I find
Actis 26. spokin unto Paul, 'Behauld, I send thee to the Gentillis, to oppin thair eyes, that thay may turn from darknes to lycht, and from the power of Sathan unto God.' Mark thir wordis, my Lord, and sture nocht at the speiking of the Holie Goist.
2 Tim. 2. And the same Apostle wryting to his scoller Timotheus, says, 'Instruct with meiknes those that ar contrarie myndit, gif that God at onie tyme will gif thame repentence, that thay may knaw the treuth, and that thay may cum to amendment, out of the snair of the Devill, quhilk ar tackin of him at his will.' Gif your Lordschip rychtlie considder these sentences, ye sall nocht onlie find my wordis to be the wordis of the Holie Goist, but also the conditioune quhilk I use to adde, to haif the assurance of Godis Scriptouris."

"But thay spak nothing aganis kingis in especiall," said Lethingtoun, "and yit your continewall crying is, 'The Quenis Idolatrie, the Quenis Messe, will provoke Godis vengeance.'"

"In the former sentences," said the uther, "I heir nocht Kingis and Quenis excepit, but all unfaithfull ar pronunced to stand in one rank, and to be in bondage to ane tyrant, the Devill. But belyke, my Lord, ye lyttill regaird the estait whairin thay stand, when ye wald haif thame so flatterit, that the daingour thairfoir sould neither be knawin, neither yit declareit to the poore peopill."

"Quhair will ye find," said Lethingtoun, "that onie of the Propheittis did so intreat Kingis and Quenis, reuleris or magistratis?"

"In mo placeis than ane," said the uther. "Achab wes ane King, and Jesabell wes ane Quene, and yit what the Prophet Helias said to the one and to the uther, I suppois ye be nocht ignorant?"

"That wes nocht cryit out befoir the peopill," said Lethingtoun, "to mak thame odious unto thair subjectis."

"That Helias said, 'Doggis sall lyck the blude of Achab,'"

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said Johne Knox, "'and eat the flesche of Jesabell,' the Scriptouris assuris me; but that it wes whisperit in thair awin eir, or in ane cornar, I reid nocht. But the plane contrair appeiris to me, quhilk is, that boith the Peopill and the Court understude weill eneuch what the Propheit had promeissit;[1] for so witnessit Jehu, efter that Godis vengeance had strickin Jesabell."

"Thay wer singular motiounis of the Spreit of God," said Lethingtoun, "and appertene nothing to this our aige."

"Then hes the Scriptour far dissavit me," said the uther; "for Sanct Paule teichis me, that 'Whatsoevir is wryttin within the Holie Scriptouris, the same is writtin for our instructioun.' And my Maister said, that 'Everie leirnit and wyise scribe bringis furth his tresour, baith thingis auld and thingis new.' And the Propheit Jeremye affirmis, that 'Everie realme and everie cytie that lykwyse offendis, as then did Jerusalem, sould lykewyse be punischit.' Why then that the factis of the ancient Propheittis, and the feirfull jugementis of God executed befoir us upoun the disobedient, appertene nocht unto this our aige, I neither see nor yit can understand. But now, to put end to this heid, my Lord, (said he,) the Propheittis of God hes nocht spairit to rebuke wickit kingis, alsweill in thair face as befoir the pepill and subjectis. Elischa[2] feirit nocht to say to king Jehoram, 'What haif I to do with thee? Get thee to the Propheittis of thy [Father, and to the Propheittis of thy] Mother; for as the Lord of Hostis levis, in quhose sicht I stand, gif it wer nocht that I regaird the presens of Jehosaphat, the king of Juda, I wald nocht haif luikit toward thee, nor sene thee.' Plane it is, that the Propheitt wes ane subject in the kingdom of Israell, and yit how little reverence he gevis to the King, we heir. Jeremye the Propheit wes commandit to cry to the King and to the Quene, and to say, 'Behaif your selfis lawlie; execute justice and jugement;

[1] In MS. G, "pronuncit."

[2] In MS. G, "Helisias."

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or ellis your careageis salbe cassin to the heit of the day, and unto the froist of the nicht.' Unto Cononias, Sallum, and Zedechias, he speikis in speciall, and schawis into tham, in his publict sermoundis thair misserable endis; and thairfoir ye aucht nocht to think it strainge, my Lord, (said he,) albeit that the servandis of God mark the vice[1] of Kingis and Quenis, evin als weill as of uther offendouris, and that because thair synnis be moir noisum to the Commounwelth, than ar the synnis of inferiour persounis."

The moist pairt of this ressounyng, Secretour Lethingtoun leanit upoun the Maister of Maxwellis breist, who said, "I am almoist werie: I wald that sum uther wald ressoun in the chief heid, quhilk is nocht tuychit."

Then the Erle of Mortoune, Chancellour, commandit Mr. George Hay to reassoun aganis Johne Knox, in the heid of Obedience dew unto Magistratis; who began so to do. Unto whom Johne Knox said, "Brother, that ye sall ressoun in my contrair I am weill content, because I know you boith ane man of leirnyng and of modestie: but that ye sall oppone your self in the treuth whairof,[2] I suppoise, your awin conscience is no less perswaded than is mine, I can nocht weill approve; for I wald be sorie that I and ye suld be reputed to ressoun as two scolleris of Pythagoras, to schaw the quicknes of our ingyne, as it wer to ressoune on boith the pairtis. I protest heir befoir God, that whatsoevir I sustene, I do the same of conscience; yea, I dar no moir sustene ane propositioun knawin unto my self untrew, than that I dar teich false doctrine in the publict place: And thairfoir, Brother, gif conscience move you to oppone your self to that doctrine, whilk ye haif heard of my mouth in that maitter, do it bauldlie: it sall nevir offend me. But that ye sall be found to oppone[3] your self unto me, ye being perswaidit in the same treuthe, I

[1] In MS. G, "tax the vices."
[2] In MS. 1566, "quhairfoir."
[3] In MS. 1566, "oppone" is usually written "appone."

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say yit agane, it pleisses me nocht; for thairin may be gritter inconvenient than either ye or I do considder for the present."

The said Mr. George ansuerit, "That I wald oppone my self unto you as willing to impugn or confute that heid of doctrine, whilk nocht onlie ye, but monie utheris, yea, and I my self haif affirmit, far be it from me; for so sould I be found contrarious to my self. For my Lord Secretour knawis my jugement in that heid."

"Marye!" said the Secretour, "ye ar the weall worst of the twa; for I remember weill your ressonyng whan the Quene wes in Caryke."[1]

"Weill," said Johne Knox, "seing, Brother, that God hes maid you to occupy the chyre of verittie, whairin, I assure, we will aggrie in all principall heidis of doctrine, lat it nevir be said that we disaggrie in disputatioun." Johne Knox wes moved thus to speik, because he[2] understood moir of the craft than the other did.

"Weill," said Lethingtoun, "I am sumwhat better provydeit in this last heid, then I wes in the uther twa. Mr. Knox, (said he,) yisterday we heard your jugement upoun the 13 to the Romanis; we heard the mynde of the Apposill weill opened; we heard the causses why God hes establissed Poweris upoun the earth; we heard the necessitie that mankynde hes of the same; and we heard the deutie of Magistratis sufficientlie declareit: But in two thingis I wes offendit, and I think sum mo of my Lordis that than wer present. The ane was, ye maid difference betwix the ordinance of God and the persounis that wer placeit in authoritie; and ye affirmed, that men mycht refuise[3] the persounis, and yit nocht to offend againis Godis ordinance. This is the ane; the uther ye had na tyme to explane; but this methocht ye menit, that subjectis wer nocht bound to obey thair Princes gif thai com-

[1] In MS. G, "I remember yit our ressouning quhen the Quene was in Carrick."

[2] In MS. 1566, "because thai."

[3] In MS. G, "micht resist."

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mandit unlauchfull thingis; but that thai mycht resist thair Princes, and wer nocht ever bound to suffer."

"In verie deid," said the uther, "ye haif rychtlie bayth markit my wordis, and understand my mynd; for of that same jugement I haif lang bene, and so yit I remane."

"How will ye prove your divisioun and difference," said Lethingtoun, "and that the persoun placeit in authoritie may be resistit, and Godis ordinance nocht transgressit, seing that the Appossill says, 'He that resistis [the poweris,] resisteth the ordinance of God.'"

"My Lord," said he, "the plane wordis of the Appossill makis the difference, and the factis of many approved be God, prove my affirmative. First, The Appossill affirmis, that the poweris ar ordanit of God, [for the preservation of quyet and peacebill men, and for the punischment of malefactours; quhairof it is plane, That the ordinance of God,][1] and the power giffin unto man, is one thing, and the persone clad with the power or with the authoritie, is ane uther; for Godis ordinance is the conservatioun of mankynd, the punischment of vyce, the mentenyng of vertew, quhilk is in it self holie, just, constant, stable, and perpetuall. But men clad with the authoritie, ar commounlie prophane and unjust; yea, thai ar mutabill and transitorie, and subject to corruptioun, as God threitneth thame be his Prophet David, saying, 'I haif said, Ye ar godis, and everie one of you the sones of the Moist Heichest; but ye sall die as men, and the princes sall fall like utheris.' Heir I am assureit, that persounis, the saule and bodie of wyckit Princes, ar threitnit with death: I think, that so ye will nocht affirm is the authoritie, the ordinance and the power, whairwith God hes indeuit sik persounis; for as I haif said, as it is holie, so it is the permanent will of God. And now, my Lord, that the Prince may be resistit, and yit the ordinance of God nocht violatit, it is evident; for the peopill re-

[1] The words inclosed within brackets are omitted in MS. 1566.

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sistit Saule, when he had sworne be the leving God that Jonathan sould die. The peopill, (I say,) swair in the contrair, and delyverit Jonathan, so that ane hair of his heid fell nocht. Now, Saule wes the anoyntit King, and thai wer his subjectis, and yit thai so resisted him, that thai maid him no better than mansworne."

"I doute," said Lethingtoun, "if in so doing the peopill did weill."

"The Spreit of God," said the uther, "accuses thame nocht of onie cryme, but rather praisses thame, and dampnis the King, alsweill for his foolish vow and law maid without God, as for his crewell mynd, that so severlie wald haif punischit ane innocent man. But heirin I sall nocht stand: this that followis sall confirm the former. This same Saule commandit Abimelech and the Preistis of the Lord to be slane, becaus thay had committit tressoune, as he allegit, for intercommuning with David: His gaird and principall servandis walde nocht obey his unjust commandiment; but Doeg the flatterar put the Kingis crewetie to executioun. I will nocht ask your jugement, Whidder that the servandis of the King, in nocht obeying his commandiment, resisted God or nocht? or whidder Doeg, in murthering the Preastis, gaif obedience to ane just authoritie? for I haif the Spreit of God, speiking be the mouth of David, to assure me of the one alsweill as of the uther; for he, in his 52d Psalme, dampnis that fact as ane moist crewell murther; and affirmis, that God wald punisch, nocht onlie the commander, but the mercyles executour. And thairfoir, I conclude, that thai who ganestand his commandiment, resistit nocht the ordinance of God.

"And now, my Lord, to ansueir to the place of the Apposaill, who affirmis, 'That such as resistis the Power, resistis the ordinance of God;' I say, that the power in that place is nocht to be understande of the unjuste commandiment of men, but of the just power whairwith God hes armit his Magistratis

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and Lievtenentis to punische syn, and mentene vertew. As gif onie man sould interpryise to tak fra the handis of ane lauchful juge ane murderare, ane adulterar, or onie [uther] malefactour that be Godis law deserved deith, this same man resistit Godis ordinance, and procureit to him self vengeance and dampnatioune, because that he stayit Godis swordé[1] to stryke. But so it is nocht, gif that men in the feir of God oppone[2] thame selfis to the furie and blynd rage of Princes; for so thai resist nocht God, but the Devill, who abusis the swerd and authoritie of God."

"I understand sufficientlie," said Lethingtoun, "what ye mene; and to the one pairt I will nocht oppone[3] my self. But I doute of the uther. For gif the Quene wald command me [to] slay Johne Knox, because sche is offendit at him, I wald nocht obey hir. But, and sche wald command utheris to do it, or yit be ane collour of justice tak his lyffe fra him, I can nocht tell gif I be found to defend him aganis the Quene and aganis hir officiaris."

"Under protestatioun," said the uther, "that the auditour think nocht that I seik favouris to my self,[4] I say, my Lord, that gif ye be persuadeit of my innocency, and gif God hes giffin unto you sik ane power and credyt as mycht deliver me, and yit sufferit me to perisch, that in so doing ye soulde be cryminall and gyltie of my blude."

"Prove that, and win the play," said Lethingtoun.

"Weill, my Lord," said the uther, "remember your promeis, and I sall be schoirt of my probatioun. The Propheit Jeremey wes apprehendit be Preistis and Prophettis, (who wer ane pairt of the authoritie within Jerusalem,) and be the multitude of the peopill, and this sentence wes pronunceit aganis him, 'Thou sall dey the deith; for thou hes said, This hous salbe lyk Siloch, and this cytie salbe desolat without ane habitant.'

[1] In MS. 1565, "Godis worde."
[2] & [3] In MS. 1566, "appone."
[4] In MS. G, "that I speik in favours of my self."

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The Princes heiring the uprore, come from the Kingis hous, and sit doune in jugement in the entrie of the new gait of the Lordis hous, and thair the Preistis and the Prophettis befoir the Princes, and befoir all the peopill, intendit thair accusatioun, in these wordis, 'This man is worthie to dye, for he hes propheissit aganis this cytie, as your eiris haif heard.' Jeremey ansuerit, 'That whatsoevir he had spokin proceidit from God; and thairfoir, (said he,) as for me, I am in your handis: do with me as ye think gude and rycht: But knaw ye for certane, that if ye put me to deith, ye sall surelie bring innocent blude upoun your saulis,[1] and upoun this cytie, and upoun the habitatiounis[2] thairof; for of treuth, the Lord hes send me unto you, to speik all these wordis.' Now, my Lord, gif the Princes and the hole peopill sould haif bene gyltie of the Propheittis blude, how sall ye or utheris be jugeit innocent befoir God, gif ye sall suffer the blude of sik as haif nocht deservit deith to be sched, when that ye may save it?"

"The cases ar nothing lyke," said Lethingtoun.

"And I wald learn," said the uther, "whairin the dissymilitude standis."

"First," said Lethingtoun, "the King had nocht condampnit him to the deith. And nixt, the false Propheittis and the Preistis and the peopill accuseit him without ane caus, and thairfoir thai could nocht but be gyltie of his blude."

"Nether of these," said Johne Knox, "fechtis aganis my argument; for albeit the King wes nether present, nor yit had condampnit him, yit wer the princes and cheif counsallouris thair sytting in jugement, who presentit the Kingis persoune and authoritie, heiring the accusatioune laid unto the chairge off the Propheit; and thairfoir he foirwairnis thame of the dainger, as befoir I said, to wit, that in case he soulde be condampnit, and so put to deith, that the King, the Counsell, and the whole cytie of Jerusalem, soulde be gyltie of his blude,

[1] In MS. G, "yourselves." [2] In MS. G, "inhabitants."

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becaus he had committit no cryme worthy of deith. And gif ye think, that thai soulde haif bene all cryminall onelie, becaus that thay all accuseit him, the plane text witnesses the contrair; for the princes defendit him, and so no doute did a greit pairt of the peopill; and yit he bauldlie affirmis, that thai soulde be all gyltie of his blude gif that he soulde be put to deith. And the propheit Ezechiell gifis the ressoune why all are guilty of ane commoune corruptioume, 'Becaus,' sayis he, 'I socht ane man amangis thame that soulde mak [up] the hedge, and stand in the gappe befoir me for the land, that I soulde nocht distroy it, but I fand none; thairfoir, haif I powrit my indignatioune upoun thame.' Heirof, my Lorde, (said he,) it is plaine, that God craveis nocht onlie that a man do no iniquittie in his awin persoune, but also that he oppone[1] him self to all iniquitie, sa far furth as into him lyis."

"Than will ye," said Lethingtoun, "mak subjectis to controlle thair prynces and reuleris."

"And what harm," said the uther, "soulde the Commounewelth ressaif, gif that the corrupt effectiounis off ignorant reuleris wer moderatit, and so brydillit be the wisdome and discretioun of godlie subjectis, that thai soulde do wrang nor violence to no man?"

"All this ressonyng," said Lethingtoun, "is nocht of the purpois; for we ressoune as gif the Quene soulde becum sik an ennemye to oure religioune, that sche soulde persecute it, and put innocent men to deith; whilk I am assureit sche nevir thocht, nor nevir will do. For gif I soulde see hir begin at that end, yea, gif I soulde suspect onie sik thing in hir, I soulde be also far fordwarte in that argument as ye or onie uther within this Realme: Bot thair is nocht sik ane thing. Oure questioune is, Whidder that we may and aucht to suppres the Quenis Messe? Or whidder hir Idolatrie salbe laid to our chairge?"

[1] In MS. 1566, "that to heip upone."

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"What ye may," said the uther, "be force, I disput nocht; bot what ye may and aucht to do be Godis express commandiment, that I can tell. Idolatrie aucht nocht [only] to be suppressit, but the idolater aucht to dey the deith, unless that we will accuse God."

"I knaw," said Lethingtoun, "the idolater is commandit to dey the deith; but be whome?"

"Be the peopill of God," said the uther; "for the commandiment wes gevin to Israell, as ye may reid, 'Heir, Israell,' sayis the Lorde, 'the statutis and the ordinancis of the Lord thy God,' &c. Yea, ane [commandment] wes gevin, That gif it be heard that idolatrie is committit in onie ane cytie, inquisitioune salbe taikin; and gif it be founde trew, that than the whole bodie of the peopill sall aryse and destroy that cytie, spairing in it nether man, woman, nor chylde."

"But thair is no commandiment gevin to the peopill," said the Secretour, "to punisch thair King gif he be ane idoliter."

"I find no moir privilege grantit unto Kingis," said the uther, "be God, moir than unto the peopill, to offend Godis majestie."

"I grant," said Lethingtoun; "but yit the peopill may nocht be jugeis unto thair King to punisch him, albeit he be ane idolater."

"God," said the uther, "is the Universall Judge, alsweill unto the King as to the peopill; so that what his worde commandis to be punischit in the one, is nocht to be absolved in the uther."

"We agree in that," said Lethingtoun; "but the peopill may nocht execute Godis jugement, but man leif it unto him self, who will either punische it be deith, be war, be emprisounment, or be sum uther plaigis."[1]

"I knaw the last pairt of your reasoune," said Johne Knox, "to be trew; but for the first, to wit, that the peopill, yea, or ane pairt of the peopill may nocht execut God jugementis

[1] In MS. G, "or be sum uther kynd of his plagues."

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aganis thair King, being ane offender, I am assureit ye haif no uther warrand except your awin imaginatioun, and the opinioune of sik as moir feir to offend princes than God."

"Why say ye so?" said Lethingtoun, "I haif the jugementis of the most famous men within Europe, and of sik as ye your self will confes boith godlie and leirnit."

And with that he callit for his paperis, quhilk produceit be Mr. Robert Maitland,[1] he began to reid with greit gravitie the jugementis of Luther, Melanchton, the myndis of Bucer, Musculus, and Calvin, how Christianis soulde behaffe thame selffis in tyme of persecutioun: yea, the Buik of Baruch wes nocht omittit with this conclusioune.[2] "The gathering of these thingis," said he, "hes coist moir travell, than I tuik this sevin yearis in reiding of anie commentareis."

"The moir pitie," said the uther, "and yit, what ye haif proffeitit your awin cause, let utheris juge. But as for my argument, I am assureit, ye haif infirmit it nothing; for your first two witnesses speik aganis the Anabaptistis, who deny that Christianis soulde be subject to magistratis, or yit that is lauchfull for ane Christiane to be ane magistrate; quhilk opinioune I no less abhore than ye do, or onie uther that levis do. The uthers speik of Christiane subjectis unto tyrantis and infidellis, so dispersed that thai haif no uther force but onlie to sobbe to God for delyverance. That sik indeid sould haisard onie farder than these godlie men willis thame, I can nocht haistellie be of counsell. But my argument hes ane uther grounde; for I speik of the peopill assembled togidder in

[1] Mr. Robert Maitland was Dean of Aberdeen, having succeeded Mr. Robert Erskine, about the year 1560. He was frequently a member of the General Assembly, and became one of the Commissaries of Edinburgh. He died at Brechin in August 1579. In his confirmed Testament, (recorded 19th August 1580,) mention is made of his brother-german, James Maitland, in Monlaittie; and in 1601, the name occurs (probably his nephew) of Mr. Robert Maitland of Monlatie. (Eccl. Records of Aberdeen, p. 177.)

[2] In MS. 1566, "yea, the Buik of Baruce was nocht admitted, with his conclusioun."

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one bodie of ane Commounewelth, unto whome God hes gevin sufficient force, nocht onlie to resyst, but also to suppres all kynde of opin idolatrie: and sik ane peopill, yit agane I affirme, ar bound to kepe thair land clene and unpollutit. And that this my devissioune sall nocht appeir strange unto you, ye sall understand, that God requyreit one thing of Abrahame and of his seid, when he and thay wer strangeris and pilgremes in Egipte and Canaan; and ane uther thing requyrit he of thame, when thay wer delyverit fra the boundage of Egipt, and the possessioune of the land of Canaan grantit unto thame. At the first, and during all the tyme of thair boundage, God craveit no moir but that Abraham soulde nocht defyle himself with idolatrie. Nether wes he, nor yit his posterittie commandit to distroy the idollis that wer in Canaan or in Egypt. But when God gaif unto thame the possessioune of the land, he gaif unto thame this strait commandiment, 'Bewar that you mak league or confyderacye with the inhabitantis of this land: gif nocht thy sonnis unto thair dochteris, nor yit gif thy douchteris unto thair sonnis. But this sall ye do unto thame, cut downe thair grovis, destroy thair imageis, brek doune thair altaris, and leif thou no kynde of remembrance of those abominatiounis, whilk the inhabitantis of the land useit befoir: for thou art ane holie peopill unto the Lorde thy God. Defyle nocht thy self, thairwith, with thair goddis.'

"To this same commandiment, I say, are ye, my Lordis, and all sik as haif professit the Lorde Jesus within this Realme bound. For God hes wrocht no less myrakill upoun you, baith spirituall and corporall, than he did unto the carnell seid of Abraham. For in what estait your bodyis, and this pure Realme wes, within this sevin yeir, your selfis can nocht be ignorant: You and it wer boith in boundage of ane strange natioun; and what tyrrantis rang over your conscience, God perchance may lat you feill, becaus that ye do nocht rychtlie acknawlege the benefit ressavit. When oure pure Bretherin

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befoir us gave thair bodeis to the flamis of fyre, for the testimonie of the treuthe, and when skairslie coulde ten be founde into ane contrie, that rychtlie knew God, it had bene folishnes to haif craveit ether of the Nobillitie, or of the meane Subjectis, the suppressing of Idolatrie; for that had beene no thing but to haif exponeit the sempill scheip in ane prey to the woulves. But sen that God hes multipleyit knawlege, yea, and hes gevin the victorie to his treuthe, evin in the handis of his servandis, gif ye suffer the land agane to be defyleit, ye and your Princess sall boith drink the coupe of Godis indignatioun, sche for hir obstinat abydeing in manifest idolatrie, in this grit lycht of the Evangill of Jesus Chryste, and ye for your permissioune and mentenyng hir in the same."[1]

Lethingtoun said, "In that poynt we will nevir agree; and whair find ye, I pray you, that evir onie of the Prophettis or of the Appossillis taucht sik ane doctrine, that the peopill soulde be plaigit for the idolatrie of the prince; or yit, that the subjectis mycht suppres the idolatrie of thair rewleris, or punisch thame for the same?"

"What wes the commissioune giffin to the Appossillis," said he, "my Lorde, we knaw: it wes to preche and plant the Evangill of Jesus Chryste, whair darkness affoir had dominioune; and thairfoir it behuifit thame, first to lat thame see the lycht befoir that thay soulde will thame to put to thair handis to suppress idolatrie. What preceptis the Appossillis gaif unto the faythfull in perticular, other than that thai commandit all to fley frome idolatrie, I will nocht affirme: But I find two thingis quhilk the faithfull did; the one wes, thay assisted thair preichouris, evin aganeis the reuleris and magistrates; the other wes, thay suppressit idolatrie whairsoever God gaif unto thame force, asking no leif at the Empriour, nor of his deputtis. Reid the Ecclesiasticall Historie, and ye sall find exampill suffi-

[1] In MS. G, there is this marginal note, which, we may suppose, was added by the transcriber: "QUHIDDER THIS HES CUM TO PAS OR NOT, LET THE WARLD JUDGE."

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cient. And as to the doctrine of the Prophettis, we knaw thay wer interpretouris of the law of God; and we knaw thay spak alsweill to the kingis as to the peopill. I reid that nether of boith wald heir thame; and thairfoir come the plaig of God upoun boith. But that thai more flatterit Kingis than that thay did the peopill, I can nocht be persuadit. Now, Godis lawis pronunces deith, as befoir I haif said, to idolateris withoute exceptioune of onie persoune: Now, how the Propheittis coulde rychtlie interpret the law, and schew the causes of Godis jugementis, quhilk evir thay threitned soulde follow idolatrie, and for the rest of abominatiounis that accumpaney it, for it is nevir alone; but still corrupt religioune bringis with it ane fylthie and corrupt lyfe: How, I say, the Propheittis coulde reprove the vyces, and nocht schaw the peopill thair dewtie, I understand nocht; and thairfoir I constantlie beleif that the doctrine of the Prophettis wes so sensible, that the Kingis understude thair awin abhominatiounis, and the peopill understude what thay aucht to haif done, in punisching and repressing thame. But becaus that the moist pairt of the pepill wer no less rebellious unto God than wer thair princes, thairfoir the ane and the uther conveineit aganis God and aganis his servandis. And yit, my Lord, the factis of sum Propheittis ar so evident, that thairof we may collect what doctrine thay taucht; for it war no small absurdity to affirme that thair factis soulde repugn to their doctrine."

"I think," said Lethingtoun, "ye meane of the historie of Jehu. What will ye prove thairby?"

"The cheif heid," said Johne Knox, "that ye deny, to wit, That the Propheittis nevir taucht that it appertenit to the peopill to punisch the idolatrie of thair Kingis; the contrair whairof I affirm: And for the probatioun, I am reddie to produce the fact of ane Propheit; for ye knaw, my Lord, said he, that Eliseus send one of the childrene of the Propheittis to anoynt Jehu, who gaif him in commandiment to destroy the

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hous of his maister Achab for the idolatrie commitit be him, and for the innocent blude that Jesabell his wyckit wyff had sched: quhilk he obeyit, and pat in full execution; for the quhilk God promessit unto him the stabillatie of the kingdom to the fourt generation. Now, said he, heir is the fact of ane Propheit, that proveis that subjectis wer commandit to execute jugementis upoun thair King and Prince."

"Thair is eneuch," said Lethingtoun, "to be ansuerit thairto; for Jehu wes ane King befoir he pat onie thing in execution; and besydis this, the fact is extraordinarie, and aucht nocht to be imitat."

"My Lord," said the uther, "he wes ane meir subject, and no King whan the Propheittis servand came unto him; yea, and albeit that his fellow capitanis, heiring of the message, blew the trumphet, and said, 'Jehu is king;' yit I doute nocht, but Jesabell boith thocht and said, 'He wes ane traitour;' and so did monie utheris that wer in Israell and in Samaria. And as tuiching that ye allege, that the fact wes extraordinarie, and is nocht to be imitat, I say, that it had ground of Godis ordinary jugement, whilk commandis the idolater to dey the deith; and, thairfoir, I yit agane affirme, that it is to be imitat of all those that prefferis the true honour, the true worschip and glorie of God, to the affectiounis of flesch, and of wickit Princes."[1]

"We ar nocht bound to imitat extraordinarie exampillis," said Lethingtoun, "unles we haif the lyke commandiment and assurance."

"I grant," said the uther, "gif the exampill repugn to the law; and gif ane avaricious and deceitfull man wald borrow [gold,] silver, rayment, or [ony] uther necessaris from his nyghtbour, and withhauld the same, alledging, that so thay

[1] The conclusion of this sentence is corrected by MS. G. In MS. 1566, the words are here awkwardly transposed; and various others in this Disputation have either been omitted, or inaccurately transcribed.

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mycht do and nocht offend God, because that the Iseraellitis did so to the Egiptianis at thair depairtour furth of Egipt. The exampill served to no purpoise unles that thai coulde produce the lyke cause, and the lyke commandiment that the Iseraellitis had, and that because thair fact repugnit to this commandiment of God, 'Thou sall nocht steill.' But whair the exampill aggreis with the law, and is, as it wer, the executioun of Godis jugementis expressit in the same, I say, that the exampill approved of God standis to us in place of a commandiment: for, as God of his natour is constant, immutable, sa can he nocht dampne in the aigis subsequent, that whilk he hes approvit in his servandis befoir us. But in his servandis befoir us, He be his awin commandiment hes approvit, that subjectis hes nocht onlie distroyit thair Kingis for idolatrie, but also hes ruitit out thair hoill posteritie, so that none of that race wes left efter to impyre above the peopill of God."

"Whatsoevir thai did," said Lethingtoun, "wes done at Godis commandiment."

"That fortifeis my argument," said the uther; "for be Godis commandiment he approvit, that subjectis punish thair Princes[1] for idolatrie and wickitness be thame committit."

"We haif nocht the lyke commandiment," said Lethingtoun.

"That I deny," said the uther; "for the commandiment, 'The idolater sall dey the deith,' is perpetuall, as [ye] your self hes grantit: You douttit onlie who sould be executouris againis the King; and I said the peopill of God, and hes sufficientlie provin, as I think, that God hes raissit up the peopill, and by his Propheit hes anoyntit ane King to tak vengeance upoun the King, and upoun his posteritie. Quhilk fact, God sen that tyme hes nevir retreittit; and, thairfoir, to me it remanis for ane constant and cleane commandiment to all the peopill professing God, and haifing the power to punisch vyce, what thay aucht to do in the lyke caise. Gif the peopill had

[1] In MS. G, "thair Kings."

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interprysit onie thing without Godis commandiment, we mycht haif doutit whidder thai had done weill or evill; but seing that God did bring the execution of his law agane in practice, efter that it wes cum in oblivioun and contempt, what ressonable man can doute now of Goddis will, unles we will doute of all thingis quhilk God renewis nocht unto us be miracallis, as it wer from age to age. But I am assureit, that the ansuer of Abraham unto the riche man, who being into hell, desyreit that Lazarus, or sum of the deid, sould be send unto his bretherin and freindis, to foirwairne thame of his incredable [pane and] tormentis, and that thay sould behaif thame selfis, so that thai sould nocht cum in that place of torment: the ansuer, I say, gevin unto him, sall confound sik as craif farder approbatioun of Godis will then is alreddy expressit within his holie Scriptouris; for Abraham said, 'Thay haif Moyses and the Propheittis, whome gif thay will nocht beleif, neither will thay beleif albeit that one of the deid sould ryise.' Evin so, I say, my Lord, that sik as will nocht be taucht what thay aucht to do, be commandiment of God anis gevin, and anis put in practice, will nocht beleif nor obey, albeit that God sould send angellis from hevin to instruct that doctrine."

"Ye haif but produceit ane exampill," said Lethingtoun.

"One sufficeth," said the uther; "but yit, God be praissit, we lack nocht utheris; for the whole peopill conspyreit aganis
2 PARALI. 2.[1] Amasiath king of Juda, efter that he had turnit away from the Lord, followit him to Lachess and slew him, and tuik Uziah and anoyntit him king in steid of his father. The peopill had nocht altogidder forgottin[2] the league and covenant quhilk wes maid betwix thair king and thame, at the inauguratioun of Joash, his father, to wit, 'That the King and the peopill sould be the peopill of the Lord,' and than sould thai be his faythfull subjectis: From the quhilk convenant, whan that first the father, and efter the sonne declynit, thai wer

[1] See page 427, note 1.

[2] In MS. 1566, "gottin."

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boith punischit to the deith, Joash be his awin servandis, and Amasias be the whole peopill."

"I doubt," said Lethingtoun, "whidder thay did weill or nocht."

"It salbe free for you," said the uther, "to doubt as ye pleis; but whair I find executioun according to Godis lawis, and God him self nocht to accuse the doaris, I dar nocht doubt of the equittie of thair cause. And farder, it appeiris unto me, that God gaif sufficient approbatioun and allowance to thair fact; for he blissit thame with victorie, peace, and prosperitie, the space of fifty-two yeiris thairafter."

"But prosperitie," said Lethingtoun, "does nocht alwayis prove that God approveis the factis of men."

"Yis," said the uther; "when the factis[1] of men aggrie with the law of God, and ar rewairdit according to Godis awin promeise, expressit in his law, I say, that the prosperitie succeiding the fact is moist infallable assurance that God hes approvit that fact. Now so it is, that God hes promeissit in his law, that when his peopill sall exterminat and destroy sik as declyne from him, that he will bliss thame, and multipley thame, as he hes promeissit unto thair fatheris. But so it is, that Amasias turneit fra God; for so the text do witness; and plane it is the peopill slew thair king; and lyke plane it is, that God blissit thame: Thairfoir, yit agane conclude I, that God approvit thair fact, in so far as it wes done according to his commandiment, wes blissit according to his promeise."

"Weill," said Lethingtoun, "I think nocht the ground sa sure as I durst builde my conscience thairupoun."

"I pray God," said the uther, "that your conscience haif no worse ground than is this, when soevir ye sall begin that lyke work whilk God in your awin eis hes alreddie blessit. And now, my Lord, (said he,) I haif but one exampeill to produce, and than I will put [an] end to my ressonying, becaus I

[1] In MS. 1566, "faltis."

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wearie langer to stand." (Commandiment wes gevin that he sould sytt doune; but he refuissit it, and said, "Melancholius[1] ressouns wald haif sum myrth intermixed.") "My last exampill, (said he,) my Lord, is this:—Uzzias the King, nocht content of his royal estait, malepeirtlie tuk upoun him to enter within the temple of the Lord, to burne incense upoun the alter of incense; 'And Azarias the preist went in efter him, and with him fourscore preistis of the Lord, vailseant men, and thay withstude Uzzias the king, and said unto him, It pertenith thee nocht, Uzzias,[2] to burne incense unto the Lord, but to the preistis, the sonnis of Aaroune, that ar consecratit to offer incense: Go furth of the sanctuary, for thou hes transgressit, and you sall haif no honour of the Lord God.' Heirof, my Lord, I conclude, that subjectis nocht onlie may, but also aucht to withstand and resist thair princes, whensoever thay do onie thing that expreslie repugnis to God, his law, or holie ordinance."

"Thay that withstude the King," said Lethingtoun, "wer nocht sempill subjectis, but wer the Preistis of the Lord, and figoureis of Chryste, and sik preistis haif we none this day, to withstand Kingis gif thay do wrang."

"That the Hye Preist wes the figour of Chryste," said the uther, "I grant: but that he wes nocht ane subject, that I deny. For I am assureit, that he in his priestheid had no prerogative above those that had passit befoir him. Now, so it is, that Aaroune wes subject unto Moyses, and callit him his Lord. Samuell, being boith propheit and preist, subject him self to Saule, efter he wes inaugurat of the peopill. Sadock bowit befoir David; and Abiathar wes depossit frome the preistheid be Salamoune, quhilkis all confessit thame selfis subjectis to the Kingis, albeit that thairwith thei ceissit nocht to be the figouris of Christe. And whairas ye say, that we

[1] In MS. 1566, "malankourelie;" in MS. L 8, "malancholik."

[2] In MS. G, "it apperteneth not unto Uzzias."

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haif no sik preistis this day, I mycht answer, that nether haif we sik Kingis this day as than wer annoyntit at Godis commandiment, and sat upoun the seit of David, and wer no les the figour of Chryste Jesus in thair juste administratioun, then wer the preistis in thair appoyntit office: and sik Kingis, I am assureit, we haif nocht now moir than that we haif sik preistis: for Chryste Jesus being annoyntit in our natour, of God his Father, both King, Priest, and Prophet, hes put an end to all externall unctioune. And yit, I think, ye will nocht say, that God hes now diminiseit his graceis for those whome he appoyntis ambassadouris betwix him and his peopill, [more] than that he dois from kingis and princes; and thairfoir, why that the servandis of Jesus Chryste may not alse justlie withstand kingis and princes, that this day no less offendit Godis majestie than Uzzias did, I see nocht, onless that ye will say, that we, in the brychtnes of the Evangill, ar nocht sa straitlie bound to regaird Godis glorie, nor yit his commandimentis. as wer the fatheris that leiffit under the dark schaddowis of the Law."

"Weill," said Lethingtoun, "I will dip no farder in that heid. But how resisted the Preistis the King? Thai onelie spak unto him without farder violence intendit."

"That thay withstude him," said the other, "the text assureis me; but that thay did nothing but speik, I can nocht understand; for the plane text affirms the contrair, to wit, that thay caused him haistilie to depairt frome the sanctuarie, yea, and that he wes compellit to depairt: quhilk maner of speiking, I am assureit in the Hebrew toung impoirtis uther thing than exhoirting, or commanding by worde."

"Thay did that," said Lethingtoun, "efter that he wes espyit leaprous."

"Thay withstude him befoir," said the other; "but yit thair last fact confermes my propositioune so evidentlie, that sik as will oppone thame unto it, moist neidis oppone thame

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unto God; for my assertioun is, that kingis haif no previlege moir than has the peopill to offend Godis majestie; and gif that so thay do, thay ar no moir exempted from the punischment of the law than is onie uther subject; yea, and that subjectis may nocht onlie lauchfullie oppone thame selfis to thair kingis, whensoevir thay do onie thing that expressedlie repugnes to Goddis commandiment, but also that thay may execute jugement upoun thame according to Goddis law; so that [if] the king be ane murtherar, adulterar, or idolater, he soulde suffer according to Godis law, nocht as ane king, but as ane offender, and that the peopill may put Godis lawis in executioune, this Historie cleirlie proveis: for how soon that the leprosie appeirit[1] in his foirheid, he wes nocht onelie compellit to depairt oute of the sanctuarie, but also he was removeit frome all publick socyetie and administratioune of the kingdome, and wes compellit to dwell in ane house ane pairt, evin as the law commandit, and gat no grytter privilage in that cais than onie uther of the peopill soulde haif done; and this wes executit be the peopill; for it is no doute mo wer witnesses of his leprossie than the preistis allone. But we fynd none oppone thame selfis to the sentence of God pronounced in his law aganis the leprouse; and thairfoir, yit agane say I, that the peopill aucht to execute Goddis law evin aganis thair princes, when that thair oppin crymes be Godis law deserve deith, but especialie when thay ar sik as may infect the rest of the multitude. And now, my Lordis, (said he,) I will ressoune no langer, for I haif spokin moir than I intendit."

"And yit," said Lethingtoun, "I can nocht tell what can be concludit."

"Albeit ye can nocht," said the uther, "yit I am assureit what I haif provin, to wit:—

"1. That subjectis haif delyverit ane innocent frome the handis of thair King, and thairintill offendit nocht God.

[1] In MSS. G, and L 3, "the leprosie was espyed."

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"2. That subjectis haif refuseit to stryke innocentis whan ane King commandit, and in so doing denyit no just obedience.

"3. That sik as struck at the commandiment of the King befoir God wer reputed murtheraris.

"4. That God hes nocht onlie of ane subject maid ane King, but also hes airmit subjectis aganis thair naturall Kings, and commandit thame to tak vengence upoun thame according to his law.

"And, last, That Godis pepill hes executit Godis law aganis thair King, having no farther regaird to him in that behalf, than gif he had bene the moist simpill subject within this Realme.

"And thairfoir, albeit ye will not understand what sould be concludeit, yit I am[1] assureit that nocht onlie Goddis pepill [may], but also, that thai ar bounde to do the same whair the lyke crymes ar committit, and when he gevis unto thame the lyke power.".

"Weill," said Lethingtoun, "I think ye sall nocht haif monie leirnit men of your oppinioun."

"My Lord," said the uther, "the treuthe ceisses nocht to be the treuthe, howsoevir it be that men [either] misknaw it, or yit ganestand it. And yit, (said he,) I praise my God, I lack nocht the consent of Godis servandis in that heid." And with that he presentit unto the Secretour the Apologie of Magdeburgh;[2] and willit him to reid the names of the Mynisteris who had subscribed the defence of the Toune to be ane moist juste defence; and thairwith addit, "That to resist ane tyrant, is not to resist God, nor yit his ordinance."

[1] In MS. G, "I am not."

[2] Magdeburg, in the province of Saxony, is a town of ancient date, and of importance from its situation. It was involved in disputes with Austria, on account of the protection which it granted to Lutheranism. This drew upon it the ban of the Empire, followed by a siege in 1550, which endured for twelve months; but a treaty was concluded in 1551, without the Magdeburgers being betrayed into any mean submission to the Emperor. (See Robertson's Charles V., Book x.)

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Whilk whén he had read, he scripped and said, "*Homines obscuri.*"[1] The uther ansuerit, "*Dei tamen servi.*"[2]

And [so] Lethingtoun arose and said, "My Lordis, ye haif hard the ressounis upoun boith pairteis: it becumis you now to decyde, and [to] put ane ordour unto preicheouris, that thay may be uniforme in doctrine. May we, think ye, tak the Queenis Messe frome hir?"

Whille that sum began to geif thair voittis, for sum wer appoyntit, as it wer, leaderis to the rest, Johne Knox said, "My Lordis, I suppois that ye will nocht [do] contrair to your [Lordshipis] promeis, maid to the whole Assemblie, whilk was, That nothing soulde be voited in secreit, till that the first all maitteris soulde be debaittit in publict, and that than the voittis of the whole Assemblie sould put an end to the controversie. Now haif I onelie sustenit the argument, and haif rather schawin my conscience in moist simpill maner, than that I haif insystit upoun the force and vehemence of onie ane argument: And thairfoir I, for my pairt, utterlie dissassent frome all voitting, till that the whole Assemblie haif hard the propositiounis and the ressounis of boith pairteis. For I unfeinyeitlie acknawlege, that monie in this cumpanie ar moir abill to sustene the argument than I am."

"Think ye it ressonable," said Lethingtoun, "that sik ane multitude [as] ar now convenit, soulde ressoune and voit in these heidis and matteris that concerne the Quenis Majesties awin persoune and effairis?"

"I think," said the uther, "that whatsoevir soulde bind, the multitude soulde heir, unless that thai haif resignit thair power unto thair Commissioneris, whilk thai haif nocht done, sua far as I understand; for my Lord Justice-Clark heard thame with ane voice say, That in no wayis wald thai consent that onie thing soulde ether here be voited or concludit."

"I can nocht tell," said Lethingtoun, "[if] that my Lordis

[1] That is, "Men of no note." [2] That is, "Servants of God however."

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that be heir present, and that beir the burding of sik maitteris, soulde be bounde to thair will. What say ye, (said he,) my Lordis? Will ye voit in this maitter, or will ye nocht voit?"

Efter lang ressonyng, sum that wer maid for the purpois said, "Why may nocht the Lordis voit, and than schaw unto the Kirk whatsoevir is done?"

"That appeiris to me," said Johne Knox, "nocht onlie ane backwart ordour, but also ane tyrranie usurpeit upoun the Kirk: But for me, do as ye list, (said he,) for as I ressoune, so I voit; yit protesting as befoir, that I dissent frome all voiting, till that the hoill Assemblie understand alsweill the questiounis as the ressonyngis."

"Weill," said Lethingtoun, "that can nocht be done now, for the tyme is spent; and thairfoir, my Lorde Chanceler, (said he,) ask ye the voittis, and tak [be course] everie ane of the Mynisteris, and ane of us."

MR. JOHNE DOUGLAS RECTOUR.

And so wes the Rectour of Sanctandreis[1] commanded first to speik his conscience; who said, "I reffer to the Superintendant of Fyffe, for I think we ar boith in one jugement; and yit, (said he,) gif ye will that I speik first, my conscience is this, That gif the Quene oppone hir self to oure religioun, whilk is the onelie trew religioun, that in that caise the Nobillitie and Estaitis of this Realme, professouris[2] of the trew doctrine, may

[1] At page 286 of the former volume, a brief notice of Douglas is given, in order to show that he must be distinguished from John Douglas, a Carmalite Friar, who, forsaking his order, became in 1558, Chaplain to the Earl of Argyle. As stated in the note referred to, Mr. John Douglas was elected Provost of St. Mary's College, St. Andrews, in 1547. He was also elected for a long series of years Rector of the University; and having embraced the Reformed opinions, he still continued his residence at St. Andrews, retaining his situation as Provost of the College. In 1571, when "an auld feeble man," by a compromise with the Earl of Morton, he was nominated to the See of St. Andrews: Knox having refused to inaugurate him, the ceremony was performed by Mr. John Wynrame. (M'Crie's Life of Knox.) According to his Confirmed Testament, 29th January 1574-5, "Johne Archbishop of Sanctandrois, &c. died in (blank) 1574;" and it shows that his nominal dignity had not enriched him. The Summa of his Inventar amounted only to £280, 4s. 4d., and this included "Item, his L[ordship's] liberall [library] of bukis, extending to ane hundreth pundis."

[2] In MS. G, "that have professit."

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justlie oppone thame selffis unto hir. But as concernyng hir awin Messe, I knaw it is idolatrie, but yit I am nocht yit resolved, whidder that be violence we may tack it frome hir or nocht." The Superintendant of Fyffe[1] said, "That same is my conscience." And so affirmit sum of the Nobillitie. But utheris voitted frankley, and said, "That as the Messe wes abominatioun, so wes it juste and rycht that it soulde be suppressit;[2] and that in so doing, men did no moir wrong to the Quenis Majestie than thay that soulde be force tak frome hir ane poysonit coupe when sche wes going to drink it."

MR. JOHN CRAIG.

At last, Mr. Johne Craig,[3] fellow-minister with Johne Knox in the Kirk of Edinburgh, wes requyreit to gif his jugement and vote, who said, "I will glaidlie schaw unto your Honouris what I understand; but I gritlie doubt whidder my knawlege and conscience sall satisfy you, seing that ye haif heard so monie ressounis and ar so lyttil moved be thame. But yit I sall nocht conceill from you my jugement, adhering first to the protestatioun of my Brother, to wit, That our voitting prejudge nocht the lybertie of the Generall Assembly. I wes, (said he,) in the Universitie of Bononia,[4] in the yeir of God 1554,[5] whair, in the place of the Blak-Freiris of the same

[1] Mr. John Wynrame. See note in vol. i. p. 150. As Sub-prior of St. Andrews, he sat as one of the Judges at the trials of Sir John Borthwick in 1540, of George Wishart in 1546, and of Walter Myln in 1550. In 1549, at the Provincial Council held at Edinburgh, he is styled "M. Johannes Wynrame Ecclesiæ Metrop. Primitialis S. Andreæ, Canonicus Regularis, et Supprior, Theologiæ Doctor." He survived till the year 1582, when he died at the advanced age of ninety.

[2] In MSS. G, and L 4, "repressed."

[3] Mr. John Craig was born in 1512, became a Dominican Friar, and narrowly escaped from a sentence of the Inquisition at Rome, which had condemned him to the flames as a heretic in 1559. He at length succeeded in reaching Scotland. He was minister of the Canongate for a short time, before he was appointed Knox's colleague. He was translated from Edinburgh to New Aberdeen before 1574; but was brought back as King's Minister in July 1580. He survived till the year 1600, and died at the advanced age of eighty-eight. (M'Crie's Life of Knox, vol. ii. p. 53-57; Wodrow Miscellany, vol. i. p. 455.)

[4] The Latin name of Bologna.

[5] So also in MS. L 8; but in MS. A i, the date is "1550;" in MSS. L 4, and M, "1553." MS. G, makes it "1562"—an obvious mistake, as Craig returned to Scotland in 1560, and is not known to have left it at any subsequent period.

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toune, I saw in the tyme of thair Generall Assemblie this Conclusioun set furth: This same I hard ressoned, determined, and concludit:—

CONCLUSIO.

"PRINCIPES omnes, tam supremi, quam inferiores, possunt et debent reformari, vel deponi per eos, per quos eliguntur, confirmantur, vel admittuntur ad officium, quoties a fide præstita subditis per juramentum deficiunt: Quoniam relatio juramenti subditorum et principum mutua est, et utrinque æquo jure servanda et reformanda, juxta legem et conditionem juramenti ab utraque parte facti."

"That is, All Reuleris, be thay supreame or be thay inferiour, may and aucht to be reformed or deposed be thame be whom thay ar chosin, confirmed, or admitted to thair office, as oft as thay brak that promeis maid be the oath to thair subjectis: Because that thair Prince is no less bound be oath to the subjectis, then is the subjectis to thair Princeis, and thairfoir aucht to be keipit and reformed equallie, according to the law and conditioun of the oath that is maid of other partie."

"This Conclusioun, my Lordis, I heard sustenit and concludit, as I haif said, in ane moist notabill auditour. The sustenar wes ane leirnit man, M. Thomas de Finola, the Rectour of the Universitie, ane man famous in that cuntrie. Magister Vincentius de Placentia, affirmed the Conclusioun to be moist true and certane, agreable boith with the law of God and man. The occasioun of this Disputatioun and Conclusioun, wes ane certene disordour and tyrranie that wes attempit be the Paipes Governouris, who began to mak innovationis in the cuntrie aganis the lawis that wer befoir establischit, alledging thame selfis nocht to be subject to sik lawis, be ressoune that thay wer nocht institute be the peopill, but be the Paip, who wes King of that cuntrie; and, thairfoir thay, haifing full commissioun and authoritie of the Paip,

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mycht alter and change statuteis and ordinanceis of the cuntrie, without all consent of the peopill. Aganis this [thair] usurped tyrranie, the leirnit and the peopill opponeit thame selffis opinlie: and when that all ressounis whilk the Paipis governouris could allege wer heard and confuted, the Paip him self wes fane to tak up the maitter, and to promeis to keip nocht onlie the lybertie of the peopill, but also that he sould neither abrogat[1] onie law [or] statute, neither yit mak onie new law without thair awin consent. And, thairfoir, my Lord, (said he,) my vote and consience is, that Princes ar nocht onlie bound to keip lawis and promeisses to thair subjectis, but also, that in caise thai faill, thay justlie may be deposeit; for the band betwix the Prince and the Peopill is reciproce."

Then start [up] ane claw-back of that corrupt Court, and said, "Ye wat nocht what ye say; for ye tell us what wes done in Bononia; we ar ane kingdome, and thai ar but ane Commounwelth."

"My Lord," said he, "my jugement is, that everie kingdom is, or at leist, sould be ane Commounwelth, albeit that everie Commounwelth be nocht ane kingdom; and, thairfoir, I think, that in ane kingdom no less dylligence aucht to be taikin, that lawis be nocht violatit, than is [in] ane Commounwelth; because that the tyrranie of Princeis who continwallie ring[2] in ane kingdom, is moir hurtfull to the subjectis, than is the misgovernment of those that from yeir to yeir ar chaingit in fre Commounwelthis. But yit, my Lordis, to assure you and all utheris farder, that heid wes disputed be the utermoist; and than, in the end, it was concludit,[3] that thay spak nocht of sik thingis as wer done in diverse kingdomis and natiounis be tyrranie and negligence of peopill. 'But we conclude,' said thai, 'what aucht to be done in all Kingdomis and Commounwelthis, according to the law of God, and unto the just lawis of man.

[1] In MS. 1566, "haif brocht."
[2] In MS. 1566, "who continewing."
[3] In MSS. 1566, and L 3, "nocht concluded."

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And gif be the negligence of the peopill, or be tyrranie of Princes, contrair lawis haif bene maid, yit may that same peopill, or thair posteritie, justlie craif all thingis to be reformed,[1] according to the originall institutioun of Kingis and Commounwelthis: and sik as will nocht [do] so, deserve to eit the frute of thair awin folischnes.'"

Maister James Makgill,[2] than Clark of Register, persaifing the voittis to be different, and heiring the bauld plainess of the foirsaid servand of God, said, "I remember that this same questioun wes lang debaittit aneis befoir this in my house, and thair, be ressoune that we wer nocht all of ane mynd, it wes concludit, that Mr. Knox sould in all our names haif writtin to Mr. Calvin for his jugement in the contraversie."

"Nay," said Mr. Knox, "my Lord Secretour wald nocht consent that I sould wrytte, alleging, that the grittest weycht of the ansuer stude in the narrative, and thairfoir [promeisit that] he wald wryte, and I sould sey it. But when, (said he,) that diverse tymes I requyreit him to remember his promeis, I fand no thing but delay."

Whairto the Secretour did ansuer, "True it is, I promeist to wryte, and true it is, that diverse tymeis Mr. Knox requyreit me so to do. But when I had moir deiplie consydderit the weycht of the maitter, I began to find mo douttis than that I did befoir, and this one amangis utheris, How I durst, I being ane subject, and the Quenis Majesties Secretarie,[3]

[1] In MS. 1566, "ressonit."

[2] Some notices respecting Mackgill, who was appointed Clark Register in 1554, are given at page 156. From the Treasurer's Accounts it appears his salary was only 20 merks, or £13, 6s. 8d.

[3] William Maitland, usually styled Laird of Lethington, was the eldest son of Sir Richard Maitland of Lethington, and was born probably between 1525 and 1530. He is said to have studied at St. Andrews, but his name does not occur in the Registers as having taken any degree. Chalmers has devoted much labour in tracing the career of this very able man, whose policy in changing his views from time to time proved equally unfortunate to himself and his country. (Life of Mary Queen of Scots, 2d edit, vol. iii. page 530 to 615.) At an early period of life Maitland took an active share in public affairs. Knox mentions him under the year 1555, (vol. i. p. 247;) and on more than one occasion calls

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tak upoun me to seik resolutioun of contraverseyis depending betwix hir Heyness and hir subjectis, without hir awin knawlege and consent." Than wes thair ane acclamatioun of the claw-backis of the Courte, as if Apollo had gevin his response: It wes wyselie and faythfullie done.

"Weill," said Johne Knox, "let warldlie men praise warldlie wisdome so heichlie as thay pleise, I am assureit, that be sik shiftis, idolatrie is mentenit, and the treuth of Jesus Chryste is betrayit, whairof God one day will be revengit." At this, and the lyke scherpnes, monie offendit, the voitting ceissit, and everie factioun began planelie to speik as effectioun moveit thame.

Johne Knox in the end wes commandit yit to wryte to Mr. Calvin, and to the leirnit in uther Kirkis, to knaw thair jugementis in that questioune; quhilk he refuissit, schawing his ressoun, "I myself am nocht onlie fullie resolved in conscience, but also I haif heard the jugementis in this, and all uther thingis that I haif affirmit within this Realme, of the moist godlie and moist leirnit that be knawin in Europe. I come

him "the author of all the mischief" that had occurred. He first appears in the service of the Queen Regent; and in September 1555, the Treasurer paid "to William Maitland, be the Quenis Grace precept, for his pension of this instant zeir, £150." After the death of Bishop Panter, on the 4th December 1558, he was appointed Secretary of State. In October 1559, he joined the Lords of the Congregation; in August 1560, he acted as Speaker of Parliament; and in the following year he was raised to the bench. After various embassies to France and England, and after having an active share in all the intrigues and public affairs of the time, he died at Leith, as alluded to at page 363, note 1, 9th June 1573. He was twice married. On the 10th November 1552, he had a charter of lands in Stirlingshire to himself and Janet Menteith his spouse: she was the daughter of Menteith of Kerse. He married, secondly, at Stirling, 6th January 1566-7, Mary Fleming, daughter of Malcolm third Lord Fleming. After his death she addressed a pathetic letter to Lord Burleigh, dated from Edinburgh, 21st June 1573, praying that her husband's body might "*receive no shame or ignominy.*" The English General, on the 18th, had also written, that he had been pressed by the Earl of Athole and others, "that the body of Ledingtoun might be buried, *and not remain above the ground as it does.*"—In 1584, Parliament passed an Act of "Pacification to Marie Flemyng, (relict of umquhill William Maitland younger of Lethingtoun, Secretare to our Soverane Lord) and his bairnis." (Acta Parl. Scot. vol. iii. p. 313.)

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nocht to this Realme without thair resolutioun; and for my assurance I haif the hand wrytingis of monie; and, thairfoir, gif I sould [now] move the same questioun agane, what sould I do uther, but either schaw my awin ignorance and forgetfulness, or ellis inconstancey: And, thairfoir, it may pleise you to appardoune me, albeit I wryte nocht. But I will teich you the surer way, whilk is [this], that ye wryte and complayne upoun me, that I teich publictlie and affirme constantlie sik doctrine as offendis you, and so sall ye knaw thair plane myndis, and whidder that I and thay aggrey in jugement or nocht."

THE END OF THE RESSONYNG BETWIX JOHN KNOX AND THE SECRETOUR IN JUNE 1564.

Diverse said the offer wes gude; bot no man wes founde that wald be the secretour. And so did that Assemblie in lang ressonyng brek up. Efter the whilk tyme, the mynisteris, that wer callit preceissit, wer haldin of all the Courteouris as monstouris.

In all that tyme[1] the Erle of Murray wes so formed[2] to Johne Knox, that nowther be word nor write wes there ony communicatioun betwix thame.[3]

[1] In MS. 1566, this short paragraph of three lines, is in a different hand and colour of ink, and bears a close resemblance to Knox's own writing.

[2] So in the MS.; but evidently intended for *fremmit*, strange, foreign: in MS. G, "fremmed;" in MS. M, "freamed;" in MS. L 4, "frame;" in MS. A 1, "framed;" but MS. L 3, has "formed."

[3] In the later MSS. there are several variations at the end of this book. In MSS. A 1, and L 3, an extract from his Sermon in 1565, is added with this title, "These words following are found written be John Knox, in the preface of a certain Treatise maid be him upon the xxvj. cap. Isayas." In MSS. M, and L 4, we read as follows:—"In this Conference, (with Lethington,) ye may see a proofe of Mr. Knox his deep jugement and promptness in citing the passages of Scripture, besides his great zeal, courage, and sinceritie in the cause of God, without respect to flesh or blood." MS. L 4, adds, "Mr. Knox endeth the 4 Buik of his Storie, with this Conference." In MS. M, "Heere endeth the Fourth Booke of Mr. Knox his Historie of the Church of Scotland." On a separate leaf in MS. L 4, are four paragraphs which occur in Book Fifth, and are copied nearly *verbatim* in Calderwood's History, vol. ii. pp. 280, 284, 294, 295. The last paragraph breaks off in the middle of a sentence, and in the margin is added, "The rest of this section ye will find elsewhere, in the beginning of some writt scrollis."

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THE FIFTH BOOK OF THE REFORMATION OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

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INTRODUCTORY NOTICE TO BOOK FIFTH.

In the previous volume it has been shewn that the Four Books of The History of the Reformation in Scotland were written by Knox, between the years 1559 and 1566; and that these Books have reached us, as completed by himself, without being either mutilated or interpolated, except in the common printed editions of the work. But of the Fifth Book, no manuscript copy has been discovered; and although there may be sufficient reason to prevent us from ascribing its composition to the Scotish Reformer, there can be no doubt of the propriety of annexing it as a Supplement or Continuation of his History.

This Fifth Book relates to the progress of affairs in Scotland, from September 1564 to August 1567, when Queen Mary having been forced to abdicate the throne, the Earl of Murray was appointed Regent. It was first published in folio, in the year 1644, by David Buchanan, a person of literary distinction, of whom some account will be given in the Appendix to the present volume. The volume has this title:—

"The Historie of the Reformation of the Church of Scotland; Containing five Books: Together with some Treatises conducing to the History. Published by Authority. (Jerem. 5. 1.—2 Cor. 13. 8.) London, Printed by *John Raworth*, for *George Thomason* and *Octavian Pullen*, and are to be sold at the Signe of the Rose in *Paul's* Church-yard. MDCXLIV."

In the course of the same year, another edition, in quarto, appeared under a similar title:—"The Historie, &c. Printed at London for *G. T.* and *O. P.* And Re-Printed at Edinburgh by Robert Bryson, and are to be sold at his Shop at the Signe of Jona. 1644."

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It is a mistake to suppose that this Edinburgh edition was a literal reprint. The greater portion of the volume is in fact so, insomuch that the words and letters in most of the lines correspond in the two editions; still there are some changes which it is not improbable were introduced under Buchanan's immediate inspection. The Preface "To the Reader," in which the Editor "D. B." says, "I have thought fit in this place to point at some main occurrences from that time (1567) till now," remains unaltered. But "The Life of John Knox," which fills eight pages in the folio edition, is extended as "The Life and Death of John Knox," in the quarto, to twenty-two pages, including "An Acrostick" (8 lines), and 16 lines in the shape of an altar, "To the pretious memorie of JOHN KNOX, that worthie Primitive-Reformer in the Church of Scotland," signed "J. L." The historical "Preface," relating to the earlier people and religion of Scotland, filling thirty leaves in the folio, and thirty-two leaves in the quarto edition, contains no alterations. Neither are there any of importance, until we reach the close of Book Fourth, where four paragraphs are added, two of them being transposed from the commencement of Book Fifth. Other additions occur towards the latter part of Book Fifth. And in the subjoined Treatises, there is added Knox's "Brief Exhortation," dated from Geneva, 12th January 1557.

The passage in Buchanan's Life of John Knox, in which he speaks of the HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION, is worthy of notice. After mentioning Knox's education and earnest study of the Holy Scriptures, he refers to his sufferings, and says, "For the cause of the truth, he suffered very much by sea and land, in minde and body; among forraigners, and amongst his own countreymen, as ye may see in this History of the Church, which now here we present unto you: Which History, namely so much of it, I mean, as formerly was published, hath gone commonly under his name, because he is the man of whom

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most is spoken thorowout the whole History, as being a most earnest and diligent agent in the businesse of the Reformation in the Church: Next, because he hath penned with his own hand, or spoken by word of mouth, the most part of the most remarkable and most usefull things for Posterity in the History. Thirdly, the whole History is gathered out of his Papers and Manuscripts: And so ye see why it is generally received to be of JOHN KNOX. But to return to his Life," &c.

In the Edinburgh edition, this reference to the History is altered as follows:—after mentioning that Knox "was honoured to be one of the prime publike actors in that worthy worke of our Primitive Reformation," Buchanan says, "And because some singular fruit, more then ordinare, is expected from him who hes some singular enduements, more then ordinar: Therefore, to shew to the world how farre his thoughts were bussied upon the good of Posteritie, and how little he did live to himselfe, he brought out of the intrals of actions many choise and worthie secrets, as the laudable travels of his pious and judicious minde, the truth whereof is evidentlie apparent throughout the whole progresse of this Church-Historie, which may justly bee published and sent abroad under his name, because the most part thereof hath either been penned with his owne hand, or spoken and uttered by the word of his mouth, or gathered and collected out of his Papers and Manuscripts. His Historicall relations are without partialitie. Hee hated no man's person, no not the enemie but his sin. And therefore I hope his unpartiall expressions shall be unseasonable to no good man, be hee never so great. Wearie not then in reading, but adventure your patience as he hes done his paines, and I doubt not, but in each particular, you shall get such a full and satisfactorie information of the truth, that you shall not afterward need to strike fire, and light your candle at another man's Torch. But to returne to his Life," &c.

In regard to the authorship of this Fifth Book, the minute

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statement of facts, the occasional modes of expression, and the above declaration by the Editor, that "the whole History is gathered out of Knox's Papers and Manuscripts," are quite opposed to the general notion that it was written or even compiled by David Buchanan. Neither can we attribute it to Knox's Secretary, Richard Bannatyne, as the style is altogether unlike that of the "Journal of Transactions" from 1570 to 1573, which has been published under his name; and from which portions at least ought to be included in a collection of the Reformer's Works. This will form part of the concluding volume.

On this subject the Editor of 1732, after remarking, "It is not easy to give any tolerable account of the Fifth Book," says, "It seems probable that Mr. David Buchanan himself is the author of it: perhaps he was beholden to Mr. Knox's scrolls, but I wish he had carefully distinguished Mr. Knox's composure from his own, and forborn his interpolations in the body of the History, which is a liberty no person ought to take with any Author. . . . The Editors, (it is added,) have given the Fifth Book as Mr. Buchanan has published it, and leave it to the Reader to value it as he finds cause." But these Editors have taken an unusual liberty, which they have not specified, in altering the language to correspond to the more antiquated orthography of the Glasgow MS. of the Four Books. In the present edition, the text is given from that of London, 1644.

Although persuaded that the Fifth Book has been chiefly derived from Knox's papers by some unknown hand, yet, as it has no well-founded claims to be regarded as A WORK OF ORIGINAL AUTHORITY, like the previous Books, I have not thought it necessary to devote much time to its elucidation by encumbering the pages with foot-notes; and the more so, as the period of three years which it embraces, has been so fruitful in controversy, and has obtained a much larger share of literary investigation than perhaps any other period of our National History.

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In the next moneth, which was July, the Queen went into Athole to the hunting; and from thence she made her progress into Murray, and returned to Fyfe in September.[1] All this while there was appearance of love and tender friendship betwixt the two Queens; for there was many letters full of civility and complements sent from either of them to the other in signe of amity; besides costly presents for tokens. And in the meantime the Earl of Lenox[2] laboured to come home forth of England; and in the moneth of October he arrived at Halyrud-House, where he was graciously received by the Queen's Majestie; namely, when he had presented the Queen of England her letters, written in his favour: And because he could not be restored to his lands without Act of Parliament, therefore there was a Parliament procured to be holden at Edinburgh, the 13. day of December:[3] But before the Queen would cause to proclaim a Parliament, she desired the Earle of Murray, by whose means chiefly the said Earle of Lenox came

There be two Epigrams extant, written by George Buchanan, of a rich diamond sent from Queen Mary to Queen Elizabeth.[4]

[1] On the 25th or 26th September 1564: see note 4, page 420.

[2] Matthew Stewart, fourth Earl of Lennox. He arrived at Edinburgh on the 23d September. A letter, addressed by Queen Mary to Queen Elizabeth, on the 28th of that month, mentions, that he had presented the letters of Elizabeth, at Holyrood-House, on the previous day. (Tytler's Hist., vol. vi. p. 297; Keith's Hist., vol. ii. p. 283.)

[3] The proceedings of this Parliament are not preserved, and the day of meeting is variously stated. Some Acts passed on the 15th December are recorded. (Acta Parl. Scot. vol. ii. p. 545.) In an abstract of a letter from Randolph to Cecil, marked 3d December 1564, (an evident error in the date for the 23d,) we read, "Lennox restored by Parliament called only for that purpose. The Queen made an Oration in the Parliament, shewing the reason of restoring Lennox; and the rather, because it was at the request and suit of her sister of England." (Keith's Hist., vol. ii. p. 259.) On the 15th, Lennox's restoration was proclaimed with great solemnity at the Cross of Edinburgh.

[4] The marginal notes in this Book are evidently added by the original editor, David Buchanan.

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into Scotland, That there should no word be spoken, or at least concluded, that concerned Religion in the Parliament. But he answered, That he could not promise it. In the mean time, the Hamiltons and the Earle of Lenox were agreed.[1]

At the day appointed, the Parliament was held at Edinburgh, where the said Earle of Lenox was restored, after two and twenty years exile: He was banished, and forfeited by the Hamiltons, when they had the rule. There were some Articles given in by the Church, especially for the abolishing

[1] In Buchanan's republication of Knox's History, at Edinburgh, 1644, this and the next paragraph are transposed to the end of Book Fourth, with two additional paragraphs, for the purpose evidently of bringing the History down to the close of the year 1564. The first of these, as follows, occurs nearly *verbatim* in Calderwood's History, vol. ii. p. 280: see also the Book of the Kirk, vol. i. p. 47.—

"ARTICLES AND PETITIONS.

"It was thought good by the Church Assembly immediately preceding [viz. in June 1564,] and conforme to the Acts made before the Queen's arrivall, and approven since, that Christ's true Religion bee *de novo*, established, ratified, and approven throughout the whole Realme; And that all Idolatry, especially the Masse, be abolished every where, so that no other face of Religion be suffered to be erected within this Realme. And for this effect, that the Ministrie be sufficiently provided with maintenance, and sure appointment where they shall take up thair stipends. In like manner, to desire that the transgressors of the said Laws bee punished, specially in Aberdeen, the Karse of Gowry, Seyfield, and other places which shall be specified. These Articles were appointed to bee presented to the Lords of the Secret Councel. The Earls of Murray, Argyle, Glencairne, and the Secretary being present, and sent by the Queene to observe what things were propounded in the Assembly, thought not good that the Articles should be propounded after this manner, but drew out two heads; First, they would declare the good mind and obedience of the Assembly; Next, they would labour at her G[race's] hands for settling of Religion according to the order established before her arrivall. They promised also to deal with her for set stipends. Lethington returned a gracious answer to these Heads. It was appointed that a request should be presented to the Queen for obtaining the gift of the Frier's Kirk of Kirkcudbright, to be holden hereafter the Parish Kirk of Kirkcudbright."

The second paragraph is entitled,

"AN ANSWER TO PAUL METHVEN'S SUPPLICATION.

"The General Assembly of the Church conveened at Edinburgh the 25. of December, the exhortation and invocation of the name of God being made by John Knox. John Ærskin of Dun, Superintendent of Angus and Mearnes, was chosen Moderator. In this Assembly Paul Methven's supplication anent his receiving to repentance, &c., was read and considered. The Brethren were content to receive him, providing he pre-

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of the Masse universally, and for punishment of vice; but there was little thing granted, save that it was Statute, That scandalous livers should be punished first by prison, and then publikely shewen unto the people with ignominy; but the same was not put in execution.

In the end of this moneth of December, the Generall Assembly of the Church was held at Edinburgh:[2] many things were ordained for setling of the affairs of the Church.

In the end of January the Queen past to Fyfe,[3] and visiting the Gentlemen's houses, was magnificently banquetted every where, so that such superfluity was never seen before within this Realme; which caused the wilde fowl to be so dear, that partridges were sold for a crown a piece. At this time was granted by an Act of Parliament, the confirmation of the feues of Church Lands, at the deaire of divers Lords, whereof the Earle of Murray was chief. During the Queen's absence, the Papists of Edinburgh went down to the Chappell to hear Masse; and seeing there was no punishment, they waxed more bold: some of them thinking thereby to please the Queen, upon a certain Sunday in February, they made an Even-song of

sented himself personally before them, and shew evident signes of unfained repentance, and willingness to obey such a forme of repentance as they should enjoyne. As for deleting the processe out of their Books, they could no wayes condescend, neither thought they such a Petition could proceed of the Holy Spirit, seeing David, a notable servant of God, was not ashamed to leave in register his offence, to God's glory and his own confusion. Anent his admission and re-entrie to the Ministrie within this Realme, it was ansuered, That could not be granted till the memorie of his former offence were more deeply buried, and some particular Kirks within the Realme made request for him. And, further, That his entrie in the Ministric of England, hee being excommunicated and unreconciled to the Kirk, hath grievously offended them." This paragraph is copied nearly *verbatim* from the Acts of Assembly, 27th December 1564. (Book of the Kirk, vol. i. p. 55.)

[2] The General Assembly met on the 25th December 1564.

[3] The Queen left Edinburgh on the 19th January 1564-5. Randolph, who followed soon after, transmitted to England an interesting account of his interviews with her at St. Andrews. (Chalmers' Life of Queen Mary, vol. i. p. 128-127. Keith's Hist., vol. ii. p. 261.) She afterwards visited Wemyss Castle, where she received Darnley's first visit, on the 16th February, and returned to the Palace of Holyrood on the 24th of that month.

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their own, setting two Priests on the one side of the quire, and one or two on the other side, with Sandy Stevin, Menstrall, (baptizing their children, and making marriages,) who, within eight days after, convinced of blasphemy, alleadging, That he would give no more credit to the New Testament than to a tale of Robin Hood,[1] except it were confirmed by the Doctors of the Church. The said superstitious Even-song was the occasion of a great slander, for many were offended with it; which being by the Brethren declared to the Lords of the Privy Councell, especially to the Earle of Murray, who lamented the cause to the Queen's Majestie, shewing her what inconvenients should come if such things were suffered unpunished: And, after sharp reasoning, it was promised, That the like should not be done hereafter: The Queen also alleadged, That they were a great number; and that she could not trouble their conscience.

About the 20. of this moneth, arrived at Edinburgh, Henry Stewart, Lord Darnley;[2] from thence he passed to Fyffe: And in the place of Weemes he was admitted to kisse the Queen's hand; whom she liked so well, that she preferred him before all others, as shall hereafter, God willing, be declared. Soon after, in the moneth of March, the Earle Bothwell arrived out of France; whereat the Earle of Murray was highly offended, because of the evil report made to him of the Lord Bothwell;

[1] Randolph, in a letter to Cecil, dated 20th March 1564-5, refers to the excesses of both parties at this time; and in particular, that "one of the Queen's chappel, a singing man, said, that he believed as well a tale of Robin Hood as any word is written in the Old Testament or New." He further adds, the Queen's "own Mass, and the resort into it; such blasphemies as there unpunished; her will to continue Papistry, and her desire to have all men live as they list, so offendeth the godly men's consciences, and so many besides that desire alteration, that it is continually feared that these matters will shortly break out to some greater mischief."

[2] Henry Lord Darnley, then in the twentieth year of his age, arrived in Edinburgh, on the 18th February 1564-5. After visiting the Queen at Wemyss Castle, in Fife, on the 16th, he proceeded to Dunkeld, where his father the Earl of Lennox was residing; but he hastened back to Edinburgh to wait the Queen's arrival at Holyrood.—In both edit. 1644, his name is always printed "Darley."

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and passing immediately to the Queen's Majestie, demanded of her, If it was her will, or by her advice, that he was come home; and seeing he was his deadly enemy, either he or the other should leave the countrey, and therefore desired that he might have justice. Her answer was, That seeing the Earle Bothwell was a nobleman, and had done her service, she could not hate him: Nevertheless she would do nothing that might be prejudiciall to the Erle of Murray, but desired that the matter might be taken away. Within few days she caused summon the Earle Bothwell to answer to the course of law the 2d of May, for the conspiracy which the Earle of Arrane had alledged two years before, and for the breaking of the ward of the Castle. In the meanwhile there was nothing in the Court but banquetting, balling, and dancing, and other such pleasures as were meet to provoke the disordered appetite; and all for the entertainment of the Queen's cousin from England, the Lord Darnley, to whom she did shew all the expressions imaginable of love and kindenesse.[1]

Within few days, the Queen being at Sterlin, order was given to Secretary Lethington to pass to the Queen of England. The chief point of his message was, to declare to the Queen of England, That the Queen was minded to marry her cousin the Lord Darnley; and the rather, because he was so near of blood to both Queens: for by his mother, he was cousin-german to the Queen of Scotland, also of near kindred, and of the same name by his father: His mother was cousin-german to the Queen of England. Here mark God's providence: King James the Fifth having lost his two sons, did declare his resolution to make the Earle of Lenox his heir of the Crown; but he prevented by sudden death, that design ceased. Then came

[1] Within a month of Darnley's arrival in Scotland, Queen Mary had fixed her affections on him, as her proposed husband, and to communicate this to Queen Elizabeth, was the main object of Lethington's mission to the English Court. He had arrived there on the 18th April, and had returned to Edinburgh on the 13th May 1565. (Chalmers's Life of Queen Mary, vol. iii. p. 551.)

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the Earle of Lenox from France, with intention to marry King James his widow; but that failed also: He marries Mary[1] Dowglas, and his son marrieth Mary, King James the Fifth his daughter. And so the King's desire is fulfilled, to wit, The Crown continueth in the name and in the family. The Queen of England, nevertheless, shewed her self nothing pleased therewith, but rather declared, That she would in no wise suffer her subjects to make such contracts or alliance that might be prejudiciall to her; and for the same purpose sent a post to the Queen with letters, wherein she complained greatly of the mind of our Mistris, seeing the great affection she bare to her, intending to declare her heretrix of her Realme of England, providing only that she would use her counsell in marriage; but she could not approve her Marriage with the Lord Darnley, although he was their near cousin by birth, since he was below the rank of the Queen by condition, being but a private subject. At the same time she wrote to the Earle of Lenox, and to his son, commanding them to repair both into England. Some write, That all this was but counterfeit by the Queen of England, and from her heart she was glad of the marriage, for by that means the Succession of the Crown of England was secured, the Lord Darnley being the right heir after the Queen of Scotland: and Queen Elizabeth was not angry to see her married to one of inferior rank, for by that means she thought the Scots Queen would be less proud.

During this time there were certain letters directed to the Brethren of Edinburgh, to Dundie, Fyfe, Angus, and Mernes, and other places, from the Brethren of Kyle, and other places in the West Countrey, desiring the professors of the Evangel in all places, to remember what the Eternall God had wrought, and how potently he had abolished all kind of idolatry and superstition, and placed his word in this Realm, so that no

[1] An error in both edit. 1644, for Lady Margaret Douglas: see page 336, note 2.

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man could say otherwise but it was the work of God, who also had delivered this countrey from the bondage and tyranny of strangers: Nevertheless by our slothfulness, we have suffered that idol the Masse not only to be planted again, but to increase so, that the maintainers thereof are like, by all appearance, to get the upper hand, which would be the occasion of our destruction: And for that the Papists purposed to set up their idol at Easter following, in all places, which was to be imputed to the slothfulness and want of godly zeal of the professors. Therefore they admonished the Brethren to strive to avert the evil in time, and not to suffer such wickedness to continue and encrease, lest God's heavy wrath come upon us unawares like a consuming fire. By these letters many Brethren were animated, and their spirits wakened, minding to provide as God should give them grace. And first of all, by the advice of the most learned in Edinburgh, there was a Supplication made, and given to the Queen's Majestie by the Superintendent of Lowthian, containing, in effect, That the Church in generall of the Realme, had divers times most humbly craved of her Majesty, That committers of adultery should be punished according to the law of God and the Acts of Parliament, nevertheless they continued in their wickednes; and the Papists, of obstinate malice, pretended nothing else but to erect and set up their idolatry and superstition; and especially at Easter day following, they intended to put the same in practice, which the Brethren and Professors of the Evangel could not suffer; therefore wished her Majestie to take heed of the matter.

At this time an Italian, named Davie, entered in great familiarity with the Queen, so that there was nothing done without him.

This Supplication the Secretary received of the hands of the Superintendents of Lowthian and Glasgow, and told them, in the Queen's name, That there should be such provision made as should serve to their contentment: And for the same purpose, the Queen's Majestie writ to all such places as were suspected, especially to the Bishop of Saint Andrewes and Aber-

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deine, (as was said,) not to use any Masse, and that they should not do any such thing as was feared by the Protestants, or convene any Councell, and thereto commanded them. Now the Communion was administred in Edinburgh, the 1st day of April 1565: At which time, because it was near Easter, the Papists used to meet at their Masse; and as some of the Brethren were diligent to search such things, they having with them one of the Bayliffs, took one Sir James Carvet, riding hard, as he had now ended the saying of the Masse, and conveyed him, together with the master of the house, and one or two more of the assistants, to the Tolbuith, and immediately revested him with all his garments upon him, and so carried him to the Market-Crosse, where they set him on high, binding the chalice in his hand, and himself fast tyed to the said Crosse, where he tarried the space of one hour; during which time the boyes served him with his Easter eggs. The next day following, the said Carvet, with his assistants, were accused and convinced by an assize, according to the Act of Parliament: And albeit for the same offence he deserved death, yet for all punishment, he was set upon the Market-Crosse for the space of three or four hours, the hangman standing by, and keeping him, the boyes and others were busie with eggs casting; and some Papists there were that stopped as far as they could: And as the presse of people encreased about the Crosse, there appeared to have been some tumult. The Provost, Archibald Dowglas, came with some Halberdiers, and carried the Priest safe againe to the Tolbuith. The Queen being advertised, and having received sinister information that the Priest was dead, suddenly thought to have used and inflicted some extreme punishment; for she thought that all this was done in contempt of her, and of her Religion; and it was affirmed, That the Towne should have been sacked, and a great number executed to death: she sent to such as she pleassed, commanding them to come to her at Edinburgh sud-

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denly with their whole forces; and in the mean time she sent her Advocate, Master Spence of Condie, to Edinburgh, to take a sure triall of the matter. The Provost and Councell wrote to the Queen the truth of the matter as it was, desiring her Majestie to take the same in good part, and not to give credit to false reports, and therewith sent to her Majestie the processe and enrolment of the Court of the Priest convict. Thus the Queen's Majestie being informed of the truth by her said Advocate, sent againe, and stayed the said meeting of men, and sent to the Town a grave Letter, whereof the copie followeth:—

The Queen's Letter to the Provest, Bailiffe, and Councell of Edinburgh.

"Provest, Bayliffe, and Councell of our Citie of Edinburgh, We received your letter from our Advocate, and understand by this report what diligence you took to stay the tumult in the late disorder attempted at Edinburgh; wherein, as you did your duty in suppressing the tumult, so can We not take in good part, nor think our self satisfied of so notorious a thing, without certain seditious persons, who were pleased to do justice perforce and without the Magistrates authoritie, be condignly and really punished for their rashnesse and misbehaviour; for if all private persons should usurpe to take vengeance at their own hands, what lies in ours? And to what purpose hath good laws and statutes been established? Since, therefore, We have never been obstinate to the due punishment of any offenders, prescribed by the lawes, but have alwayes maintained justice in that case without respect of persons, it is our will, and We command you, as you will answer to us upon your obedience and allegiance, that you will take before you certane of the most responsall persons which are declared authors of the said sedition, and usurpers of our authority, and to administer justice upon them, in such sort as We may know a sinceritie on your parts, and our authority no wayes slighted.

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But if you faile, perswade your selves, (and that shortly,) We will not oversee it, but will account this contempt not only to be in the committers thereof, but in yourselves, who ought to punish it, and relieve us on our part, remitting the rest to your diligence and execution, which We look for so soon as reason will permit.

"Subscribed with our hand at Sterlin, this 24. of April, Anno 1565."

By this manner of writing and high threatning, may be perceived how grievously the Queen's Majestie would have been offended if the said Tarbot[1] and Messe-monger had been handled according to his demerite, being not only a Papist idolater, but a manifest whoremaster, and a common fighter and blasphemer; nevertheless, within few dayes the Queen charged the Provest and Bailiffs to set him at libertie, commanding them further, that no man should trouble nor molest him in any sort for whatsoever cause, and soon after rewarded him with a benefice, and likewise his assisters, John Low and John Kennedie, set at libertie in the same manner. At this Easter-tyde, in Sterlin, the Queen made her domestick servants use Papisticall rites and ceremonies, and more, she perswaded others by faire means to do the same, and threatned those that were most constant at the Earle of Cassels house.

Upon the second day of May 1565, conveened at Edinburgh, the Earl of Murray with his friends in great numbers, to keepe the day of law against the Earle of Bothwell; who being called, appeared not, only the Laird of Rickerton protested, That the personall absence of the Earle Bothwell should not be prejudiciall to him, by reason, that for just fear, which might happen in the heart of any man, since he had so potent an enemy as the Lord of Murray, who, next the Queen's Majesty, was of greatest estimation and authority of any man within this Realm, to

[1] So in both edit. 1644; but at page 476, the name is "Carvet."

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whom assisted at this present day of law, seven or eight hundred men, which force he could not resist, and therefore had absented himself; which protestation being made, those that had been sureties for his appearance, were outlawed. The said Earle Bothwell, a few dayes after, past into France, after he had been in Liddesdale, where, suspecting almost every man, he was not in great assurance of his life, notwithstanding he was not put to the horne; for the Queen continually bore a great favour towards him, and kept him to be a souldier, as appeared within lesse than half a year; for she would not suffer the Lord Morton, nor my Lord Ariskin, my Lord of Murray's great friends, to keep the day. There assisted my Lord of Murray, the Earles of Argyle, Glencarne, and Crawford, with great numbers, and many Lords and Barons, who for the most part conveened the same afternoon to treat and consult for the maintaining of Religion; where some articles were devised, and delivered to the Lord of Murray to be presented to the Queen's Majestie and Privie Councell; which articles were enlarged at the Generall Assembly following, as shall be declared.

In the meane time, as they were informed in Court of this great Assembly of people in Edinburgh, they were affraid, for naturally the Queen hated and suspected all such Conventions as were not in her own presence, and devised by her self. The chief Counsellors in the Court were the Earls of Lenox and Athole. The Queen writ incontinent for all the Lords to come to Sterlin, so soone as she was advertised that they had treated in Edinburgh of Religion; she writ likewise for the Superintendants and other learned men who went thither, and being there, they caused to keep the ports or gates, and make good watch about the towne. The speciall cause of this Convention was to give to the Lord Darnley title of honour, openly and solemnly, with consent of the Nobles, before the marriage.

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The fourth day of May the Earle of Murray came to Sterlin, where he was well received by the Queen's Majestie, as appeared; and immediately, as he past with her to my Lord Darnley's chamber, they presented to him a contract, containing in effect, That forasmuch, as, or since, the Queen had contracted marriage with the Lord Darnley, and that therefore sundry Lords of the Nobilitie had under-written, ratified, and approved the same, and obliged themselves to grant unto him in full Parliament the Crowne Matrimoniall, (by a new Court solecisme in policie, the Crowne for the second time is surnamed Matrimoniall; before, when the Queen was first married, it was so called also,) to serve and obey him and her as their lawfull Soveraignes. The Queen desired my Lord Murray to subscribe, as many others had done before; which hee refused to do, "Because, (said he,) it is required necessarily that the whole Nobility be present, at least the principall, and such as he himself was posteriour unto, before that so grave a matter should be advised and concluded."

The Queen's Majesty no wayes content with this answer, insisted still upon him, saying, The greatest part of the Nobilitie were there present and content with the matter, wished him to be so much a Stewart, as to consent to the keeping of the Crown in the family, and the surname, according to their Father's will and desire, as was said of him a little before his death: But he still refused for the causes above written.

Now as the Lords were assembled, an Ambassadour from England, named Sir Nicholas Throckmorton,[1] arrived at Sterlin,

[1] Throckmorton, in his letter to the Queen of England, on the 20th May 1565, mentions that he reached Edinburgh on the 13th, and Stirling on the morning of 15th May; when, he says, "At my arrival at the Castle, the gates were shut against me, whether it proceeded from fear, or of some other passion, I know not. I thus remaining some time before the gate, there came unto me the Master of Arskine and the Justice-Clerk, who desired me, in the Queen their Mistress's behalf, to retire unto my lodging which was appointed in the town, saying, that after I had reposed myself, the Queen did mind to give me audience." (Keith's History, vol. ii. p. 279.)

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and in his company the Laird of Lethington; the Ambassador was at the Castle gate or ever they were aware; and as he stood there in the entry, he was desired to passe to his lodgings. The next day he had audience of the Queen, and was graciously received according to the dignity of his message. The whole summe of this his message was, to shew and declare to the Queen, how highly the Queen his mistris was offended with this precipitated marriage, and wondered what had moved her to take a man of inferiour rank and condition to her selfe: and therefore disswaded her therefrom. And specially desiring her most earnestly to send home her subjects, the Earle of Lennox and the Lord Darnley: but all in vaine; for the matter was well farre proceeded. In her heart Queen Elizabeth was not angry at this marriage; first, because if Queen Mary had married a foraign Prince, it had been an accesse to her greatnesse, and consequently she had been more redoubted by the other; next, both Harry and Mary were alike and in equall degree of consanguinitie unto her, the father of Mary and the mother of Harry being children to her Father's sister.

With many fair words the Queen let the Ambassadour depart, promising to do all she could to satisfie the Queen of England; and for the same purpose she would send an Ambassador to her.

In the meane time the Queen's marriage with the Lord Darnley was prepared and propounded in Councell, and the chief of the Nobilitie, such as the Duke, the Earles of Argyle, Murray, Glencarne, with the rest, granted freely to the same, providing that they might have the Religion established in Parliament, by the Queene, and the idolatrous Masse and Superstition abolished; shortly it was concluded, that they should convene again to Saint Johnstoun, where the Queen promised to take a finall order for Religion. The day was appointed, to wit, the last of May, at Perth: my Lord of

The Earl of Murray seeing the other Nobles consent gave his, which before he refused.

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Argile came too late. The Queen's Majestie communed with the Lords, who were very plain with her, saying, Except the Masse were abolished, there should be no quietnesse in the countrey. The twelfth day of May the Lord Darnley was belted, (that is, created) Earle of Rosse, with great solemnity, a belt or girdle being tyed about his waist or middle; and albeit all kinde of provision was made to make him Duke of Rothesay, yet at that time it came not to effect, albeit the crown and robe-royall were prepared to him for the same. For the entertainment of this triumph there were many Knights made, to the number of fourteen.[1] The next day, which was the thirteenth of May, the Queen called for the Superintendants, by name John Willock, John Winram, and John Spotswood, whom she cherished with faire words, assuring them, that she desired nothing more earnestly than the glory of God, and satisfying of men's consciences, and the good of the Commonwealth; and albeit she was not perswaded in any Religion but in that wherein she was brought up, yet she promised to them that she would hear conference and disputation in the Scriptures: And likewise she would be content to hear publike preaching, but alwayes out of the mouth of such as pleased her Majestie; and above all others, she said, she would gladly hear the Superintendant of Angus, (for he was a mild and sweet natured man,) with true honesty and uprightnesse, John Ariskin[2] of Dun.

Soon after the Queen past to Saint Johnston, after that she had directed Master John Hay,[3] Prior of Monimusk, to passe to England, who sped at the Queen of England's hand, even as Sir Nicholas Throckmorton did in Scotland.

[1] According to a memorial transmitted by Sir Nicholas Throckmorton to Queen Elizabeth, this ceremony took place at Stirling on the 15th May; and he enumerates the names and titles of the fourteen Knights. (Keith's History, vol. ii. p. 289.)

[2] In the Lond. edit. 1644, "Sir Ariskin;" in the Edinb. edit. "Sir Æriskin."

[3] Mr. John Hay was Master of Requests, a Privy Counsellor, and Commendator of Balmerinoch. He died on the 3d December 1578. (Register of Confirmed Testaments.)

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Before the day which was appointed for the meeting at Saint Johnston, my Lord of Murray, most carefull of the maintenance of Religion, sent to all the principall Churches, advertising them of the matter, and desiring them to advise, and send the most able men in learning and reputation, to keep the day; but their craft and dissimulation appeared, for the Dean of Restalrigge who lately arrived out of France,[1] with others, such as Mr. John Lesley, Parson of Oyne,[2] afterward Bishop of Rosse, caused the Queen to understand that thing whereof she was easily perswaded, to wit, That there ought to be given to all men libertie of conscience, and for this purpose to shun or put off the first day appointed. The Queen writ to the Nobility, That because she was informed that there was great meetings out of every shire and town in great number; and then the other partie, (so termed she the Papists,) were minded to gether to the said Convention, which should apparently make trouble or sedition, rather than any other thing; therefore she thought it expedient, and willed them to stay the said meetings, and to deferre the same till such a day that she should appoint with advice of her Councell. At this time there was a Parliament proclaimed to be held at Edinburgh the twentieth day of July. By this Letter, some of the Protestants having best judgement, thought themselves sufficiently warned of the inconveniences and troubles to come. Now her Councell at this time was only the Earles of Lenox and Athole, the Lord Ruthven, but chiefely David Rizio the Italian ruled all; yet the Earle of Rosse[3] [was] already in greatest credit and familiarity.

These Letters were sent out to the Lords about the eight

[1] Queen Mary applied for a safe conduct to "Maister John Sinclair, Deane of Restalrig, being from the partes of France, and willing to returne hameward," 18th September 1564. (Labanoff, Recueil, vol. i. p. 227.)

[2] In both edit. 1644, Lesley is called "Parson of Vure," an error for Une, or Oyne, in Aberdeenshire: see the Appendix to this volume.

[3] Henry Lord Darnley: see page 495.

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and twentieth day of May; and within twelve dayes thereafter, she directed new missives to the chief of the Nobility, desiring, or commanding them, to come to Saint Johnston the three and twentieth day of June following, to consult upon such things as concerned Religion, and other things, as her Majesty should propose; Which day was even the day before that the Generall Assembly should have been held in Edinburgh. This last Letter uttered the effect of the former; so that the Protestants thought themselves sufficiently warned. Always as the Earle of Murray was passing to Saint Johnston to have kept the said day, he chanced to fall sick of the fluxes in Lochleven, where he remained till the Queen came forth of Saint Johnston to Edinburgh, where the Generall Assembly of the whole Church of Scotland was held the four and twentieth day of July.[1] The Earles of Argyle and Glencarne assisted the Church, with a great company of Lords, Barons, and others: It was there ordered and concluded, That certain Gentlemen, as Commissioners from the Church National, should passe to the Queen's Majestie, with certain Articles, to the number of six, desiring her most humbly to ratifie and approve the same in Parliament.

And because the said ARTICLES are of great weight, and worthy of memory, I thought good to insert the same word by word.[2]

Imprimis, That the Papisticall and blasphemous Masse, with all Papisticall idolatry, and Papall jurisdiction, be universally suppresst and abolisht thorowout this Realme, not only in the subjects, but also in the Queen's own person, with punishment against all persons that should be deprehended to transgresse and offend in the same: And that the sincere word of

[1] The General Assembly met at Edinburgh, on the 25th June 1565.

[2] The Articles here inserted were drawn up by John Erskine of Dun, John Willock, Christopher Goodman, and John Row; and, on the following day, they received the Assembly's approbation.

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God, and Christ's true Religion, now at this present received, be established, approved, and ratified, thorowout the whole Realme, as well in the Queen's own person as in the subjects: And that the people be [astricted] to resort upon the Sundays at the least, to the prayers and preaching of God's word, even as they were before to the idolatrous Masse: And these Heads to be provided by Act of Parliament, and ratified by the Queen's Majesty.

Secondly, That [sure] provision be made for sustentation of the Ministry, as well for the time present, as the time to come: And that such persons as are presently admitted to the Ministry, may have their livings assigned unto them, in places where they travell in their calling, or at least next adjacent thereto: And that the Benefices now vacant, or hath been vacant since the month of March 1558, or that hereafter shall happen to be vacant, be disponed to qualified and learned persons, able to preach God's Word, and discharge the vocation concerning the Ministry, by tryall and admission of the Superintendents and Overseers: And that no Benefice or Living, having many Churches annexed thereunto, be disponed altogether in any time to come, to any [one] man, but at the least the Churches thereof be severally disponed, and that to severall persons; so that every man having charge may serve at his own church according to his vocation: And to that effect, likewise the Gleebs and the Manses be given to the Ministers, that they may make residency at their Churches, whereby they may discharge their consciences according to their vocation; and also, that the Kirks may be repaired accordingly; and that a law be made and established hereupon by Act of Parliament, as said is.

Thirdly, That none be permitted to have charge of Souls, [Schools,] Colledges, or Universities, neither privately or publickly to teach and instruct the youth, but such as shall be tried by the Superintendents or Visitors of churches, and

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found sound and able in doctrine, and admitted by them to their charges.

Fourthly, For the Sustentation of the Poor, That all lands founded for hospitality of old be restored again to the same use; and that all lands, annual-rents, or any other emoluments, pertaining any ways sometimes to the Friers, of whatsoever Order they had been of; as likewise the annuities, alterages, obits, and other duties pertaining to Priests, to be applied to the sustentation of the poor, and uphold of the town-schools in towns, and other places where they lie.

Fifthly, That such horrible crimes as now abound within this Realme, without any correction, to the great contempt of God and his Word; such as Idolatry, blasphemie of God's name, manifest breaking of the Sabbath-day, witchcraft, sorcery, inchantment, adultery, manifest whoredome, maintenance of bordals, murther, slaughter, oppression, with many other detestable crimes, may be severely punished; and Judges appointed in every province and diocesse, for execution thereof, with power to do the same, and that by Act of Parliament.

Lastly, That some order be devised and established for ease of the poor labourers of the ground, concerning the [un]reasonable payment of the tythes, who are oppressed by the leasers of the tythes set over their heads, without their own consent and advice.

The persons who were appointed by the Church to carry these Articles, and present them to the Queen's Majestie, were the Lairds of Cunninghamhead, Lundie, Spot, and Grange of Angus, and James Baron for the Broughs:[1] These five past

[1] These five Commissioners were, Walter Lundie of Lundie, in Fife; William Cunningham of Cunninghamhead, in Ayrshire; William Durham of Grange, in Forfarshire; George Hume of Spot, in Berwickshire, and James Barron, merchant-burgess of Edinburgh.

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from Edinburgh to Saint Johnston, where they presented the said Articles to the Queen's Majestie, desiring and requiring her Highnesse most humbly to advise therewith, and to give them answer. The next day, ere they were aware, the Queen departed to Dunkeld, and immediately they followed; and after they had gotten audience, they desired the Queen's Majestie most humbly to give their dispatch. She answered, That her Councell was not there present, but she intended to be in Edinburgh within eight dayes, and there they should receive their answer.

At the same time, as the Generall Assembly was holden in Edinburgh, the Brethren perceiving the Papists to brag, and trouble like to be, they assembled themselves at Saint Leonard's Craig,[1] where they concluded they would defend themselves; and for the same purpose, elected eight persons of the most able, two of every quarter, to see that the Brethren should be ready armed.

And when the five Commissioners above named had waited upon the Court four or five days after her Majesties coming to Edinburgh, there the matter was proposed in Councell: And after long and earnest reasoning upon these Articles, at length it was answered to the Commissioners by the Secretary, That the Queen's Majesties command was, That the matter should be reasoned in her presence; which for the gravitie of the same, there could nothing be concluded at that time, albeit the Queen's Majestie had heard more in that matter then ever she did before: But within eight days thereafter, she understood that a great part of the Nobilitie should be present in Edinburgh, where they should have a final answer.

At length, the one and twentieth of August, they received the answer in writing in her presence, according to the tenour hereof, as followeth:—

[1] The district of St. Leonard's is now included in the suburbs of Edinburgh. It is on the south side of the city, immediately in front of Salisbury Crags.

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THE QUEEN'S MAJESTIES ANSWER TO THE ARTICLES PRESENTED TO HER HIGHNESSE, BY CERTAIN GENTLEMEN, IN THE NAME OF THE WHOLE ASSEMBLIE OF THE CHURCH.

To the first, Desiring the Masse to be suppressed and abolished, as well in the head as in the members, with punishment against the contraveners; as also, the Religion professed to be Established by Act of Parliament: It was answered first, for her Majesties part, That her Highness is no way yet perswaded in the said Religion, nor yet that any impiety is in the Masse; and therefore believeth, that her loving subjects will not press her to receive any Religion against her conscience, which should be unto her a continuall trouble by remorse of conscience, and therewith a perpetuall unquietness. And to deal plainly with her subjects, her Majesty neither will nor may leave the Religion wherein she hath been nourished and brought up, and believeth the same to be well-grounded; knowing, besides the grudge of conscience that she should receive, upon the change of her own Religion, that she should lose the friendship of the King of France, the married Allie of this Realme, and of other great Princes her friends and confederates, who would take the same in evil part, and of whom she may look for their great support in all her necessities. And having no assured consideration that may countervail the same, she will be loth to put in hazard all her friends at an instant; praying all her loving subjects, seeing they have had experience of her goodness, that she hath neither in times past, not yet intends hereafter, to press the conscience of any [man,] but that they may worship God in such sort, as they are preswaded in their conscience to be best, that they will also not presse her conscience.

As to the establishing of Religion in the body of the Realme, they themselves know, as appears by their Articles, that the same cannot be done only by consent of her Majestie,

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but requires necessarily the consent of the [three] States in Parliament; and therefore so soon as the Parliament holds, those things which the [three] States agree upon amongst themselves, her Majestie shall consent unto the same; and in the mean time shall make sure, that no man be troubled for using [themselves in] religion according to conscience; so that no man shall have cause to doubt, that for religion's sake men's lives and heritage shall be in any hazard.

To the second Article, it is answered, That her Majestie thinks it no wayes reasonable, that she should defraud her self of so great a part of the patrimony of the Crowne, as to put the Patronage of Benefices forth of her own hands; for her owne necessity in bearing of her port and common charges will require the retention thereof, and that in a good part, in her owne hands: Neverthelesse her Majestie is well pleased, that consideration being had of her owne necessity, and what may be sufficient for [her, and for] the reasonable sustentation of the Ministers, a speciall assignation be made to them in places most commodious and meet: with which her Majesty shall not meddle, but suffer the same to come to them.

To the third Article, it is answered, That her Majestie shall do therein as shall be agreed by the States in Parliament.

To the fourth Article, Her Majesties liberality towards the poore shall alwayes be so far extended, as can be reasonably required at her hands.

To the fifth and sixth Articles, Her Majesty will refer the taking order therein unto the States assembled in Parliament.[1]

[1] The Queen's Answers to the Articles were presented by the Commissioners at the next meeting of the General Assembly, on the 25th December 1565. They were declared to be unsatisfactory to the Kirk, and Mr. John Row was directed "to put in wryte, Answers to the Answers." These Answers are inserted in the Book of the Universall Kirk, vol. i. p. 69; and also the Supplication, which the Assembly on the 26th December prepared "to be presented to the Queen and Counsell, by the Lord Lindesay, and David Murray, brother to the Laird of Balvaird." (Book of the Univ. Kirk, vol. i. p. 71.)

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As the Queen's Majestie came from Saint Johnston, over Forth to the Callender, she was conveyed to the water side of Forth with two hundred spears: For at that time it was bruted, that there was some lying in wait at the Path of Dron.[1] In the mean time the Earle of Murray was in Lochlevin, and the Earle of Argyle with him. Now in the Callender[2] the Lord Levingston had desired the Queen's Majestie to be witnesse to the christning of a child; for his Lady was lately delivered and brought to bed: And when the Minister made the sermon and exhortation concerning baptisme, the Queen's Majestie came in the end, and said to the Lord Levingston, "That she would shew him that favour that she had not done to any other before;" that is, that she would give her presence to the Protestant sermon, which was reckoned a great matter.

The Queen being in the Callender, was informed both by word and letters by false brethren, That a great part of the Protestants of Edinburgh had lately convened upon Saint Leonard's Craigs, and there made a conspiration against her; and had chosen for the same purpose certain Captains to governe the rest: And without any tryall, or perfect notice taken in the case, she sent to the Provest and Bayliffs of Edinburgh, commanding them to take and apprehend Alexander Guthrie, Alexander Clerke, Gilbert Lawder, and Andrew Sclater, and put them in prison in the Castle.[3]

This new and unaccustomed fashion of proceeding seemed to

[1] Dron, the name of a small parish in Perthshire, at the foot of the Ochil hills.

[2] Callender, near Falkirk, the seat of William fifth Lord Livingstone of Callender, in the shire of Stirling.

[3] On the 10th July 1565, a messenger was sent "within Edinburgh, to Summond Alexander Guthrie, Alexander Clerk, Gilbert Lauder, and Andro Sklater, burgesses of the said burgh, to compeir before the Justice and his deputis in the Tolbuith of Edinburgh, on the 26th July," &c. (Treasurer's Accounts.) The office of Town-Clerk being held by Guthrie, was disposed of at this time to David Chalmers of Ormond, who, in January preceding, had been appointed one of the Lords of Session. He was an adherent of Bothwell, and was openly accused as having been accessary to the murder of Darnley, but was never brought to trial.

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be very strange: And because the said four persons were not apprehended, she sent the next day a charge to the Provest and Bayliffs, and to her owne great Treasurer, to passe to the houses of the said foure men, and likewise to their booths or shops, and there to take inventory of all their goods and chattells; and commanded the said Treasurer to take the keyes of the said houses and booths, together with the said inventory; which was executed in effect, especially upon the said Alexander Guthrie his wife, he being then common Clerke, and one of the greatest in estimation within the towne: his wife and children were shut out of their house, and compelled to seek some other lodging in the town.

By this manner of proceeding, the hearts of all men of spirit and judgement were wonderfully abashed and wounded, seeing and perceiving these things so furiously handled upon sinister and wrong information, men never called to their answer, nor heard, nor any triall taken therein. Immediately thereafter, as she came to Edinburgh, she called to counsell such as pleased her Majestie, and there complains of the said matter, alleadging it to be a conspiracy and manifest treason. And another matter likewise was complained upon; that the Earle of Argile (as the Queen was surely informed,) was riding with a great army to invade the Earle of Athole and his lands. For the first matter it was concluded by the Councell, that diligent inquisition should be made in the matter, and to that purpose appointed the Queen's Advocates, Master John Spence of Condie,[1] and Master Robert Crichton, to examine such as they would; and when the said Advocates had called before them, and examined a sufficient number, and their depositions subscribed and delivered to the Queen, there was nothing found

[1] Spens of Condie (see page 401,) had been appointed joint Advocate with Henry Lauder, 21st October 1555. On the 8th February 1560, Robert Crichton of Elliock was conjoined with Spens in place of Lauder. Crichton died in June 1581. He was the father of James, "the Admirable Crichton." See Tytler's Life of Crichton, and Senators of the College of Justice, p. 176.

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worthy of death nor treason: At length the said four persons were summoned to answer at law.

For the [other] matter, That the Queen's Majestie should send to the Earles of Argyle and Athole some of her Councell or familiar servants to take order touching it.[1] And when the Secretary, the Justice Clarke, and Lord of Saint Colme[2] had past to the said Earl of Argyle, they found no such thing; but in Athole there was great fear come of a sudden fray; for after many proclamations, the Fire-crosse (which they made use of in lieu of beacons) was raised in Athole.

Now as the day of Parliament approached, the Lords pretending to consult before what should be done, as well in Religion, as for the Commonwealth, the fifteenth day of July there convened at Sterlin the Duke, the Earles of Argyle, and Murray, Rothes, and other Lords and Barons; and as they were devising and consulting, the Queen's Majesty taking their meeting in evill part, sent her Advocates, Master John Spence and Master [Robert] Crichton, to them at Sterlin, requiring the cause of their meeting. They answered, That the speciall occasion of their meeting was for the cause of Religion and the assurance thereof, according as they had lately written to the Queen's Majesty in Seaton from the town of Edinburgh, they desiring then to prorogate the day.

Finally, when the said Advocates could by no means perswade them to come to Edinburgh, they returned again to Edinburgh, and declared to the Queen's Majestie according as they had found.

In the mean time the Parliament was prorogated at the Queen's Majesties command to the first of September next

[1] On the 6th July 1565, £8, 10s. was paid "to Johne Paterson, Snawdon herald, and John Brand, messinger, passand of Edinburgh with letters of the Quenis Grace, to charge Archibald Erle of Argile and Johne Earle of Athole, to desist and ceiss fra ony convocation of our Souerane Ladeis liegis; being in cumpany with William Maitland, Secretar, and Sir Johne Bellenden, thair Hienes Justice Clerk."

[2] James Stewart, Commendator of St. Colme: see page 88, note 7.

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after following; for it was thought, that the least part and principall of the chief Nobility being absent, there could no Parliament be holden: at the same time the Queen's Majestie perceiving that the matter was already come to a maturity and ripenesse, so that the minds and secrecy of men's hearts must needs be disclosed, she wrote to a great number of Lords, Barons, Gentlemen, and others that were nearest in Fife, Angus, Lowthian, Mers, Tevidale, Perth, Lithgow, Clidsdall, and others to resort to her, in this form of words hereafter following:—

The Queen's Letter.

"TRUSTY FRIEND, We greet you well: We are grieved indeed by the evill bruite spread amongst our lieges, as that we should have molested any man in the using of his Religion and conscience freely, a thing which never entred into our minde; yet since we perceive the too easie beleeving such reports hath made them carelesse, and so we think it becomes us to be carefull for the safety and preservation of our State; wherefore we pray you most affectionately, that with all possible haste, (after the receipt of this our Letter,) you with your kindred, friends, and whole force, well furnished with armes for warre, be provided for, fifteen dayes after your coming, addresse you to come to us, to waite and attend upon us, according to our expectation and trust in you, as you will thereby declare the good affection you bear to the maintenance of our authoritie, and will do us therein acceptable service.

Subscribed with Our hand at Edinburgh, the seventeenth day of July, 1565."

There was likewise Proclamation made in Edinburgh, That the Queen minded not to trouble nor alter the Religion; and also Proclamations made in the Shires above mentioned, for the same purpose, That all freeholders and other gentle-

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men should resort, (in the aforesaid manner,) to Edinburgh, where the Earl of Rosse was made Duke of Rothesay, with great triumph, the 23d day of July. The same afternoon the Queen complained grievously upon the Earl of Murray, in open audience of all the Lords and Barons; and the same day the bans of the Earl of Rosse and Duke of Rothesay and the Queen's marriage were proclaimed. About this time the Lord Arskin was made Earl of Marre. In the mean time there were divers messages sent from the Queen's Majestie to the Lord of Murray, first, Master Robert Crichton, to perswade him by all means possible to come and resort to the Queen's Majestie: His answer was, That he would be glad to come to her self, according to his bounden duty; yet for as much as such persons as were most privie in her company were his capitall enemies, who also had conspired his death, he could no wayes come so long as they were in Court.

Soon after my Lord Erskin, and the Master Maxwell, past to him to St. Andrews, rather suffered and permitted by the Queen, then sent by her Highness; after them the Laird of Dun, who was sent by the means of the Earl of Mar; but all this did not prevail with him; and when all hope of his coming was past, an herald was sent to him, charging him to come to the Queen's Majesty, and answer to such things as should be laid to his charge, within eight and fourty hours next after the charge, under pain of rebellion; and because he appeared not the next day after the eight and fourty hours, he was denounced rebell, and put to the horne. The same order they used against the Earl of Argyle; for the Queen said she would serve him and the rest with the same measure they had mete to others, meaning the said Argyle.

In the mean while, as the fire was well kindled and enflamed, all means and ways were sought to stir up enemies against the chief Protestants that had been lately at Sterlin; for the Earl of Athole was ready bent against the Earl of

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Argyle: the Lord Lindesay against the Earl Rothesse in Fyfe, they both being Protestants; for they had contended now a long time for the heir-ship of Fyfe: And that no such thing should be left undone, the Lord Gordon,[1] who now had remained neer three yeers in prison in Dumbar, was, after some little travell of his friends, received by the Queen; and being thus received into favour, was restored first to the Lordship of Gordon, and soon after to the Erldom of Huntley, and to all his lands, honours, and dignities, that he might be a bar and a party in the North to the Earl of Murray.

The 28. of July,[2] late in the evening, neer an hour after the sun's going down, there was a Proclamation made at the Market-Cross of Edinburgh, containing in effect:

The Dispensation being come from Rome for the Marriage: Before which, according to the Romish Law, it was unlawful to marry, being Cousin-Germans, brother and sister's children, and so the degree of consanguinity forbidden.

"THAT forasmuch as at the will and pleasure of Almighty God, the Queen had taken to her husband a right excellent and illustrious Prince, Harry Duke of Rothesay, Earl of Rosse, Lord Darnley, Therefore it was her will, that he should be holden and obeyed, and reverenced as King: Commanding all letters and proclamations to be made in the names of Henry and Mary in times coming."

The next day following, at six hours in the morning, they were married[3] in the Chappell Royall of Halyrud-House, by the Dean of Restalrig; the Queen being all clothed in mourning: But immediately, as the Queen went to Masse, the King went not with her, but to his pastime. During the space of three or four days, there was nothing but balling, and dancing, and banquetting.

[1] George Lord Gordon fifth Earl of Huntley: see page 360, note 1. His restoration to his forfeited titles was proclaimed at the Cross of Edinburgh, on the 25th August 1565. (Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 310.)

[2] In both edit. 1644, "The 18," an error for the 28th of July.

[3] On Sunday, the 29th July 1565, "the said Henrie King, and Marie Quene of Scottis, wes marijt in the Chapell of Halyrudhous, at sex houris in the mornyng, be Mr. Johne Sinclare, Deane of Restalrig, with greit magnificence, accompanyit with the haill Nobilitie of this Realme." (Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 80.)

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In the mean time, the Earl Rothesse, the Laird of Grange, the Tutor of Pitcur, with some gentlemen of Fyfe, were put to the horne, for non-appearance; and immediately the swash, tabron, and drums were stricken or beaten, for men of war to serve the King and Queen's Majestie, and to take their pay. This sudden alteration and hasty creation of Kings, moved the hearts of a great number.

Now, amongst the people there were divers bruits; for some alleadged, That the cause of this alteration was not for Religion, but rather for hatred, envie of sudden promotion or dignity, or such worldly causes: But they that considered the progress of the matter, according as is heretofore declared, thought the principall cause to be only for Religion.

In this mean time, the Lords past to Argyle, taking, apparently, little care of the trouble that was to come: Howbeit they sent into England Master Nicolas Elphinston for support, who brought some moneys in this countrey, to the sum of ten thousand pounds sterlin. There came one forth of England to the Queen, who got presence the seventh of August in Halyrud-House. He was not well, &c.[1]

About the fifteenth of August, the Lords met at Aire, to wit, the Duke of Hamilton, the Earls Argyle, Murray, Glencarne, Rothesse, the Lord Boyd and Ochiltrie, with divers Barons and Gentlemen of Fyfe and Kyle, where they concluded to be in readiness with their whole forces the four and twentieth day of August. But the King and Queen with great celerity prevented them; for their Majesties sent thorow Lowthian, Fife, Angus, Strathern, Tividaile, and Cliddisdaile, and other shires, making their Proclamations in this manner, "That forasmuch as certain Rebels, who, (under colour of Re-

Note this for our time.

[1] In both edit. 1644, the paragraph ends in this abrupt manner. The addition of the word "received" might supply the "&c.," as it refers to a message from England, which was sent by John Tamworth; but not being duly accredited, in order to avoid acknowledging Darnley as King, he consequently "was not well received." See Keith's History, vol. ii. p. 354.

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ligion,) intended nothing but the trouble and subversion of the Commonwealth, were to convene with such as they might perswade to assist them; therefore they charged all manner of men, under pain of life, lands, and goods, to resort and meet their Majesties at Linlithgow, the 24. day of August."

This Proclamation was made in Lowthian the third day of the said month. Upon Sunday, the nineteenth of August,[1] the King came to the High Kirk of Edinburgh, where John Knox made the Sermon: his text was taken out of the six and twentieth chapter of Esayas his Prophesie, about the thirteenth verse, where, in the words of the Prophet, he said, "O Lord our God, other lords then thou have ruled over us." Whereupon he took occasion to speak of the government of wicked Princes, who, for the sins of the people, are sent as tyrants and scourges to plague them: And amongst other things, he said, "That God sets in that room, (for the offences and ingratitude of the people,) boys and women." And some other words which appeared bitter in the King's ears, as, "That God justly punished Ahab and his posterity, because he would not take order with that harlot Jezabel." And because he had tarried an hour and more longer than the time appointed, the King, (sitting in a throne made for that purpose,) was so moved at this Sermon, that he would not dine; and being troubled, with great fury he past in the afternoon to the hawking.

The King, to make himself more popular, and to take from the Lords of the Congregation the pretext of Religion, he went to the Kirk to hear John Knox preach.

Immediately John Knox was commanded to come to the Councell, where, in the Secretaries chamber, were convened the Earl of Athole, the Lord Ruthven, the Secretary, the Justice Clark, with the Advocate. There passed along with

[1] "Upoun the xix day of August, the King cam to Sanctgelis Kirk to the preitching, and Johne Knox preachit; quhairat he was crabbit, and causit discharge the said Johne of his preitching." (Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 81.) The Sermon was afterwards published by Knox, in order, as he says, "to let such as Satan hes not altogether blinded, see upon how small occasions great offence is now conceived."

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the Minister a great number of the most apparent men of the Towne. When he was called, the Secretary declared, "That the King's Majestie was offended with some words spoken in the Sermon, (especially such as are above rehearsed,) desiring him to abstain from preaching for fifteen or twenty days, and let Master Craig supply the place."

In answering he said more than he had preached, for he added, That as the King had (to pleasure the Queen) gone to Masse, and dishonoured the Lord God, so should God in his justice make her an instrument of his ruin; and so it fell out in a very short time; but the Queen being incensed with these words, fell out in tears, and to please her, John Knox must abstain from preaching for a time.

He answered, "That he had spoken nothing but according to his text; and if the Church would command him either to speak or abstain, he would obey, so far as the Word of God would permit him."

Within four days after, the King and Queen sent to the Counceil of Edinburgh, commanding them to depose Archibald Douglas,[1] and to receive the Laird [of] Craigmiller for their Provest, which was presently obeyed.

The five and twentieth of August, the King and Queen's Majesties past from Edinburgh to Linlithgow, and from thence to Sterlin, and from Sterlin to Glasgow. At their [first] arrivall, their whole people were not come. The next day after their arrivall to Glasgow, the Lords came to Paisley, where they remained that night, being in company about one thousand horses. On the morrow they came to Hamilton, keeping the high passage from Paisley hard by Glasgow, where the King and Queen easily might behold them. The night following, which was the penult of August, they remained in Hamilton with their company; but for divers respects moving them, they thought it not expedient to tarry; especially, because the Earl of Argyle was not come: for his diet was not afore the second of September following, to have been at Hamilton.

Finally, They took purpose to come to Edinburgh, the which

[1] On the 23d August 1565, the Queen commanded the "Baillies and Counsell of Edinburgh to depois and displace (Archibald Douglas of Kilspindie) the present Provest of oure said Burgh, and in his place that you elect, ressave, and admit our lovit Symon Preston of that Ilk, as Provest thairof." See the Queen's Letter in Maitland's Hist. of Edinb., p. 26.

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they did the next day.[1] And albeit Alexander Areskin,[2] Captain under the Lord his brother, caused to shoot forth of the Castle two shot of cannon, they being near the town; and likewise that the Laird [of] Craigmiller, Provest, did his endeavour to hold the Lords forth of the town, in causing the common bells to be rung, for the convening of the town to the effect aforesaid; yet they entred easily at the West-Port or Gate, without any molestation or impediment, being in number, as they esteemed themselves, one thousand three hundred horses. Immediately they dispatched messengers southward and northward to assist them; but all in vain: And immediately after they were in their lodgings, they caused to strike or beat the drum, desiring all such men as would receive wages for the defence of the glory of God, that they should resort the day following to the Church, where they should receive good pay: But they profited little that way; neither could they in Edinburgh get any comfort or support, for none or few resorted unto them; yet they got more rest and sleep when they were at Edinburgh then they had done in five or six nights before.

The Noblemen of this company were, the Duke, the Earls Murray, Glencarne, and Rothesse; the Lords Boyd and Uchiltrie; the Lairds of Grange, Cunninghamhead, Balcomie, and Lawers; the Tutor of Pitcur; the Lairds of Barr, Carnell,[3] and Dreghorn; and the Laird of Pittarow, Comptroller, went with them. Some said merrily, That they were come to keep the Parliament; for the Parliament was continued till the first day of September: Upon the which day they wrote to the King and Queen's Majesties a letter, containing in effect, That albeit they were persecuted most unjustly, which they understood proceeded not of the King and Queen's Majesties own nature, but only by evil counsell, yet notwithstanding they

[1] The 31st of August.

[2] In the Edinburgh edit. 1644, the name is changed to "Erskin." Alexander Erskine of Gogar, was the younger brother of John Lord Erskin, and was afterwards knighted. His grandson was created Earl of Kellie in 1619.

[3] In both edit. 1644, "Carmell."

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were willing and content to suffer according to the laws of the Realme, providing that the true Religion of God might be established, and the dependants thereupon be likewise reformed: beseeching their Majesties most humbly to grant these things; but otherwise, if their enemies would seek their blood, they should understand it should be dear bought. They had written twice, almost to the same effect, to the King and Queen's Majesties, after their passing from Edinburgh; for the Laird of Preston presented a letter to the King and Queen's Majestie, and was therefore imprisoned, but soon after released; nevertheless they got no answer.

The same day that they departed out of Hamilton, the King and Queen's Majesties issued out of Glasgow in the morning betimes, and passing towards Hamilton, the army met their Majesties near the Bridge of Cadder. As they mustered, the Master of Maxwell sat down upon his knees, and made a long oration to the Queen, declaring what pleasure she had done to them, and ever laid the whole burden upon the Earl Murray. Soon after, they marched forward in battell array: The Earl of Lenox took the vanguard, the Earl of Mortoun the middle battell, and the King and Queen the rear: The whole number were about five thousand men, whereof the greatest part were in the vanguard.

As the King and Queen's Majesties were within three miles of Hamilton, they were advertised that the Lords were departed in the morning; but where they pretended to be that night, it was uncertain. Always, soon after their return to Glasgow, the King and Queen were certainly advertised that they were past to Edinburgh; and therefore caused immediately to warn the whole army to pass with them to Edinburgh the next day, who, early in the morning, long before the sun was risen, began to march: But there arose such a vehement tempest of wind and rain from the west, as the like had not been seen before in a long time; so that a little brook

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turned incontinent into a great river; and the raging storm being in their face,[1] with great difficulty went they forward: And albeit the most part waxed weary, yet the Queen's courage encreased man-like so much, that she was ever with the foremost. There was divers persons drowned that day in the water of Carron; and amongst others, the King's master, a notable Papist, who, for the zeal he bare to the Masse, carried about his neck a round god of bread, well closed in a case, which always could not serve [save] him.

Before the end of August, there came a post to the Queen's Majestie, sent by Alexander Areskin, who declared, That the Lords were in the town of Edinburgh, where there was a multitude of innocent persons, and therefore desired to know if he should shoot. She commanded incontinent that he should return again to the said Alexander, and command him, in her name, That he should shoot so long as he had either powder or bullet, and not spare for any body.

At night, the King and Queen came well wet to the Callender, where they remained that night. And about eight hours at night, the first of September, the post came again to the Castle, and reported the Queen's command to Alexander Areskin, who incontinently caused to shoot six or seven shot of cannon, whereof the marks appeared, having respect to no reason, but only to the Queen's command.

The Lords perceiving that they could get no support in Edinburgh, nor souldiers for money, albeit they had travelled all that they could; and being advertised of the Queen's returning with her whole company, they took purpose to depart. And so the next day betimes, long before day, they departed with their whole company, and came to Lanrik,[2] and from

[1] It is an obvious mistake to say that "the raging storm from the west" was "in the face" of the army marching from Hamilton to Edinburgh.

[2] According to the Diurnal of Occurrents, "the Lordis" departed from Edinburgh "at 12 hours at evin or thairby," of the 1st September 1565, and rode first to Lanark, and thence to Dumfries. (p. 82.)

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thence to Hamilton, where the Master of Maxwell came to them, with his uncle, the Laird of Dumlanrick. And after consultation, the said Master wrote to the Queen's Majestie, that being required by the Lords as he was passing homeward, he could not refuse to come to them; and after that he had given them counsell to disperse their army, they thought it expedient to pass to Dumfreis to repose them, where they would consult and make their offers,[1] and send to their Majesties; and thus beseeching their Majesties to take this in good part. The town of Edinburgh sent two of the Councell of the town to make their excuse.

The next day the King and Queen past to Sterlin, and sent to Edinburgh, and caused a Proclamation to be made, commanding all men to return to Glasgow, where, having remained three or four days, and understanding that the Lords were past to Dumfries, they returned to Sterlin, and from thence to Fyfe; and in their passage, caused to take in Castle Campbell, which was delivered without impediment to the Lord of Sanquhar.

Before the King and Queen went out of Sterlin, there came from Edinburgh two ensignes of footmen, to convey them into Fyfe. In the meantime, the Burroughs were taxed in great sums unaccustomed, for the payment of the souldiers: Farther, there was raised divers troops of horsemen, to the number of five or six hundred horse. The souldiers had taken two poor men that had received the Lords wages; which two men being accused and convinced of, at the Queen's command, were hanged at Edinburgh, the third day after the Lords departing. At this time, Master James Balfour, Parson of Flesk,[2] had gotten all the guiding in the Court.

The third day after the Queen's coming to Fyfe, the whole Barons and Lairds of Fyfe convoyed her Majestie, till she

[1] In both editions 1644, misprinted "officers."

[2] Balfour took his seat on the Bench, 12th November 1561, as "Parson of Flisk." He was knighted in 1566, and is best known by his subsequent title, Sir James Balfour of Pittendreich.

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came to Saint Andrews, where the said Lairds and Barons, especially the Protestants, were commanded to subscribe to a Band, containing in effect, That they obliged themselves to defend the King and Queen's persons, against Englishmen and rebells: and in case they should come to Fyfe, they should resist them to their utmost power; which charge every man obeyed.

The second night after the Queen's coming to Saint Andrews, she sent a band, or troop of horsemen, and another of foot, to Lundie, and at midnight took out the Laird, being a man of eighty years old; then they past to Fawside, and took likewise Thomas Scot, and brought him to Saint Andrews; where they, with the Laird of Bavard,[1] and some others, were commanded to prison. This manner of handling and usage being onkend and strange, were heavily spoken of, and a great terrour to others, who thought themselves warned of greater severity to come.

In the meantime the houses of the Earls of Murray, Rothesse, and the houses of divers gentlemen, were given in keeping to such as the Queen pleased, after that their children and servants had been cast out.

At the same time the Duke, the Earls of Glencairn and Argyle, the Lords Boyd and Uchiltrie, with the Laird of Cunninghamhead, and the rest, were charged to come and present themselves in Saint Andrews, before the King and Queen's Majesties, to answer to such things as should be laid to their charge, within six days, under the pain of rebellion: And the day being expired, and they not appearing, were denounced rebells, and put to the horn.

As the Queen remained in Saint Andrews, the inhabitants of Dundie, being sore afraid, because of some evil report made of them to the Queen, as if they had troubled the Queen, in

[1] The persons here mentioned were, Walter Lundie of Lundie, Thomas Scot of Hanyng, and Andrew Murray of Balvaird.

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seeking men of war, and suffered some to be raised in their town for the Lords; for there was nothing done in Dundie, but it was revealed to the Queen; especially that the Minister[1] had received a letter from the Lords, and delivered the same to the Brethren, perswading them to assist the Lords; which being granted by the Minister, the Queen remitted it [for trial.] After great travell and supplication made by some Noblemen, at length, the King and Queen being in the town, they agreed for two thousand marks, five or six of the principall left out, with some others, that were put to their shift. After the King and Queen had remained two nights in the town of Dundie, they came to Saint Andrews;[2] and soon after they came over Forth, and so to Edinburgh. During this time the Master of Maxwell wrote to the King and Queen, making offers for, and in the name of the Lords.

The next day after the King and Queen's coming to Edinburgh, there was a Proclamation made at the Market Cross: And because the same is very notable, I thought good to insert it here word by word, albeit it be somewhat long.

"HENRY and MARY, by the Grace of God, King and Queen of Scots; To all and sundry, our Lieges and Subjects whom it may concern, and to whose knowledge these letters shall come, greeting.

"Forasmuch as in this uproar lately raised up against us, by certain rebels and their assistants, the authors thereof, (to blind the eyes of the simple people,) have given them to understand, that the quarrell they have in hand is only Religion, thinking with that cloke to cover their ungodly designs, and so, under that plausible argument, to draw after them a large train of ignorant persons, easy to be seduced.

[1] William Christison was minister of Dundee.

[2] On the 13th and 14th September. The Queen returned to Edinburgh on the 19th, not by the way of St. Andrews, as here stated, but by Perth, Dunfermline, and the Queensferry. (Chalmers's Life of Mary, vol. i. p. 219.)

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Now, for the preservation of our good subjects, whose case were to be pitied, if they blindly should suffer themselves to be induced and trapped in so dangerous a snare, it hath pleased the goodness of God, by the utterance of their own mouths and writings to us, to discover the poison that before lay hid in their hearts, albeit to all persons of clear judgment the same was evident enough before: For what other thing[1] might move the principal raisers of this tumult to put themselves in arms against us so unnaturally, upon whom We had bestowed so many benefits; but that the great honour We did them, they being thereof unworthy, made them misknow themselves; and their ambition could not be satisfied with heaping riches upon riches, and honour upon honour, unless they retain in their hands us and our whole Realme, to be led, used, and disposed at their pleasure. But this could not the multitude have perceived, if God, (for disclosing their hypocrisy,) had not compelled them to utter their unreasonable desire to govern; for now by letters, sent from themselves to us, which make plain profession, that the establishing of Religion will not content them, but We must be forced to govern by Councell, such as it shall please them to appoint us; a thing so farre beyond all measure, that We think the only mention of so unreasonable a demand is sufficient to make their nearest kinsfolks their most mortall enemies, and all men to run on them without further scruple, that are zealous to have their native country to remain still in the state of a kingdom: For what other thing is this, but to dissolve the whole policie; and, (in a manner,) to invert the very order of nature, to make the Prince obey, and subjects command. The like was never demanded by [of] any of our most noble progenitors heretofore, yea, not of Governors and Regents; but the

Note how this agrees with our times.

Let this be conferred with our times.

[1] In both edit. 1644, the following words, (which occur twenty-one lines lower down,) viz., "is this, but to dissolve the whole policy, and in a manner to invert the very order," are here inserted, inclosed within brackets, and printed in italic type, rendering the whole passage unintelligible.

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Prince, and such as have filled their place, chose their Councell of such as they thought most fit for the purpose. When We ourselves were of less age, and at our first returning into this our Realme, We had free choice of our Councell at our pleasure, and now when We are at our full maturity, shall We be brought back to the state of pupills, and be put under tutory? So long as some of them bore the whole sway with us, this matter was never called in question; but now when they cannot be longer permitted to do and undoe all at their pleasure, they will put a bridle into our mouthes, and give us a Councell chosen after their fantasie. This is the quarrell of Religion they made you beleeve they had in hand: This is the quarrell for which they would have you hazard your lands, lives, and goods, in the company of a certain number of rebels against your naturall Prince. To speak in good language, they would be Kings themselves, or at the least leaving to us the bare name and title, and take to themselves the credit and whole administration of the kingdome.

Note diligently.

"We have thought good to make publication hereof, to shew, that you suffer not yourselves to be deceived under pretence of Religion, to follow them, who prefering their particular advancement to the publike tranquilitie, and having no care of you, in respect of themselves, would (if you would hearken to their voice) draw you after them, to your utter destruction. Assuring you, that you have heretofore good experience of our clemency, and under our wings enjoyed in peace the possession of your goods, and lived at liberty of your conscience, so may you be in full assurance of the like hereafter, and have us alwayes your good and loving Princes, to so many as shall continue your selves in due obedience, and do the office of faithfull and naturall subjects.

"Given under our Signet at Saint Andrews, the tenth of December [September], and of our Reigns the first and twentie three years, 1565."

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Now, the Lords desired, next the establishing of Religion, that the Queens Majesty, in all the affairs of the Realme and Commonwealth, should use the counsell and advice of the Nobility, and ancient blood of the same; whereas in the mean time the councell of David, and Francisco, the Italians,[1] with Fowler the Englishman, and Master James Balfour, parson of Flisk, was preferred before all others, save only the Earle of Athole, who was thought to be a man of grosse jugement, but neverthelesse in all things given to please the Queen. It was now finally come to this point, that instead of law, justice, and equity, only will ruled in all things.

There was thorow all the countrie set out a Proclamation in the King and Queen's names, commanding all persons to come and meet them at Sterlin, the first day of October following, with twenty dayes provision, under pain of life, lands, and goods. It was uncertain whether their Majesties intended to passe from Sterlin or not, and I beleeve the principall men knew not well at that time; for a report was, that by reason the Castles of Hamilton and Draffen were kept fortified and victualled at the Duke's command, that they would passe to siege the said houses, and give them some shot of a canon: others said, they would passe towards my Lord of Argile, who had his people alwayes armed, whereof his neighbours were afraid, especially the inhabitants of Athole and Lenox; but at

[1] Of these Italians the one was David Riccio, the other was Seinzeour Francis de Busso, or Busso, whose name occurs in the Treasurer's Accounts as receiving a pension of £100 paid half-yearly from Whitsunday 1561. In the Register of Signatures in the Office of the Comptroller, 28th May 1562, Queen Mary mentions that "the Seigneour Francisque has done long service unto the Quene our Mother," and directs that he receive "gude and thankfull payment of his wages of Master Household," since the day of the Queen Regent's death, which was the 11th June 1560. Immediately after whose death, he had received £120. (Treasurer's Accounts.) In the same Register, last September 1563, we find that "Seigneour Francis de Busso, Knycht of the Order of Sanct James of the Sword, one of our Maisters of Household," was appointed by the Queen "Superintendant and Ourseare Generall of her Hienes biggingis, reparationis, warkis, policies, &c.," with a salary of £300.—"John Francisco de Busso knycht," died in April 1576. (Register of Confirmed Testaments.)

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length it was concluded that they should passe to Dumfries, as shall be declared.

During this time there were propositions made continually to the King and Queen by the Lords, desiring alwayes their Majesties most humbly to receive them into their hands. Their Articles tended continually to these two heads, viz., To abolish the Masse, root out Idolatry, and establish the true Religion: And that they and the affaires of the Realm should be governed by the advice and counsell of the true Nobility of the same; offering themselves, and their cause, to be tried by the lawes of the countrey. Yet nothing could be accepted nor taken in good part, albeit the Master of Maxwell laboured by all means to redresse the matter, who also entertained the Lords most honourably in Dumfreis, for he had the goverment of all that country. But he himself incurred the Queen's wrath so, that he was summoned to present himself, and appear before the King and Queens Majesties, after the same form that the rest of the Lords were charged with; and also commanded to give over the house of Lochmaben, and the Castle, which he had in keeping for the Queen. And albeit he obeyed not, yet was he not put to the horn, as the rest. Nevertheless there was no man that doubted of his good will and partaking with the Lords, who in the mean time sent Robert Melvin to the Queen of England, and declared their state to her Majesty, desiring support.

Now, the chief care and solicitude that was in the Court, was, by what means they might come to have money; for notwithstanding this great preparation for war, and eminent appearance of trouble, yet were they destitute of the sinewes of war:[1] Albeit the Treasurer, and now Comptroller,[2] to wit,

[1] In place of 200 men which the town of Edinburgh were ordered to levy, as they voted on the 24th August the sum of £1000 Scottish money, an exemption in the Town's favour was passed on the 26th. (Maitland's Hist. of Edinburgh, p. 26.)

[2] Robert Richardson, Prior of St. Mary's Isle, was Treasurer, and William Murray of Tullibardine, Comptroller.

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the Laird of Tillibardin, had disbursed many thousands; yet there was no appearance of payment of souldiers, nor scarcely how the King and Queen's houses and pompous trains should be upholden:[1] there was about 600 horsemen, besides the guard and three ensignes of footmen. The charge of the whole would amount to £1000 sterling, every month; a thing surpassing the usuall manner of Scotland.

At this time arrived the Earl of Bothwell,[2] who was welcome, and graciously received by the Queen, and immediately placed in Councell, and made Lieutenant of the West and Middle Marches. Now as every one of the Burrows[3] compounded to be exempted from this meeting; the Earl of Athole demanded of Edinburgh £200 sterling, but they refused to pay it; notwithstanding, October 27th, there was a certain number of the principall and rich persons of the town warned by a Macer to pass to the Palace of Hallyrudhouse to the King and Queen, who declared to them by their own mouth's speaking that they had use for money, and therefore knowing them to be honest men, and the inhabitants of the best citie in their countrey, they must needs charge them; and for security they should have other men bound for pledges, or any hand therefore. The sum that they desired was £1000 sterling, and no less. They being astonished, made no answer; but Parson Flisk standing by, said, that seeing the King and Queens Majesties desired them so civilly, in a thing most lawfull in their necessitie, they did shew themselves not honest to keep silence and give no answer to their Majesties, for that must needs be had of them which was required; and if they would not, they should be constrained by the laws, which they would not abide; for some of them had deserved hanging, (said he,) because they

[1] In the Treasurer's Accounts, 16th January 1564-5, the balance due on the previous year's accounts was £32,696, 16s. 1d.; and in June 1566, this sum was augmented to £42,987, 19s. 4d.

[2] Bothwell arrived from France on the 17th September 1565. (Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 83.)

[3] In both editions 1644, misprinted, "Barons."

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So was the Citie of London, for warre against Scotland, vexed for the leavie money.

had lent large sums of money to the King and Queen's enemies and rebels; and therefore, they must shortly suffer great punishment.

Soon after they were called in one by one, and demanded how much they would lend? Some made this excuse, and some that, by reason there were that offered to lend money; amongst whom there was one offered to lend £20. To him the Earle of Athole said, thou art worthy to be hanged that speakest of £20, seeing the Princes charge thee so easily. Finally, they were all imprisoned, and souldiers set over them, having their muskets ready charged, and their match lighted, even in the house with them, where they remained all that night, and the next day till night; and then being changed from one prison to another, there were six chosen out and sent in the night to the Castle of Edinburgh, convoyed with musketteers round about them, as if they had been murtherers or most vile persons. At length, (the third day,[1]) by means of the Laird of Craigmiller, Provest, and some others, the summe was made more easie, to wit, a 1000 marks sterling, to be paid immediately, and to have the superioritie of Leith in pledge, (to wit,) upon condition of redemption.[2] And besides the said

[1] They were summoned on the 27th, and on the 29th September, "the six" were taken to the Castle of Edinburgh. The agreement for the Superiority of Leith was made on the 6th October. (Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 84.)

[2] This kind of compulsory assessment, terminating however in an advantageous bargain for the Town of Edinburgh, is partly confirmed by the Council Records. The Town's revenues being exhausted, the inhabitants contributed the sum of 10,000 marks Scotish money. This sum was advanced by way of loan by 381 persons, whose names, and the amount of their contributions, appear in the Records—the larger sums being furnished by twenty-five persons, "men of law;" and the Town of Edinburgh received a charter of the Superiority of Leith, dated 14th November 1565. In April following, the Queen having repented of this bargain, wrote to the Magistrates of Edinburgh to delay taking possession of the town of Leith; but this request it stated, "they obstinately ganestude." This Superiority has been retained for nearly three centuries, to the prejudice of the one, and with perhaps less advantage to the other than might have been anticipated. (Council Register, vol. iii. fol. 136; Maitland's Hist. of Edinburgh, p. 27; Campbell's Hist. of Leith, p. 92.)

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sum of 1000 marks sterling, they paid £1000 sterling for the meeting at Dumfries. At the day appointed, for electing the officers, the Queen sent in a ticket, such as she would have them chuse for Provest, Bailiffs, and Councell, whereof there was a number of Papists, the rest not worthy. Of the number given in by the Queen, they named such as should rule for that year; notwithstanding, without free election, the Laird [of] Craigmiller remained Provest,[1] who shewed himself most willing to set forward Religion, to punish vice, and to maintain the Commonwealth. All this time the Ministers cried out against the Masse, and such idolatry; for it was more advanced by the Queen then before.

The first day of October, met in Edinburgh the Superintendant of Lothian, with all the Ministers under his charge, according to their ordinary custom; for every Superintendant used to convene the whole Ministry, and there it was complained on, that they could get no payment of their stipends, not only about the city, but throw the whole Realm. Therefore, after reasoning and consultation taken, they framed a Supplication, directed to the King and Queen, and immediately presented the same to their Majesties, by Master John Spottswood, Superintendant of Lothian, and Master David Lindsey, Minister of Leith: It contained in effect, that forasmuch as it had pleased the King and Queen's Majesties, (with advice of the Privy Councell,) to grant unto the Ministers of the Word their Stipends, to be taken of the Thirds of the Benefices, which Stipends are now detained from the said Ministers by reason of the troubles, and changing of the Comptroller, whereby they are not able to live; and therefore most humbly craved the King and Queen's Majesty to cause them

[1] Douglas was discharged from the office of Provost on the 24th, (see page 498,) and Preston elected on the 25th August 1565. (Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 81.) He was knighted, and Sir Symon Preston of Craigmillar continued as Provost of Edinburgh for four successive years, from 1565 to 1568.

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to be paid. Their answer was, That they would cause order to be taken therein to their contentment.

Soon after the Lord Gordon came to Edinburgh, and left the most part of his people at Sterlin with his carriage; the King and Queen, for hope of his good service to be done, restored him to his father's place, to the Earldom of Huntley, the lands and heritage thereof.

October 8. the King and Queen marched forth of Edinburgh towards Dumfries, and as they passed from the Palace of Hallyrud-house, all men were warned with jack and spear. The first night they came to Sterlin, and the next to Craford. The day after, the Lairds of Drumlanrick and Lochinvar met the Queen, albeit they had been with the Lords familiar enough.

The Lords perceiving that all hope of reconciliation was past, they rode to Ednam [Annan], where they remained till the Queen came to Dumfries, and then they past to Carlile. Now the Master of Maxwell, who had entertained the Lords familiarly, and subscribed with them, and had spoken as highly against their enemies as any of themselves, and had received large money by that means, to wit, £1000, to raise a band or troup of horsemen; and that the same day the King and Queen came to Dumfries; the third day after their coming, he came to them, conveyed by the Earl Bothwell, with divers other Noblemen. At length the Earls of Athole and Huntley were sureties for him, and all things past remitted, upon condition that he should be a faithfull and obedient subject hereafter. The same day they made musters; the next day the army was dispersed, being about 18,000 men: the King and Queen past to Lochmaben, where the Master of Maxwell gave a banquet, and then forthwith marched to Tweddall, so to Peblis, and then to Edinburgh.

The best and chief part of the Nobility of this Realm, who also were the principal instruments of the Reformation of Religion, and therefore were called the Lords of the Congre-

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gation, in manner above rehearsed, were banished and chased into England: they were courteously received and entertained by the Earl of Bedford, Lieutenant, upon the Borders of England. Soon after the Earle of Murray took post towards London, leaving the rest of the Lords at Newcastle; every man supposed that the Earl of Murray should have been graciously received of the Queen of England, and that he should have gotten support according to his heart's desire; but far beyond his expectation, he could get no audience of the Queen of England: But by means of the French Ambassadour, called Monsieur De Four, his true friend, he obtained audience. The Queen, with a fair countenance, demanded, "How he, being a rebel to her Sister of Scotland, durst take the boldness upon him to come within her Realm?" These, and the like words got he, instead of the good and courteous entertainment expected. Finally, after private discourse, the Ambassadour being absent, she refused to give the Lords any support, denying plainly that ever she had promised any such thing as to support them, saying, "She never meant any such thing in that way;" albeit her greatest familiars knew the contrary. In the end, the Earl of Murray said to her, "Madam, whatsoever thing your Majesty meant in your heart, we are thereof ignorant; but thus much we know assuredly, that we had lately faithfull promises of aid and support by your Ambassadour, and familiar servants, in your name: and further, we have your own hand-writting, confirming the said promises." And afterward he took his leave, and came northward from London, towards Newcastle. After the Earl of Murray his departure from the Court, the Queen sent them some aid, and writ unto the Queen of Scotland in their favour: Whether [it was] she had promised it in private to the Earl of Murray, or whether she repented her of the harsh reception of the Earl of Murray.

Note diligently.

Note diligently Queen Elizabeth.

Here mark either deep dissimulation, or a great inconstancy.

At this time David Rizio, Italian, began to be higher ex-

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alted, insomuch as there was no matter or thing of importance done without his advice. And during this time, the faithfull within this Realm were in great fear, looking for nothing but great trouble and persecution to be shortly. Yet supplications and intercessions were made thorowout all the congregations, especially for such as were afflicted and banished, that it would please God to give them patience, comfort, and constancy; and this especially was done at Edinburgh, where John Knox used to call them that were banished, the best part of the Nobility, Chief members of the Congregation: Whereof the Courtiers being advertised, they took occasion to revile and bewray his sayings, alledging, He prayed for the rebels, and desired the people to pray for them likewise. The Laird of Lethington, chief Secretary, in presence of the King and Queen's Majesties and Councell, confessed that he heard the sermons, and said, There was nothing at that time spoken by the minister, whereat any man need to be offended: and further, declared plainly, That by the Scripture it was lawfull to pray for all men.

In the end of November, the Lords, with their complices, were summoned to appear the fourth day of February, for treason, and *Læse-majestie:* But in the mean time, such of the Nobility as had professed the evangell of Christ, and had communicate with the Brethren at the Lord's Table, were ever longer the more suspected by the Queen, who began to declare her self, in the months of November and December, to be maintainer of the Papists; for at her pleasure the Earls of Lennox, Athole, and Cassels, with divers others, without any dissimulation known, went to the Masse openly in her chappell: Yet, nevertheless, the Earls of Huntley and Bothwell went not to Masse, albeit they were in great favour with the Queen. As for the King, he past his time in hunting and hawking, and such other pleasures as were agreeable to his appetite, having in his company gentlemen willing to satisfy his will and affections.

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About this time, in the beginning of[1] [the year 1565-6,] as the Court remained at Edinburgh, the banished Lords, by all means possible, by writings and their friends, made suit and means to the King and Queen's Majesties, to be received into favour.

At this time the Abbot of Kylwinning came from Newcastle to Edinburgh, and after he had gotten audience of the King and Queen, with great difficulty he got pardon for the Duke and his friends and servants, upon this condition, that he should pass into France; which he did soon after.[2]

The five and twentieth of December convened in Edinburgh the Commissioners of the churches within this Realm, for the Generall Assemblie: There assisted to them the Earls of Morton and Marr, the Lord Lindsay, and Secretary Lethington, with some Barons and gentlemen. The principall things that were agreed and concluded, were, That forasmuch as the Masse, with such idolatry and Papisticall ceremonies, were still maintained expressly against the Act of Parliament, and the proclamations made at the Queen's arrivall; and that the Queen had promised that she would hear conference and disputation; that the Church therefore offered to prove by the Word of God, that the doctrine preached within this Realm was according to the Scriptures; and that the Masse, with all the Papisticall doctrine, was but the invention of men, and mere idolatry. Secondly, That by reason of the change of the Comptroller, who had put in new collectors, forbidding them to deliver any thing to the Ministry, and by these means the Ministry was like to decay and faill, contrary to the ordinance made in the yeer of God 1562, in favour and support of the Ministry.

[1] This date is left blank in both edit. 1644.

[2] Gavin Hamilton, Abbot of Kilwinning, delivered up the Castles of Hamilton and Draffen, on the 20th January 1565-6. On the 28th of that month he departed from Edinburgh towards England, having obtained licence to pass to France and Flanders, and to remain for five years, with the intention of accompanying the Duke of Chattelherault. (Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 86.)

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During this time, as the Papists flocked to Edinburgh for making court, some of them that had been Friers, as black Abercrommy and Roger, presented supplication to the Queen's Majesty, desiring in effect, that they might be permitted to preach; which was easily granted. The noyse was further, that they offered disputation: For as the Court stood, they thought they had a great advantage already, by reason they knew the King to be of their Religion, as well as the Queen, with some part of the Nobility, who with the King after declared themselves openly: And especially the Queen was governed by the Earls of Lennox and Athole; but in matters most weighty and of greatest importance, by David Rizio, the Italian afore mentioned, who went under the name of the French Secretary; by whose means, all grave matters, of what weight soever, must pass; providing always, that his hands were anoynted. In the mean time he was a manifest enemy to the Evangell, and therefore a greater enemy to the banished Lords. And at this time, the principall Lords that waited at Court were divided in opinions; for the Earl of Morton, Chancellor, with the Earl of Marr, and Secretary Lethington, were on the one part; and the Earls of Huntley and Bothwell on the other part, so that a certain dryneese was amongst them; nevertheless, by means of the Earl of Athole, they were reconciled. Now, as there was preparation made by the Papists for Christmas, the Queen being then at Masse, the King came publikely, and bare company; and the Frists preached the days following, always using another stile then they had done seven years before, during which time they had not preached publikely: they were so little esteemed, that they continued not long in preaching.

At the same time, convened in Edinburgh the Generall Assembly[1] of the Ministers, and Commissioners of the Churches

[1] The General Assembly met on the 25th December 1565. The first part of this paragraph is reprinted from the former page. It will be observed that various other repetitions occur in this Fifth Book.

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Reformed within this Realm: There assisted them of the Nobility, the Earls of Morton and Marr, the Lord Lindsay, and Secretary Lethington, with others. The chief things that were concluded in this Assembly, were, That for the avoyding of the plagues and scourges of God, which appeared to come upon the people for their sins and ingratitude, there should be proclaimed by the Ministers a Publike Fast,[1] to be universally observed thorowout all the Reformed Churches; which manner of Fasting was soon after devised by John Knox, at the command of the Church, and put in print, wherefore needs not here to be recited in this place. What followed upon the said Fast, shall be plainly, God willing, declared. The second thing that was ordained in this Assembly, was, concerning the Ministers, who, for want of payment of their stipends, were like to perish, or else to leave their Ministry; wherefore it was found necessary, that Supplication should be made to the King and Queen's Majesties: And for the same purpose, a certain number of the most able men were elected to go to their Majesties aforesaid, to lament and bemoan their case; which persons had commission to propose some other things, as shall be declared.

At the end of this Book you shall finde this.

The names of them that past from the Church to the King and Queen's Majesties, were, Master John Spotswood, Superintendent of Lowthian; John Winrame, Superintendent of Fyfe; Master John Row, Minister of Perth; Master David Lindsay, Minister of Leith; who easily obtained audience of the King and Queen's Majesties: And after their reverence done, Master John Row, in name of the rest, opened the matter, lament-

[1] On the 28th December, the Assembly, "with one voice, ordained Mr. Knox and Mr. Craig, ministers at Edinburgh, to sett doun the Forme of a Publick Fast, with the Exercises to be used in the same, and to cause Robert Lekprevik to print it." It was accordingly set forth in 1566, as "The Ordour and Doctrine of the Generall Faste," &c., and was usually printed along with the Psalm Books, which contained the Common Prayers; but it is not added to Buchanan's edition of Knox, as stated in the above marginal note. It will be included in a subsequent volume of the present series.

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ing and bewailing the miserable state of the poor Ministers, who by publike command had been reasonably satisfied three years or more, by virtue of the Act made with advice of the Honourable Privie Councell, for the taking up of the Thirds of the Benefices, which was especially made in their favours: Nevertheless the Laird of Tillibardin, new Comptroller, would answer them nothing; wherefore, they besought their Majesties for relief.

Secondly, Seeing that in all supplications made to the King and Queen's Majesties by the Church at all times, they desired most earnestly that all idolatry and superstition, and especially the Masse, should be rooted out and abolished quite out of this Realm; and that in the last Generall Assembly of the Church, by their Commissioners, they had most earnestly desired the same; and that their answer was then, that they knew no impediment in the Masse; therefore, the Assembly desired, That it might please their Highnesses to hear disputation, to the end that such as now pretend to preach in the Chappell Royall, and maintain such errours; the truth being tryed by disputation, that they might be known to be abusers, submitting themselves always to the word of God written in the Scriptures.

To this it was answered by the Queen, That she was always minded that the Ministers should be paid their stipends; and if there was any fault therein, the same came by some of their own sort, meaning the Comptroller Pittarow,[1] who had the handling of the Thirds: Always by the advice of her Councell she should cause such order to be taken therein, that none should have occasion to complain. As to the second, She would not jeopard her Religion upon such as were there present; for she knew well enough that the Protestants were more learned.

The Ministers and Commissioners of Churches perceiving

[1] Sir John Wishart of Pittarrow, Comptroller: see page 811, note 2.

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nothing but delay, and driving off time in the old manner, went home every one to their own churches, waiting upon the good providence of God, continually making supplication unto Almighty God, that it would please him of his mercy to remove the apparent plague. And in the mean time the Queen was busied with banquetting about with some of the Lords of the Session of Edinburgh, and after with all men of law, having continually in her company David Rizio, who sat at table near to her self, sometimes more privately then became a man of his condition, for his over-great familiarity was already suspected; and it was thought, that by his advice alone the Queen's sharpness and extremity towards the Lords was maintained.

In the end of January, arrived an Ambassadour from France, named Monsieur Rambullet,[1] having with him about fourty horse in trayn, who came thorow England. He brought with him the Order of the Cockle from the King of France, to the King, who received the same at the Masse, in the Chappell of the Palace of Halyrud-house. There assisted the Earls of Lenox, Athole, and Eglington, with diverse such other Papists as would please the Queen; who, three days after, caused the herald to convene in Councell, and reasoned what armes should be given to the King: some thought he should have the Armes of Scotland; some others said, Seeing it was not concluded

[1] The Ambassador from France to Scotland, Messire Jaques d'Augennes, Seigneur de Rembouillet, is mentioned in Queen Mary's letters, in February 1566. (Labanoff, vol. i. pp. 319, 327.) He arrived in Edinburgh, on Monday the 4th February 1565-6, having come through England with a train of thirty-six horse. (Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 87.) The object of his mission was to invest Henry Lord Darnley with the Order of St. Michael, commonly called the "Order of the Cockle;" the same honour having previously been conferred, at Windsor, on the Duke of Norfolk and the Earl of Leicester. On the 10th February, "at 12 hours befoir none, the Kingis Majestie, (Darnley,) accumpanyit with his Nobillis in Halyrud-hous, ressavit the Ordour of Knychtheid of the Cockill fra the said Rambolat, Ambassatour foirsaid, with great magnificence." Various banquets were given to the Ambassador both in the Palace and Castle of Edinburgh; and he took his departure on the 14th of that month, returning through England. (ib. p. 87.)

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in Parliament, that he should have the Crown Matrimoniall, he could have armes but only as Duke of Rothesay, Earl of Rosse, &c. The Queen bade give him only his due; whereby it was perceived her love waxed cold towards him. Finally, his armes were left blank; and the Queen caused put her own name before her husband's in all writs; and thereafter she caused to leave out his name wholly: And because formerly he had signed every thing of any moment, she caused to make a seal like the King's, and gave it to David Rizio, who made use of it by the Queen's command, alleadging, That the King being at his pastime, could not always be present.

About the same time, the Earle of Glencarne came from Barwicke to his own country. Soon after the Earle of Bothwell was married unto the Earle of Huntley his sister. The Queen desired that the marriage might be made in the Chappell at the Masse; which the Earle Bothwell would in no wise grant. Upon Sunday, the third day of March, began the fasting at Edinburgh. The seventh day of March, the Queen came from the Pallace of Hallirud-house to the Town, in wondrous gorgious apparell, albeit the number of Lords and train was not very great. In the mean time the King, accompanied with seven or eight horse, went to the Leith to pass his time there, for he was not like to get the Crown Matrimoniall.

In the Tolbooth was devised and named the heads of the Articles that were drawn against the banished Lords. Upon the morrow, and Saturday following, there was great reasoning concerning the Attainder: some alleadged, that the summons was not well libelled or dressed; others thought the matter of treason was not sufficiently proved; and indeed they were still seeking proof, for there was no other way but the Queen would have them all attainted, albeit the time was very short; the twelfth day of March should have been the day, which was the Tuesday following.

Now, the matter was stayed by a marvellous tragedy, for by

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the Lords, (upon the Saturday before, which was the ninth of March, about supper-time,) David Rizio the Italian, named the French Secretary, was slain in the gallery, below stairs, (the King staying in the room with the Queen, told her, that the designe was only to take order with that villain,) after that he had been taken violently from the Queen's presence, who requested most earnestly for the saving of his life: which act was done by the Earle of Morton, the Lord Ruthven, the Lord Lindsay, the Master of Ruthven, with divers other Gentlemen. They first purposed to have hanged him, and had provided cords for the same purpose; but the great haste which they had, moved them to dispatch him with whingers or daggers, wherewith they gave him three and fifty strokes. They sent away, and put forth all such persons as they suspected.

The Earles Bothwell and Huntley hearing the noise and clamour, came suddenly to the Close, intending to have made work, if they had had a party strong enough; but the Earle Morton commanded them to pass to their chamber, or else they should do worse: At the which words they retyred immediately, and so past forth at a back window, they two alone, and with great fear came forth of the town to Edmistone, on foot, and from thence to Crichton.

This David Rizio was so foolish, that not only he had drawn unto him the managing of all affaires, the King set aside, but also his equipage and train did surpass the King's; and at the Parliament that was to be, he was ordained to be Chancellour; which made the Lords conspire against him: They made a bond to stand to the religion and liberties of the countrey, and to free themselves of the slavery of the villain David Rizio: The King and his father subscribed to the Bond,[1] for they durst not trust the King's word without his signet.

There was a French priest (called John Damiot) who advised David Rizio to make his fortune, and be gone, for the

[1] On the 1st March 1565-6. (See Chalmers's Life of Queen Mary, vol. ii. p. 517.)

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Scots would not suffer him long. His answer was, That the Scots would bragg but not fight. Then he advised him to beware of the bastard. To this he answered, That the bastard should never live in Scotland in his time; (he meant the Earl Murray,) but it happened that one George Dowglas, bastard son to the Earl of Angus, gave him the first stroke. The Queen, when she heard he was dead, left weeping, and declared she would study revenge, which she did.

Immediately it was noised in the town of Edinburgh, that there was murther committed within the King's Palace, wherefore the Provest caused to ring the common bell, or, *Sonner le toksain*, (as the French speaks,) and straightway past to the Palace, having about four or five hundred men in warlike manner; and as they stood in the utter court, the King called to the Provest, commanding him to pass home with his company, saying, The Queen and he were merry. But the Provest desired to hear the Queen speak her self; whereunto it was answered by the King, "Provest, know you not that I am King? I command you to pass home to your houses;" and immediately they retired.

The next day (which was the second Sunday of our Fast in Edinburgh) there was a proclamation made in the King's name, subscribed with his hand, That all Bishops, Abbots, and other Papists should avoid and depart the town; which proclamation was indeed observed, for they had "a flea in their hose." There were letters sent forth in the King's name, and subscribed with his hand, to the Provest and Bailiffs of Edinburgh, the Bailiffs of Leith and Canongate, commanding them to be ready in armour to assist the King and his company, and likewise other private writings directed to divers Lords and gentlemen, to come with all expedition. In the mean time, the Queen, being above measure enraged, offended, and troubled, as the issue of the matter declared, sometime railing upon the King, and sometime crying out at the windows,

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desired her servants to set her at libertie; for she was highly offended and troubled.

This same tenth of March, the Earl of Murray, with the rest of the Lords and Noblemen that were with him, having received the King's letter, (for after the Bond, above named, was subscribed, the King wrote unto the banished Lords to return into their countrey, being one of the articles of the said Bond,) came at night to the Abbey, being also convoyed by the Lord Hume, and a great company of the Borderers, to the number of 1000 horses. And first, after he had presented himself to the King, the Queen was informed of his sudden coming, and therefore sent unto him, commanding him to come to her; and he obeying, went to her, who, with a singular gravitie received him, after that he had made his purgation, and declared the over-great affection which he bore continually to her Majestie. The Earles of Athole, Cathnes, and Sutherland, departed out of the town, with the Bishops, upon the Munday, the third day after the slaughter of David Rizio. The Earls of Lenox, Murray, Morton, and Rothes, Lords Ruthven, Lindsay, Boyd, and Ochiltrie, sitting in Councell, desired the Queen, that forasmuch as the thing which was done could not be undone, that she would (for avoiding of greater inconveniences) forget the same, and take it as good service, seeing there were so many Noblemen restored. The Queen dissembling her displeasure and indignation, gave good words, nevertheless she desired, That all persons armed or otherwise, (being within the Palace at that time,) should remove, leaving the Palace void of all, saving only her domestick servants. The Lords being perswaded by the uxorious King, and the facile Earl of Murray, condescended to her desire, who finally, the next morning, two hours before day, past to Seaton, and then to Dumbar, having in her company the simple King, who was allured by her sugred words. From Dumbar immediately were sent pursuivants with letters thorowout the countrey;

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and especially letters to the Noblemen and Barons, commanding them to come to Dumbar, to assist the King and Queen within five days. In the mean time the Lords being informed of the [Queen's] sudden departure, they were astonished, and knew not what were best for them to do: But because it was the self-same day (to wit, the twelfth day of March) that they were summoned unto; therefore, having good opportunity, they past to the Tolbooth, which was richly hung with tapistry, and adorned, (but not for them,) and set themselves, making protestations, the Earl of Glencarne, and some others being present. The Earl of Argyle, who was written for by the King, came to Lithgow; and being informed of the matter, he remained there.

After this manner above specified, to wit, by the death of David Rizio, the Noblemen were relieved of their trouble, and restored to their places and rooms: And likewise the Church Reformed, and all that professed the Evangell within this Realm, after fasting and prayer, was delivered and freed from the apparent dangers which were like to have fallen upon them; for if the Parliament had taken effect, and proceeded, it was thought by all men of the best judgement, that the true Protestant Religion should have been wrackt, and Popery erected; and for the same purpose, there were certain woodden altars made, to the number of twelve, found ready in the Chappell of the Palace of Halyrud-House, which should have been erected in Saint Gyles his Church.

The Earls Bothwell and Huntley being informed of the King and Queen's sudden departure forth of Edinburgh, came to Dumbar, where they were most graciously received by the Queen's Majesty; who consulting with them and the Master of Maxwell, together with Parson Owin[1] and Parson Fliske,[2]

[1] Mr. John Lesley, Parson of Oyne, was at this time raised to the Bench, and made Bishop of Ross.

[2] Mr. James Balfour, Parson of Flisk, was admitted Clerk Register, in room of Makgill, 22d March 1565-6.

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chief Councellors, what was best to be done, and how she should be revenged upon the murtherers. At first they did intend to go forward, and leaving no manner of cruelty unpractised, putting to death all such as were suspected: This was the opinion of such as would obey their Queen's rage and fury for their own advantage; but in the end they concluded, that she should come to Edinburgh with all the force and power she could make, and there proceed to justice: and for the same purpose, she caused to summon, by open proclamation, all persons of defence, and all Noblemen and Gentlemen, to come to her in Dumbar incontinent. In the mean time, the Captains laboured by all means to take up, and enroll men and women. The Earles of Morton, Murray, Glencarne, Rothesse, with the rest that were in Edinburgh, being informed of the Queen's fury and anger towards the committers of the slaughter; and perceiving they were not able to make any party, thought it best to give place to her fury for a time; for they were divided in opinions, and finally, departed out of Edinburgh, upon Sunday the seventeenth of March, every one a severall way; for the Queen's Majesty was now bent only against the slayers of David Rizio; and to the purpose she might be the better revenged upon them, she intended to give pardon to all such as before had been attainted, for whatsoever crime.

The eighteenth day of March, the King and Queen came to Edinburgh, having in their company horse and foot to the number of 8000 men; whereof there were four companies of foot-men of war. The Town of Edinburgh went out to meet them, for fear of war. And finally, coming within the town, in most awfull manner they caused to place their men of war within the town, and likewise certain field-pieces against their lodging, which was in the middle of the town, over against the Salt Trone: Now, a little before the Queen's entrance into the town, all that knew of her cruell pretence and hatred towards them, fled here and there, and amongst others, Master James

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Macgill the Clerk Register, the Justice Clerk, and the common Clerk of the town:[1] The chief Secretary Lethington was gone before; likewise John Knox past west to Kyle: The men of war likewise kept the ports or gates. Within five days after their entry, there was a proclamation made at the Market-Cross, for the purgation of the King from the aforesaid slaughter; which made all understanding men laugh at the passages of things, since the King not only had given his consent, but also had subscribed the bond afore-named; and the business was done in his name, and for his honour, if he had had wisdom to know it.

After this proclamation, the King lost his credit among all men, and so his friends, by this his inconstancy and weakness. And in the mean time, the men of war committed great outrages in breaking up doors, thrusting themselves into every house: And albeit the number of them were not great, yet the whole town was too little for them. Soon after, the King and Queen past to the Castle, and caused to warn all such as had absented themselves, by open proclamation, to appear before their Majesties and the Privy Councell within six days, under pain of rebellion; which practice was devised in the Earl of Huntley's case, before the battle of Corrichy. And because they appeared not, they were denounced rebells, and put to the horne, and immediately thereafter, their escheats given or taken up by the Treasurer. There was a certain number of the townsmen charged to enter themselves prisoners in the Tolbooth, and with them were put in certain gentlemen: where, after they had remained eight days, they were convoyed down to the Palace by the men of war, and then kept by them eight days more: And of that number was Thomas Scot,[2] Sheriff-depute of Saint Johnston, who was

[1] Mr. James Makgill, Sir John Bellenden, and Alexander Guthrie: See pages 156, 291.

[2] Thomas Scott of Cambusmichaell, Sheriff-Depute of Perth, William Harlaw, and John Mowbray, burgesses of

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condemned to death, and executed cruelly, to wit, hanged and quartered, for keeping the Queen in prison, as was alleadged, although it was by the King's command: And two men likewise were condemned to death, and carried likewise to the ladder foot; but the Earl Bothwell presented the Queen's ring to the Provest, which then was justice, for safety of their life. The names of those two were John Mowbray, merchant, and William Harlow, sadler. About the same time, notwithstanding all this hurliburly, the Ministers of the Church and professors of Religion ceased not; as for the people, they convened to publike prayers and preaching with boldness; yea, a great number of Noblemen assisted likewise. The Earl Bothwell had now, of all men, greatest access and familiarity with the Queen, so that nothing of any great importance was done without him; for he shewed favour to such as liked him; and amongst others, to the Lairds of Ormeston, Hawton, and Calder,[3] who was so reconciled unto him, that by his favour they were relieved of great trouble.

The Earls of Argyle and Murray, at the Queen's command, past to Argyle, where, after they had remained about a month, they were sent for by the Queen; and coming to Edinburgh, they were received by the Queen into the Castle, and banquetted, the Earls of Huntley and Bothwell being present. At this time the King grew to be contemned and disesteemed, so that scarcely any honour was done to him, and his Father likewise.

About Easter, the King past to Sterlin, where he was shriven after the Papist manner: and in the meane time, at the Palace of Halyrud-house, in the Chappell, there resorted a

Edinburgh, were tried and convicted 1st April 1566. (Pitcairn's Crim. Trials, vol. i. p. 480*.) Scott, on the following day, was hanged and quartered; but the two others were reprieved when brought to the gallows. (Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 98.) This remission of their sentence was granted upon Bothwell's intercession.

[3] John Cockburn of Ormiston, William Lauder of Halton, and John Sandilands of Calder.

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great number to the Masse, albeit the Queen remained still in the Castle, with her Priests of the Chappell Royall, where they used ceremonies after the Popish manner.

At the same time departed this life, Master John Sinclair, Bishop of Rosse [Brechin], and Dean of Restalrig, of whom hath been oft mention, President of the Colledge of Justice, called the Session; who also succeeded in the said office and dignity after the decease of his brother, Master John [Henry] Sinclair, Bishop of Rosse, Dean of Glasgow, who departed this life at Paris, about a year before. They were both learned in the laws, and given to maintain the Popish religion, and therefore great enemies to the Protestants. A little before died Master Abraham Crichton, who had been President likewise.[1] Now, in their rooms, the Queen placed such as she pleased, and had done her service, (always very unfit.) The patrimony of the Kirk, Bishopricks, Abbeys, and such other Benefices, were disposed by the Queen to courtiers, dancers, and flatterers. The Earl Bothwell, whom the Queen preferred above all others, after the decease of David Rizio, had for his part Melrosse, Hadington, and New Battell; likewise the Castle of Dumbar was given to him, with the principall lands of the Earldom of Merche, which were of the patrimony of the Crown.

At the same time, the Superintendents, with the other Ministers of the Churches, perceiving the Ministery like to decay for lack of payment of stipends to Ministers, they gave this Supplication at Edinburgh.

[1] There are several inaccuracies in this paragraph in both editions 1644. As elsewhere stated, Mr. Henry Sinclair, Rector of Glasgow, who became Bishop of Ross, and President, died in Paris on the 1st January 1564-5. His brother, Mr. John Sinclair, Dean of Restalrig, became Bishop of Brechin, and President of the Court of Session. He died in James Mosman's house, in Forrester's Wynd, Edinburgh, on the 9th April 1566. (Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 98.) Abraham Creighton, Provost of Dunglass, and Official of Lothian, was appointed a Judge on the 17th February 1547-8. His death took place before the 15th November 1565; and it is quite certain he never was President of the Court of Session. (Haig and Brunton's Senators, &c., pp. 58, 68, 92.)

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The Supplication of the Ministers to the Queen.

"UNTO your Majesty, and your most honourable Councel, most humbly and lamentably complains your Highnesse poor Orators, the Superintendents, and other Ministers of the Reformed Church of God, travelling thorowout all your Highnesse Realm, in teaching and instructing your lieges in all quarters, in the knowledge of God, and Christ Jesus his Sonne; That where your Majesty, with the advice of the Councell and Nobility aforesaid, moved by godly zeal, concluded and determined, that the travelling ministry thorowout this Realm, should bee maintained upon the rents of the Benefices of this Realm of Scotland; and for that cause your Majestie, with the advice of the Counsell and Nobility aforesaid, upon the 15. day of December 1562, in like manner concluded and determined, That if the said part of the rents of the whole Benefices Ecclesiasticall within this Realm would be sufficient to maintain the Ministers thorowout the whole Realm, and to support your Majesty in the setting forward of your common affaires, should be employed accordingly: Failing thereof, the Third part of the said fruits, or more, to be taken up yearly in time comming, untill a generall order be taken therein; as the act made thereupon at more length bears: Which being afterward considered by your Majestie, the whole Thirds of the fruits aforesaid were propounded to the uses aforesaid, by Act of Councell. And we your Majestie's poore Orators, put in peaceable possession of the part assigned by your Majestie to us, by the space of three years, or thereabouts, which we did enjoy without interruption; notwithstanding all this, now of late, we your Majestie's poore Orators aforesaid, are put wrongfully and unjustly from their aforesaid part of the above specified Thirds, by your Majestie's officers, and thereby brought to such extreme penury, and extreme distress, as we are not able any longer to maintain our selves. And albeit we have given in divers

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and sundry complaints to your Majestie herein, and have received divers promises of redress, yet have we found no relief: Therefore, we most humbly beseech your Majesty to consider our most grievous complaint, together with the right above specified, whereon the same is grounded. And if your Majesty, with the advice of your Councell aforesaid, finds our right sufficient to continue us in possession of our part assigned to us, while, and untill a generall order be taken; which possession was ratified by the yearly allowance of your Majesties Exchequer's accompt, that your Majestie would grant us letters upon the aforesaid Act and Ordinance past thereupon, against all intrometters and medlers with the aforesaid Thirds, to answer and obey, according to the aforesaid Act and Ordinance of our possession proceeding thereupon; and likewise, that we may have letters, if need be, to arrest and stay the aforesaid Thirds in the possessor's hands, while, and untill sufficient caution be found to us for our part aforesaid. And your Answer most humbly we beseech."

This Supplication being presented by the Superintendent of Lowthian, and Master John Craig, in the Castle of Edinburgh, was graciously received by the Queen, who promised that she would take sufficient order therein, so soon as the Nobility and Councell might convene.

The 19. of June, the Queen was delivered of a man childe, (the Prince in the aforesaid Castle,) [who after was named James,][1] and immediately sent into France and England her posts, to advertise the neighbour Princes, and to desire them to send gossips or witnesses to the Prince's baptisme. In the mean time, there was joy and triumph made in Edinburgh, and such other places where it was known, after thanks and praises given unto God, with supplications for the godly education of the Prince; and principally, wishing that he should

[1] These words are added in the Edinburgh edit. 1644.

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be baptized according to the manner and forme observed in the Reformed Churches within this Realm.

About the same time, to wit, the 25. of June, the Generall Assembly of the whole Church convened at Edinburgh. The Earles of Argyle and Murray assisted at the Assembly: Paul Methven, who before, as we heard, was excommunicate, gave in his Supplication, and desired to be heard, as he had done divers times; for the said Paul had written oft times out of England to the Laird of Dun, and to divers others, most earnestly desiring to be received again into the fellowship of the Church. After reasoning of the matter, it was finally granted, that he should be heard: And so being before the Assembly, and falling upon his knees, burst out with teares, and said, He was not worthy to appeare in their presence; alwayes he desired them, for the love of God, to receive him to the open expression of his repentance. Shortly after, they appointed certaine of the ministers to prescribe to him the forme of his declaration of repentance, which was thus in effect; First, That he should present himselfe bare-foot and bare-head, arayed in sack-cloth, at the principall entry of Saint Gyles Kirk in Edinburgh, at seven hours in the morning, upon the next Wednesday, and there to remain the space of an hour, the whole people beholding him, till the prayer was made, psalmes sung, and [the] text of Scripture was read, and then to come into the place appointed for expression of repentance, and tarry the time of sermon; and to do so likewise the next Friday following, and also upon the Sunday; and then, in the face of the whole church, to declare his repentance with his owne mouth. The same forme and manner he should use in Jedwart and Dundie: And that being done, to present himself again at the next Generall Assembly following in winter, where he should be received to the communion of the Church. When the said Paul had received the said Ordinance, he took it very grievously, alleadging, they had used over-great severity: Never-

[The order of Paul Methven's repentance.]

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thelesse, being counselled and perswaded by divers notable personages, he began well in Edinburgh to proceed, whereby a great number were moved with compassion of his state; and likewise in Jedwart: but he left his duty in Dundie, and passing againe into England, the matter, not without offence to many, ceased.

The Ministers complaining that they could not be payed their stipends, were licensed by the Assembly to passe to other churches to preach, but in no wise to leave the ministery. And because that the Queen's Majesty had promised often before to provide remedy, it was thought expedient that supplication should be yet made, as before, That the Queen's Majestie should cause such order to be taken, that the poore ministers might be payed their stipends. The Bishop of Galloway, who was brother to the Earle of Huntley, and now a great man in the Court, travelled much with the Queen's Majesty in that matter, and got of her a good answer, and faire promises. A few years before, the said Bishop of Galloway desired of the Generall Assembly to be made Superintendent of Galloway; but now being promoted to great dignity, as to be of the number of the Lords of the Privy Councell, and likewise one of the Session,[1] he would no more be called Over-looker, or Over-seer of Galloway, but Bishop: Alwayes truth it is, that he laboured much for his nephew the Earle of Huntley, that he might be restored to his lands and honours; for the said Earle was new Chancellor,[2] since the slaughter of David Rizio, and had for his clawback the Bishop of Rosse, Master John Lesley, one of the chief Councellors to the Queen: But of all men the Earle Bothwell was most in the Queen's favour, so far, that all things past by him; yea, by his

See in what sense proud ambitious men takes the name of Bishop.

[1] Alexander Gordon, Bishop of Galloway: see page 259, note 10. He took his seat as an Extraordinary Lord of Session, 26th November 1565.

[2] George fifth Earl of Huntley was created Lord Chancellor, in place of the Earl of Morton, who had fled, after Riccio's murder, in March 1566.

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meanes the most part of all those that were partakers in the slaughter of David Rizio, got remission and relief. But from that day he was not present at any sermon, albeit before he professed the Evangel by outward speaking, yet he never joyned to the Congregation. But this time the Earle of Cassils[1] was contracted with the Lord of Glames sister, by whose perswasion he became a Protestant, and caused, in the moneth of August, to reforme his churches in Carrick, and promised to maintaine the doctrine of the Evangell. As is said before.

The Queen, not yet satisfied with the death of her man David, caused in August to be apprehended a man called Hary,[2] who sometime had been of her Chapell-Royall, but afterward became an exhorter in a Reformed Church; and for want of stipend, or other necessaries, past in service to my Lord Ruthven, and chanced that night to be present when the said David was slaine; and so, finally, he was condemned, and hanged, and quartered.

The King being now contemned of all men, because the Queene cared not for him, he went sometime to the Lenox to his father, and sometime to Sterlin, whither the Prince was carried a little before. Alwayes he was destitute of such things as were necessary for him, having scarcely six horses in trayn. And being thus desolate, and halfe desperate, he sought means to go out of the countrey: and, about the same time, by the advice of foolish cagots, he wrote to the Pope, to the King of Spaine, and to the King of France, complaining of the state of the countrey, which was all out of order, all because that Masse and Popery were not againe erected, giving the whole blame thereof to the Queen, as not managing the Catho- This inconstant young man sometimes declared himselfe for the Protestant; witnesse his last band. And now for the Papists. And as he left God, so he was left by him.

[1] Gilbert fourth Earl of Cassillis married Margaret Lyon, only daughter of John ninth Lord Glammis.

[2] This was Henry Yair, sometime a priest, and afterwards a retainer of Lord Ruthven. He was "delattit of treason" on the 1st April 1566, for accession to Riccio's murder, and was sentenced to be hanged and quartered, and his goods forfeited. (Pitcairn's Crim. Trials, vol. i. p. 481.)

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like cause aright. By some knave, this poore Prince was betrayed, and the Queen got a copie of these letters into her hands, and therefore threatened him sore; and there was never after that, any appearance of love betwixt them.

The Churches of Geneva, Berne, and Basill, with other Reformed Churches of Germany and France, sent to the whole Church of Scotland the sum of the Confession of their Faith,[1] desiring to know if they agreed in uniformity of doctrine, alleadging, that the Church of Scotland was dissonant in some Articles from them: Wherefore the Superintendents, with a great part of the other most qualified Ministers, convened in September in Saint Andrews, and reading the said letters, made answer, and sent word again, That they agreed in all points with those Churches, and differed in nothing from them: albeit in the keeping of some Festivall days, our Church assented not; for only the Sabbath-day was kept in Scotland.

In the end of this month, the Earl Bothwell, riding in pursuit of the theeves in Liddisdale, was ill hurt, and worse terrified by a thief; for he believed surely to have departed forth of this life, and sent word thereof to the Queen's Majestie, who soon after past forth of Jedwart to the Hermitage to visit him,[2] and give him comfort: And within a few days after, she took sickness in a most extreme manner, for she lay two hours long cold dead, as it were without breath, or any sign of life: at length she revived, by reason they had bound small cords about her shackle bones, her knees, and great toes, and speak-

[1] The Helvetian Confession was formed by the Pastors of Zürich, in the year 1566. It was approved of by the General Assembly, and the translation made by Mr. Robert Pont was ordered to be printed; but no copy of this translation is known to be preserved. The letter addressed to Beza, dated St. Andrews, 4th September 1566, and signed by forty-one of the chief ministers in this country, has recently been printed by the Parker Society, at pages 362-365 of the Second Series of Zürich Letters.

[2] Bothwell was wounded on the 7th or 8th October, and the Queen did not visit him at Hermitage Castle till the 16th of that month. (Chalmers's Life of Mary, vol. i. p. 296. See also Labanoff, Recueil, &c., vol. i. p. 379.)

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ing very softly, she desired the Lords to pray for her to God. She said the creed in English, and desired my Lord of Murray, if she should chance to depart, that he would not be over extreme to such as was of her Religion; the Duke and he should have been Regents. The bruit went from Jedwart in the month of October 1565, that the Queen was departed this life, or, at least, she could not live any time, wherefore there was continually prayers publikely made at the Church of Edinburgh, and divers other places, for her conversion towards God, and amendment. Many were of opinion that she should come to the preaching, and renounce Popery; but all in vain, for God had some other thing to do by her. The King being advertised, rid post from Sterlin to Jedburgh, where he found the Queen somewhat convalesced, but she would scarce speak to him, and hardly give him presence or a good word; wherefore he returned immediately to Sterlin, where the Prince was, and after to Glasgow to his father.

There appeared great trouble over the whole Realm, and especially in the countreys near the Borders, if the Queen had departed at that time. As she began to recover, the Earl Bothwell was brought in a charriot from the Hermitage to Jedburgh, where he was cured of his wounds; in whose presence the Queen took more pleasure then in all the rest of the world: always by his means, most part of all that were outlawed for the slaughter of David Rizzio, got relief, for there was no other means, but all things must needs pass by him; wherefore, every man sought to him, where immediately favour was to be had, as before to David Rizio.

Soon after, the Queen passing along the Borders, she came within the bounds of Barwick, where she viewed the town at her pleasure afar off, being within half a mile and less. All the ordnance within Barwick were discharged; the Captain came forth, with fourscore horses bravely arrayed, to do her honour, and offer her lawfull service. Then she came to

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Craigmiller, where she remained in November, till she was advertised of the coming of the Ambassadors to the baptisme of the Prince; and for that purpose there was great preparation made, not without the trouble of such as were supposed to have money in store, especially of Edinburgh; for there was borrowed a good round summe of money for the same businesse. All her care and solicitude was for that triumph. At the same time arrived the Counte de Briance, Ambassadour of the King of France, who had a great train. Soon after the Earl of Bedford went forth of England, with a very gorgious company, to the number of fourscore horses, and passing to Sterlin, he was humanly received of the Queen's Majestie, and every day banquetted. The excessive expences, and superfluous apparell, which was prepared at that time, exceeded farr all the preparation that ever had been devised or set forth afore that time in this countrey.

The 17. of December 1566, in the great hall of the Castle of Sterling, was the Prince baptized[1] by the Bishop of Saint Andrews, at five a clock at even, with great pomp, albeit with great pain could they find men to beare the torches, wherefore they took boyes. The Queen laboured much with the Noblemen to bear the salt, grease, and candle, and such other things, but all refused; she found at last the Earls of Eglington, Athole, and the Lord Seaton, who assisted at the baptisme, and brought in the said trash. The Counte de Briance, (being the French Ambassadour,) assisted likewise. The Earl of Bedford

[1] The baptism of the Prince took place in the Chapel-Royal of Stirling, upon Sunday the 15th November 1566, at five in the evening, being performed by Hamilton, Archbishop of St. Andrews. The English Ambassador, the Earl of Bedford, and most of the Scotish Nobility, remained without the door of the Chapel, to avoid countenancing the ceremonies of the Romish Church, which were used on that occasion. The Queen's sister, the Countess of Argyle, assisted at the ceremony; for which, having "willingly submitted herself to the discipline of the Kirk last December 1567," the said Lady was ordained by the General Assembly to make public repentance in the Chapell Royall of Striveling, in time of preaching." (Book of the Universal Kirk, vol. i. p. 117.)

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brought for a present from the Queen of England a font of gold, valued to be worth three thousand crowns. Soon after the said baptisme, as the Earl was in communing with the Queen, who entertained him most reverently, he began to say merrily to her, amongst other talking, "Madame, I rejoyce very greatly at this time, seeing your Majestie hath here to serve you so many Noblemen, especially twelve Earls, whereof two only assist at this baptisme to the superstition of Popery." At the which saying the Queen kept good countenance. Soon after they banquetted in the said great hall, where they wanted no prodigality. During the time of the Earl of Bedford's remaining at Sterlin, the Lords, for the most part, waited upon him, and conveyed him every day to the sermon, and after to banquetting.

The King, who remained at Sterlin all that time, (never being present,) kept his chamber: His father hearing how he was used, writ to him to repaire unto him; who soon after went (without good-night) toward Glasgow, to his father. He was hardly a mile out of Sterlin, when the poyson (which had been given him) wrought so upon him, that he had very great pain and dolour in every part of his body. At length, being arrived at Glasgow, the blisters brake out, of a blewish colour; so the Physitians presently knew the disease to come by poyson: He was brought so low, that nothing but death was expected; yet the strength of his youth at last did surmount the poison.

During the time of this triumph, the Queen was most liberall in all things that were demanded of her: amongst other things, she subscribed a writing for the maintenance of the Ministers in a reasonable proportion, which was to be taken up of the Thirds of Benefices: which writing being purchased by the Bishop of Galloway, was presented at the Generall Assembly of the Church at Edinburgh, the five and twentieth day of December 1566, where were conveened the Superintendents, and other Ministers in reasonable number, but very

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few Commissioners. The first matter that was there proposed, was concerning the said writing lately obtained; and the most part of the Ministers being demanded their opinions in the matter, after advice, and passing a little aside, they answered very gravely, That it was their duty to preach to the people the word of God truly and sincerely, and to crave of the auditors the things that were necessary for their sustentation, as of duty the Pastour might justly crave of their flock; and, further, it became them not to have any care. Nevertheless, the Assembly taking into consideration, that the said gifts granted by the Queen's Majestie was not to be refused, they ordained, That certain faithfull men of every Shire should meet, and do their utmost diligence for gathering and receiving the said corn and money; and likewise appointed the Superintendent of Lowthian, and Master John Row,[1] to waite upon the Bishop of Galloway, and concurre and assist him for further expedition in the Court, that the said gift might be dispatched through the Seales.

In the same Assembly, there was presented a remonstrance by writ, by some gentlemen of Kyle, containing in effect, That inasmuch as the Tythes ought to be given only to the Ministers of the Word, and Schools, and for maintenance of the poore, that therefore the Assembly would statute and ordain, That all the Professors of the Evangell should keep the same in their own hands, to the effects aforesaid, and no way permit the Papists to meddle therewith. This writing took no effect at that time, for there was none else but the gentlemen of Kyle of that opinion. It was statuted in the said Assembly, That such publike fornicators, and scandalous livers, as would not confesse their offences, nor come to declare their repentance, should be declared by the Minister to be out of the Church,

[1] The Lairds of Carden (Alexander Forrester) and Keir (James Stirling) were appointed by the Assembly on the 26th December 1566, to act along with Bishop Gordon and Spottiswood, the Superintendent in this matter. Row's name is not mentioned in the Booke of the Kirk. (vol. i. p. 83.)

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and not of the body thereof, and their names to be declared publikely upon the Sunday.

The Queen intending vengeance upon the poor King, and being in love with the Earl Bothwell, grants to the Protestants their petitions, that they may be quiet and not trouble her plots.

After this Assembly, the Bishop of Galloway (with the Superintendent of Lowthian and Master John Row) passing to Sterlin, obtained their demands in an ample manner at the Queen's Majesties hand, according to their desire; and likewise, they obtained for every borough, a gift or donation of the altarages, annuals, and obites, which before were given to the Papists, now to be disposed for the maintenance of the Ministers and Schools within the boroughs, and the rest to the Poor, or hospitall.

[It was ordained[1] that humble supplication should be made to the Lords of Secret Councell concerning the Commission of Jurisdiction supposed to be granted to the Bishop of Saint Andrews, to the effect their honours may stay the same, in respect that the causes for the most part judged by his usurped authoritie, pertaine to the true Kirk; and also, because in respect of that coloured Commission, he might assume againe his old usurped authoritie, and the same might be a mean to oppresse the whole Kirk. The tenour of the Supplication followeth.

"THE GENERALL ASSEMBLY OF THE KIRK OF SCOTLAND CONVEENED AT EDINBURGH THE 25. OF DECEMBER 1566, TO THE NOBILITIE OF THIS REALME THAT PROFESSE THE LORD JESUS WITH THEM, AND HAVE RENOUNCED THAT ROMANE ANTICHRIST, DESIRES CONSTANCIE IN FAITH, AND THE SPIRIT OF RIGHTEOUS JUDGEMENT.

"SEHING that Satan, by all our negligences, (Right Honourable,) hath so far prevailed within this Realme of late dayes that we do stand in extream danger, not onely to losse our

[1] This paragraph, along with the following Supplication of the Assembly, and Knox's Letter to the Professors, ending on page 544, are supplied from the Edinburgh edition of the History, 1644, 4to, not being contained in the London edition of that year, folio.

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John Knox his supplication to the Councell, to recall the commission granted to the Archbishop of Saint Andrews.

temporall possessions, but also to be deprived of the glorious Evangell of Jesus Christ, and so we and our posterity to be left in damnable darknesse; We could no longer contain our selves, nor keep silence, lest by so doing we might be accused as guilty of the blood of such as shall perish for lack of admonition, as the Prophet threatneth. We therefore, in the fear of our God, and with grief and anguish of our heart, complain unto your Honours, (yea, we must complain unto God, and to all his obedient creatures,) that that conjured enemie of Jesus Christ, and cruell murtherer of our dear brethren most falsly styled Archbishop of Saint Andrews, is reponed and restored, by signature past, to his former tyrannie: For not only are his ancient jurisdictions (as they are termed) of the whole Bishoprick of Saint Andrews granted unto him, but also the execution of judgement, confirmation of testaments, and donation of benefices, as more amply in his signature is expressed. If this be not to cure the head of that venomous beast, which once within this Realm, by the potent hand of God, was so broken downe and banished, that by tyranny it could not have hurt the faithfull, judge ye. His ancient jurisdiction was, that he with certaine colleagues collaterals, might have damned of heresie upon probation as pleased him, and then to take all that were suspected of heresie. What they have judged to be heresie heretofore, ye cannot be ignorant of; and whether they remaine in their former malice or not, their fruits and travels openly declare. The danger may be feared, say ye. But what remedie? It is easie, and at hand, (Right Honourable,) if ye will not betray the cause of God, and leave your brethren, who will never be more subject to that usurped tyrannie then they will be to the Devill himselfe. Our Queene belike is not well informed: She ought not, nor justly may not break the laws of this Realm; and so consequently, she may not set up against us, without our consents, that Romane Antichrist againe: For in a lawfull and the most free Parliament that

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ever was in this Realm before, was that odious beast deprived of all jurisdiction, office and authority within the Realm. Her Majestie at her first arryvall, and by divers proclamations sensyne, hath expressly forbidden any other forme and face of Religion, then that which she found publikely established at her arryvall: Therefore she may not bring us (the greatest part of the subjects of this Realm) back again to bondage, till that as lawfull and free a Parliament as justly damned that Antichrist and his usurped tyranny, hath given decision betwixt us and him. If hereof, and of other things which no lesse concerne your selves then us, ye plainly and boldly admonish our Soveraigne, and without tumult only crave justice, the tyrants dare no more be seen in lawfull judgment, then dare the owles in day light. Weigh this matter as it is, and ye will finde it more weighty then it appeareth to many. Farther at this present we complain not, but humbly crave of your Honours a reasonable answer what ye will doe, in case such tyrants and devouring wolves begin to invade the flocke of Jesus Christ within this Realm, under what title soever it be: For this we boldly professe, That we will never acknowledge such either pastors to our soules, or yet judges to our causes. And if [that], for denyall thereof, we suffer either in body or in goods, we doubt not but we have not only a Judge to punish them that unjustly trouble us, but also an Advocate and strong Champion in Heaven to recompense them, who for his name's sake suffer persecution: Whose Holy Spirit rule your hearts in his true fear to the end.

"Given in the Generall Assembly and third Session thereof, at Edinburgh, the 27. of December, 1566."

Besides this Supplication of the Assembly to the Nobility penned (as appeareth by the style) by John Knox, a Letter was written by John Knox in particular to the Professors, to advertise them of the danger of this commission or power

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granted to the said bastard, Bishop of Saint Andrews, the tenor whereof doth follow.

"*The Lord cometh, and shall not tarrie; Blessed shall he be whom he shall finde fighting against impietie.*

John Knox his Letter to the Professors,

"To deplore the miseries of these our most wicked dayes (Beloved Brethren) can neither greatly profit us, neither yet relieve us of our present calamities; and yet utterly to keep silence, cannot lack the suspicion of apostacie, and plain defection from God, and from his truth, once by us publikely professed. For now are matters (that in years bypast have been denyed) so far discovered, that he who seeth not the plaine subversion of all true Religion within this Realm to be concluded, and decreed in the hearts of some, must either confesse himselfe blinde, or else an enemie to the Religion which we professe: For besides the open erecting of Idolatry in divers parts of this Realme, and besides the extreame povertie wherein our Ministers are brought, (by reason that idle bellies are fed upon that which justly appertaineth to such as truely preach Jesus Christ, and rightly and by order minister his blessed Sacraments,) that cruell murtherer of our brethren, falsly called Archbishop of Saint Andrews, most unjustly, and against all law, hath presumed to his former tyrannie, as a signature past for his restitution to his ancient jurisdiction (as it is termed) more fully doth proport. What end may be looked for of such beginnings, the halfe blinde may see, as we suppose. And yet, we have heard, that a certaine summe of money and victuals should be assigned by the Queen's Majestie for sustentation of our Ministrie. But how that any such assignation, or any promise made thereof, can stand in any stable assurance, when that Roman Antichrist (by just laws once banished from this Realme) shall be intrused above us, we can no wise understand. Yea, farther, we cannot see what assurance any within this Realme that have professed the Lord Jesus can have of life or

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inheritance, if the head of that odious beast be cured amongst us. And therefore we yet again, in the bowels of Christ Jesus, crave of you to look into this matter, and to advertise us again, with reasonable expedition of your judgements, that in the feare of God, and with unitie of minds, we may proceed to crave justice, and oppone our selves to such tyrannie, as most unjustly is intended against us: For, if we think not that this last erecting of that wicked man, is the very setting up againe of that Romane Antichrist within this Realme, we are deprived of all right judgement. And what is that else, but to separate us and our posteritie from God; yea, and to cut our selves from the freedome of this Realme. We desire therefore that the wisest amongst you may consider the weight of this cause, which long hath been neglected, partly by our slouth, and partly by believing faire promises, by which to this hour we have been deceived. And therefore we ought to be the more vigilant and circumspect, especially seeing a Parliament is proclaimed.

"We have sent to you the forme of a Supplication and Articles, which we would have presented to the Queen's Majestie. If it please you, we would ye should approve it by your subscriptions; or if you would alter it, we desire you so to do, and we shall allow whatsoever you shall propound, not repugnant to God. If it shall be thought expedient that Commissioners of Countries shall conveene, to reason upon the most weighty matters that now occurr, the time and place being appointed by you, and due advertisement being given to us, by God's grace, there shall no fault be found in us; but as from the beginning we have neither spared substance nor life, so minde we not to faint unto the end, to maintaine the same, so long as we can finde the concurrence of brethren; of whom (as God forbid) if we be destitute, yet are we determined never to be subject to that Roman Antichrist, neither yet to his usurped tyrannie. But when we can doe no further to suppresse that

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odious beast, we minde to seale with our blood to our posteritie, that the bright knowledge of Jesus Christ hath banished that man of sinne, and his venomous doctrine, from our hearts and consciences. Let this our Letter and request beare witnesse before God, before his angels, before the world, and before our own consciences, that we require you that have professed the Lord Jesus within this Realme, as well Nobilitie, as Gentlemen, Burgesses, and Commons, to deliberate upon the estate of things present; and specially whether that this usurped tyrannie of that Romane Antichrist shall be any longer suffered within this Realme, seeing that by just law it is already abolished. Secondly, Whether that we shall be bound to feed idle bellies upon the patrimonie of the Kirk, which justly appertaineth unto Ministers. Thirdly, Whether that Idolatrie, and other abominations, which now are more then evident, shall any longer by us be maintained and defended. Answer us as ye will answer to God, in whose feare we send these letters unto you, lest that our silence should be counted for consent unto such impietie. God take from our hearts the blinde love of our selves, and all ungodly feare. Amen. Let us know your mindes with expedition."]

Notwithstanding the domestick troubles that the Church of God had in Scotland in this turbulent time within the kingdome, yet they were not unmindfull of the affliction of Jacob every where upon the face of the earth; namely, they had before their eyes the state and condition of the Church of God in England: Witnesse this Letter from the Generall Assembly to the Rulers of the Church of God in England; [wherein they intreat them to deal gently with the preachers their brethren about the Surplice and other apparell. John Knox formed the Letter in name of the Assembly, as follows.[1]]

[1] The words inclosed within brackets are added in the Edinburgh edit. 1644.

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"THE SUPERINTENDENTS, WITH OTHER MINISTERS AND COMMISSIONERS OF THE CHURCH OF GOD IN THE KINGDOME OF SCOTLAND, TO THEIR BRETHREN, THE BISHOPS AND PASTOURS OF GOD'S CHURCH IN ENGLAND, WHO PROFESS WITH US IN SCOTLAND THE TRUTH OF JESUS CHRIST.

"By word and letters it is come to our knowledge, (Reverend Brethren, Pastors of God's word in the Church of England,) that divers of our Brethren (of whom some be of the most learned in England,) are deprived from all Ecclesiasticall function, namely, are forbidden to preach, and so by you are stopped to promote the Kingdom of God, because they have a scruple of conscience to use at the command of Authority such garments as idolaters in time of greatest darknesse, did use in their superstitious and idolatrous service; which report cannot but be very grievous to our hearts, considering the sentence of the Apostle, 'If ye bite and devour one another, take heed ye be not consumed one of another.' We intend not at this present to enter into the question, which we hear is agitated and handled with greater vehemency by either partie, then well liketh us, to wit, Whether such Apparell be accounted amongst things indifferent or not; wherefore, (through the bowels of Jesus Christ,) we crave that Christian charitie may so farr prevaile with you, who are the pastors and guides of Christ's flock in England, that ye doe one to another, as ye desire others to do to you. You cannot be ignorant what tendernesse is in a scrupulous conscience, and all that have knowledge are not alike perswaded; the consciences of some of you stirres not, with the wearing of such things; on the other side, many thousands (both godly and learned) are otherwayes perswaded, whose consciences are continually strucken with these sentences, 'What hath Christ to doe with Beliall?' 'What fellowship is there betwixt light and darknesse?' If surplice, corner-cap, and tippet, have been the badges of idolaters in the

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very act of their idolatry, what hath the preachers of Christian libertie, and the rebukers of superstition to do with the dregs of that Romish Beast? Yea, what is he that ought not to fear, either to take in his hand, or on his forehead, the prints and mark of that odious Beast? The brethren that refuse such unprofitable apparell, do neither condemn nor molest you who use such trifles. On the other side, if ye that use these things will do the like to your brethren, we doubt not but therein you shall please God, and comfort the hearts of many, which are wounded to see extremitie used against these godly brethren. Humane arguments or coloured rhetorick, we use none to perswade you, only in charity we desire you to mind the sentence of Peter, 'Feed the flock of Christ which is committed to your charge, caring for it, not by constraint, but willingly; not being as lords of God's heritages, but being examples to the flock.' We further desire you to meditate upon that sentence of Paul, 'Give no offence, neither to Jews, nor Gentiles, nor to the church of God.' In what condition you and we both travell, at least are bound to travell for the promoting of Christ's kingdom, you are not ignorant; therefore we are the more bold to exhort you to deal more wisely, then to trouble the godly for such vanities; for all things which seem lawfull, edifie not. If Authority urge you farther than your consciences can bear, we pray you remember, that the Ministers of the Church are called the 'Light of the world,' and 'Salt of the earth;' all civill authority hath not alwayes the light of God shining before their eyes, in statutes and commands, for their affections savour too much of the earth and worldly wisdom: therefore we tell you, that ye ought to oppose your selves boldly, not only to all power that dare extoll it self against God, but also against all such as dare burthen the consciences of the faithfull, farther than God chargeth them in his own word. But we hope you will excuse our freedom in that we have entered in reasoning farther than we intended

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in the beginning. Now, again we return to our former request, which is, That the brethren among you, who refuse the Romish rags, may find of you, who use and urge them, such favour as our Head and Master commandeth each one of his members to shew to another, which we look to receive of your courtesie, not only because you will not offend God in troubling your brethren for such vain trifles, but also because you will not refuse the earnest request of us your Brethren, and fellow Ministers; in whom, although there appear no worldly pomp, yet we are assured, you will esteem us as God's servants, travelling to set forth his glory against the Roman Antichrist. The dayes are evill, iniquitie aboundeth, and charitie (alas) waxeth cold; wherefore we ought to walk diligently, for the hour is uncertain when the Lord shall come, before whom we must all give an account of our administration. In conclusion, yet once more we desire you to be favourable one to another; the Lord Jesus rule your hearts in his fear unto the end, and give to you and us victorie over that conjured enemy of true Religion, (the Pope,) whose wounded head Sathan by all means strives to cure again; but to destruction shall he go, and all his maintainers, by the power of our Lord Jesus, to whose mighty protection we commit you.

"From our Generall Assembly, Decemb. 27. 1566."

[When John Knox, the penner of this letter wrote thus of the superstitious Apparell as a supplicant for the afflicted Brethren, what would he have written, think you, in another case. It is to be observed, that at the same time our worthy Brethren in England made their state known to Master Beza, who, upon their complaint, wrote a letter in their behalf at the same time to Doctor Grindall, Bishop of London, wherein he findeth fault with the manner of Apparrell appointed for Ministers with kneeling at the communion, and all significant ceremonies; which letter is the eight in order, among his

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Epistles. But obtaining no favour, he wrote the year following, (which was in Anno 1567,) another letter to this purpose, which is the twelfth in order amongst his Epistles, wherein he giveth his beloved brethren this advice; that rather then they should give their consents to the order of ordaining their Ministers to use the cope and surplice, and to the manner of excommunication that was used in the Church of England, that they should give place to manifest violence, and live as privat men. It is also to be observed, that the sincerer sort of the Ministrie in England had not yet assaulted the jurisdiction and Church government, (which they did not till the year 1572, at which time they published their first and second Admonition to the Parliament,) but only had excepted against superstitious apparell, and some other faults in the Service Booke. By the former Assembly, the Reader of Bathgate was censured for baptizing of infants, and solemnizing of marriage, he being but a simple Reader, and for taking silver for the same from such as were without the parish. Hear you may see that they acknowledge not Reading Ministers, that is, that any administer the Sacraments, but he that was able to preach the word.][1]

As she had lately gratified the Protestants by granting their Petition, so at this time she yeelds unto the Papists their demands also, that she might be stopped by neither of them in her designe of vengeance and new love.

At the same time, the Bishop of Saint Andrews, by means of the Earl Bothwell, procured a writing from the Queen's Majesty, to be obeyed within the diocese of his jurisdiction, in all such causes as before in time of Popery were used in the Consistory, and therefore to discharge the new Commissioners; and for the same purpose came to Edinburgh in January, having a company of one hundred horses, or more, intending to take possession, according to his gift lately obtained. The Provest being advertised thereof by the Earl of Murray, they sent to the Bishop three or four of the Councell, desiring him to desist from the said matter, for fear of trouble and sedition

[1] The above paragraph is not contained in the London edition 1644, but was added to the Edinburgh republication in that year.

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that might rise thereupon; whereby he was perswaded to desist at that time.

Soon after, the Queen came to Edinburgh, where she remained a few days. In the moneth of January she was informed that the King was recovered of the poyson given him at Sterlin, and therefore she past to Glasgow to visit him, and there tarried with him six days, using him wonderfully kindely, with many gracious and good words; and likewise his father, the Earl of Lenox, insomuch that all men marvelled whereto it should turn, considering the great contempt and drynesse that had been before so long together. The Queen, notwithstanding all the contempt that was given him, with a known design to take away his life, yet by her sweet words gains so far upon the uxorious husband, and his facile father, that he went in company with her to Edinburgh, where she had caused to lodge him at the Church of Field,[1] in a lodging, lately bought by Master James Balfour, Clerk Register, truely very unmeet for a King. The Queen resorted often to visit him, and lay in the house two nights by him, (although her lodging was in the Palace of Halyrud-house.) Every man marvelled at this reconciliation and sudden change. The ninth of February, the King was murthered, and the house where he lay burned with powder, about twelve of the clock in the night: his body was cast forth in a yard, without the town wall, adjoining close by. There was a servant likewise murthered beside him, who had been also in the chamber with him. The people ran to behold this spectacle; and wondering thereat some judged one thing, some another.

Shortly thereafter, Bothwell came from the Abbey with a company of men of war, and caused the body of the King to be carryed to the next house; where, after a little, the chirurgions being convened at the Queen's command to view and consider the manner of his death; most part gave out, to

[1] Kirk of Field: see this volume, page 181, note 1.

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please the Queen, that he was blown in the ayre, albeit he had no mark of fire; and truly he was strangled. Soon after,[1] he was carryed to the Abbey, and there buryed.

[When many of the common people had gazed long upon the King's corpse, the Queen caused it to be brought down to the Pallace by some pioners. She beheld the corpse without any outward shew or signe of joy or sorrow. When the Lords had concluded amongst themselves that he should be honourablie buried, the Queen caused his corpse to be carried by some pioners in the night without solemnitie, and to be layed beside the sepulchre of David Rizio. If there had been any solemn buriall, Buchanan had wanted wit to relate otherwise, seeing there would have been so many witnesses to testifie the contrair. Therefore the contriver of the late Historie of Queen Marie[2] wanted policie here to convoy a lee.

The Queen, according to the ancient custom should have keeped herself 40. days within, and the doores and windowes should have been closed in token of mourning; but the windowes were opened, to let in light, the fourth day. Before the twelfth day, she went out to Seatoun, Bothwell never parting from her side. There she went out to the fields to behold games and pastimes. The King's armour, horse, and household stuffe, were bestowed upon the murtherers. A certain taylour, when he was to reforme the King's apparel to Bothwell, said jestingly, He acknowledged here the custom of the country, by which the clothes of the dead fall to the hangman.][3]

[1] These words, "Soon after, he was carryed to the Abbey, and there buryed," are omitted in the 4to edit. 1644, and the two following paragraphs, enclosed within brackets, are interpolated. Both of these paragraphs are given verbatim in Calderwood's History, vol. ii. pp. 346, 347.

[2] This paragraph is an evident interpolation, like some of these by David Buchanan in the former Books. George Buchanan's History was first published in the year 1582; and the reference to the more recent work, may have been to "The Historie of the Life and Death of Mary Stuart, Queene of Scotland." London 1636, 12mo, and dedicated to Charles the First, by "W. Vdall;" as some remarks on George Buchanan's writings occur at page 55.

[3] See this page, note 1.

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This tragicall end had Henry Steward, after he had been King eighteen moneths. A Prince of great linage, both by mother and father: He was of a comely stature, and none was like unto him within this island; he died under the age of one and twenty years; prompt and ready for all games and sports; much given to hawking and hunting, and running of horses, and likewise to playing on the lute, and also to Venus chamber: He was liberall enough: He could write and dictate well; but he was somewhat given to wine, and much feeding, and likewise to inconstancy; and proud beyond measure, and therefore contemned all others: He had learned to dissemble well enough, being from his youth misled up in Popery. Thus, within two years after his arriving in this Realm, he was highly by the Queen alone extolled; and, finally, had this infortunate end by her procurement and consent. To lay all other proofs aside, her marriage with Bothwell, who was the main executioner of the King, notwithstanding all the advices and counsells that the King of France, and the Queen of England, did earnestly and carefully give her, as other friends did likewise, witness anent their guilt. Those that laid hands on the King to kill him, by Bothwell's direction, was Sir James Balfour, Gilbert Balfour, David Chalmers, black John Spense, Francis, Sebastien, Jo. de Bourdeau, and Joseph, the brother of David Rizio: These last four were the Queen's domesticks, and strangers. The reason why the King's death was so hastened, because the affection or passion of the Earl Bothwell could not bear so long a delay, as the procurement of a bill of divorce required, although the Romish clergie offered their service willingly to the business, namely, Bishop Hamilton, and so he came great again at Court; and he for the advancement of the business, did good offices to increase the hatred betwixt the King and Queen; yea, some that had been the chief instruments of the marriage of the King and Queen, offered the service for the divorce, seeing how the Queen's in-

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clination lay: So unhappy are Princes, that men, for their own ends, further them in all their inclinations and undertakings, be they never so bad or destructive to themselves.

The Earl of Lenox, in the mean time, wrote to the Queen, to cause punish Bothwell, with his other complices, for murthering the King. The Queen, not daring openly to reject the Earl of Lenox his solicitation, did appoint a day for the triall of Bothwell, by an assise;[1] the members whereof was the Earl of Cathnes, President, the Earl of Cassels, (who at the first refused, but thereafter, being threatened to be put in prison, and under the pain of treason, was present by the Queen's command,) John Hamilton, Commendator of Aberbrothock, Lord Rosse, Lord Semple, Lord Boyd, Lord Hereis, Lord Olyphant; the Master of Forbes, the Lairds of Lochinver, Langton, Cambusnetham,[2] Barnbougel, and Boyne: They, to please the Queen, and for fear, did pronounce Bothwell not guilty, notwithstanding the manifest evidences of the cruell fact committed by Bothwell, who, before the tryall, did make himself strong by divers means; namely, by the possession of the Castle of Edinburgh, so that the accusers durst not appear, not being strong enough. The Earl of Marr did retire to Sterlin, and had committed to his charge the young Prince. All this was done in Februarie.

In April, Bothwell called together sundry of the Lords, who had come to Edinburgh, to a meeting that was there; and having gained some before, made them all, what by fear, what by fair promises, first of their private state, and then of advancing the Papist's Religion, to consent by their subscriptions to the marriage with the Queen. Then the Queen goes

[1] The names and designations of the assize on Bothwell's trial, before the Court of Justiciary at Edinburgh, 12th April 1567, are given by Keith, with the proceedings, extracted from the Books of Adjournal. (Hist. vol. ii. pp. 541-548.)

[2] In the folio edit. 1644, "Cambusdentham;" in the 4to edit., "Cambuskinneth." The person referred to was James Somerville of Cambusnethen in Lanarkshire.

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to Sterlin, to see her son: Bothwell makes a shew as if he were going to the Borders to suppresse robbers, and so he raiseth some men of war; which, when he had done, he turneth towards the way to Sterlin, where he meets the Queen, according to appointment betwixt them, and carrieth her to Dumbar, as it had been by force, although every one knew it was with the Queen's liking. The prime Nobility convened at Sterlin, and from thence sent to her, to know whether or not she was taken against her will: She answered, That it was true she was taken against her will, but since her taking, she had no occasion to complain; yea, the courteous entertainment she had, made her forget and forgive all former offences. These expressions were used by way of preface to the pardon, which was granted immediately thereafter to Bothwell; for, by Letters Patents, he was pardoned by the Queen, for laying violently hands upon her Majestie, and for all other crimes. So by this, &c.,[1] the murther of the King was pardoned. During the Queen's abode in Dumbar, there was letters of divorce demanded and granted unto Bothwell from his Lady, (who afterward was married to the Earl Sutherland,) she was sister to the Earl of Huntley. The ground of divorce was, the parties being within the degrees prohibited, could not be lawfully joyned: Next, because Bothwell was an adulterer, the marriage was voyd. The bill of divorce was granted by the Papisticall Court of the Archbishop of Saint Androis. And here mark how they juggle in sacred things; for when it pleaseth them, they untie the bond of marriage, as now, and as we have seen in the First Book of this History. When the Queen fell in distaste of the late King her husband, it was proposed unto her to have divorce upon the same ground from the King: To which, first ear was given, but after second

[1] "So by this, &c." This sentence is so printed in both edit. 1644, probably owing to some word in the MS. being illegible. We might substitute, for instance, "So by this procedure, the murther of the King was pardoned."

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thoughts, a bill of divorce was too tedious, (as we have now said,) and could not be stayed for, therefore the King must be dispatched.

The Queen, when Bothwell had obtained by the Archbishop a letter of divorce from his lawfull wife, sent a letter signed with her own hand to Master John Craig, minister of Edinburgh, commanding him to publish the band of matrimony betwixt her and Bothwell. Master John Craig, the next sermon day thereafter, declared in full congregation, that he had received such a command, but in conscience he could not obey it; the marriage was altogether unlawfull; and of that he would declare the reasons to the parties, if he had audience of them, otherwise he would make known his just reasons in the hearing of the people. Immediately thereafter, Bothwell sends for Master Craig to the Councell, where Master Craig told, first, That by an Act of the Assembly, it was forbidden to allow the marriage of any divorced for adultery: The divorce of Bothwell from his lawfull wife, was by collusion, witness the quick dispatch thereof; for it was sought and had within ten days, and his contracting with the Queen instantly thereafter; then his rapt of the Queen, and the guilt of the King's death, which was confirmed by this marriage: withall, he desired the Lords to stop the Queen[1] from that infamous mar-

[1] It is impossible to vindicate the Queen's conduct in "this infamous marriage," even when acquitted of being in any way accessory to Darnley's murder. That event occurred on the 9th February 1566-7. Bothwell, who was denounced as his murderer, submitted to a mock trial on the 12th April; and on the 19th, he obtained from the Queen in Parliament a ratification of several lands, &c., as Keeper of the Castle of Dunbar. On the 24th of the same month, the Queen was way-laid, and forcibly carried off to Dunbar, where she was coerced to agree to an alliance with a man who was then married. To accomplish this, Bothwell brought the Queen to the Castle of Edinburgh on the 29th April. He obtained a sentence of divorce from his first wife on the 7th May; his marriage with the Queen was proclaimed on the 12th of that month; and having created him Duke of Orkney, on the 15th their marriage was celebrated. Thus within the period of three months all these events happened. One month later, the Queen surrendered on Carberry-hill, and Bothwell made his escape: they never met after that day.

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riage. The Sunday after, he told publikely to the people, what he had said to the Councell; and he took heaven and earth to witnesse, that he detested that scandalous and infamous marriage; and that he discharged his conscience unto the Lords, who seemed unto him, as so many slaves, what by flattery, what by silence, to give way to that abomination. Upon this, he was called to the Councell again, and was reproved, as if he had exceeded the bounds of his calling. Whereunto he answered, That the bounds of his commission was the word of God, right reason, and good laws, against which he had said nothing; and by all these, offered to prove this marriage to be scandalous and infamous. At this he was stopped by Bothwell, and sent from the Councell. Notwithstanding all this done and said by Master Craig, and the opposition of many that wished well to the Queen, and were jealous of her honour, the marriage went on, and they were married the 15. of May. This makes good the Latine proverb, *Mala nubunt mense Maio;* and a Bishop must bless the marriage: The good Prelat was Bishop of Orkney:[1] If there be a good work to be done, a Bishop must do it. Here mark the difference betwixt this worthy minister Master Craig, and this base Bishop. Note.

The Earl of Athole, immediately after the murther of the

[1] Adam Bothwell became successor to Bishop Reid, in the See of Orkney, and was admitted to the temporalities of the Bishopric, 14th October 1559. He was one of four Prelates who joined the Reformers. In 1564 he was appointed an Extraordinary Lord of Session; and an Ordinary Lord, 13th November 1565. He celebrated the marriage of Queen Mary and Bothwell, but afterwards took an active part in opposing him. He also officiated at the baptism of James the Sixth. His conduct was viewed with suspicion by the Kirk, and various articles were alleged against him in the General Assembly, 25th December 1567; but having submitted, and made a public confession of his offence, he was restored to his ministry. He exchanged the temporalities of his Bishopric with Lord Robert Stewart for the Abbey of Holyrood-House, which was ratified by a charter under the Great Seal, 25th September 1569. He died on the 23d August 1593, in the sixty-seventh year of his age, according to an inscription which still exists in the Abbey Church of Holyrood, with some Latin verses, by M. H. R., (Mr. Hercules Rollock.)

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King, had retired home, waiting for the occasion to revenge the King's death: But seeing this abominable marriage, he went to Sterlin, where other honest Lords with him had a meeting, and made a bond, to defend the young Prince from the murtherers of his father; as already they had had one plot to cut him off, which God in his mercy did prevent. The Nobles that entred in this bond, were the Earls of Argyle, Athole, Morton, Marr, and Glencarne; the Lords Lindsey and Boyd. Argyle thereafter, seduced by some fair words, fell off; and Boyd became a great factionary for Bothwell in all things. The Queen, soon after the marriage, was advised to send abroad an Ambassadour to acquaint her forraigne friends and kindred; and this must be a Bishop: It is pity that any good work should be done without a Bishop; was not this a worthy employment for a pastor in God's Church.[1]

Bothwell seeing the bond made at Sterlin, causeth the Queen to write to sundry of the Nobility. Divers repaired unto her, where they found a bond tendred unto them, by which they were to bind themselves to defend the Queen and Bothwell. Some that were corrupt, did willingly subscribe; others for fear did the same: and there was not one that went to Court that did refuse, but the Earl of Murray; who refusing absolutely to enter into a bond with Bothwell, said, It was not the part of a good subject; yet since he had been made friends with him some time before, he would keep his promise unto the Queen; and to enter into a bond with the Queen, it was needlesse and unfit, since he was to obey her in all lawfull and just things. Upon this, he gat leave, although with great difficulty, to go into France.

The Queen receives now Hamilton Archbishop of Saint

[1] The Bishop here referred to, was William Chisholm, Bishop of Dumblane. His instructions concerning the Queen's motives to take her husband, the Duke of Orkney, to be declared to the King of France, the Cardinal of Lorraine and others, in May 1567, are printed by Keith. (History, vol. ii. p. 592.) But Calderwood asserts they "are forged, and full of lies."

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Androis into favour since these changes; who was no less a faithfull Councellor to her, then he was a good pastor of Christ's flock; that is, he betrayed her, and disobeyed God. With this a Proclamation comes out in favour of the poor Protestants, whereby the Queen declares, That she will keep and confirm all that she had promised at her arrivall into Scotland: This was done to stop the people's mouthes; but all in vain, for the people were universally against the abomination of the Court.

Within few dayes, Bothwell and the Queen were raising men, under pretext to go to the Borders to represse the robbers there; but in effect to go to Sterlin, to have the Prince in their custody, that they might dispose of him according to their mind. Then a new Proclamation came out, That the Queen hereafter would rule only by the advice of the Nobles of the land, as her best predecessors had done. The Lords at Sterlin, hearing of this plot, strives to prevent it, and to this purpose they appointed with the Lord Hume, to besiege the Castle of Borthwicke, where the Queen and Bothwell was: But because the Earle of Athole did not come at the houre appointed, they had not men enough to environ and compass the Castle; so that Bothwell having notice given him of the business, escaped to Dumbar, and the Queen after him, in man's cloths. The Lords, failing of their designe at Borthwike Castle, went to Edinburgh, whereof they made themselves masters easily, having the affections of the people, notwithstanding the Earl Huntley and the Archbishop of Saint Androis perswasion to the contrary. These two, with their associates, were constrained to retire to the Castle, where they were received by Sir James Balfour, left there by Bothwell.

The twelfth of June, which was the next day following, the Lords at Edinburgh caused to publish a proclamation, whereby they declared, That the Earle Bothwell, who had been the principall author, deviser, and actor of the cruell murther of

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the late King, had since laid hand upon the Queen's person, and had her for the present in Dumbar in his power; and finding her utterly destitute of all good counsell, had seduced her to a dishonest and unlawfull marriage with himselfe; yea, that now he was gathering forces, and stirring himself to get the young Prince in his hands, that he might murther the child, as he had murthered the father. This wicked man the Nobles of the land resolved to withstand, and deliver the Queen out of his bondage; wherefore they did charge all lieges within the kingdom that could come to them, to be in readiness at three hours warning to assist them (the Nobles) for the freeing of the Queen from captivity, and bringing the said Earle Bothwell to a legall triall, and condigne punishment for the aforesaid murther and other crimes. All such that would not side with the Lords were by this Proclamation commanded to depart from Edinburgh within four hours, under the pain of being accounted enemies, &c.

Notwithstanding this Proclamation, the people did not joyn unto these Lords as was expected, for sundry of the Nobles were adversaries to the business, others stood as neuters; and withall, those that were convened together were not well provided of armes and munition for exploits of warr; so that they were even thinking to dissolve and leave off their enterprise till another time, and had absolutely done so; but God had ordained other wayes, as the event did shew, (if the Queen and Bothwell could have had patience to stay at Dumbar for three or four dayes without any stir;) but the Queen and Bothwell, having gathered together about four or five thousand men, trusting in their force, (the Queen being puft up by flatterers,) set forth and marched towards Leith: Being come forward as far as Glaidsmure, she caused publike Proclamation against the aforesaid Lords, calling them a number of conspirators, and that she now discerned their inward malice against her and her husband, the Duke of Orkney, (for so now they called Both-

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well.) After they had endeavoured to apprehend her and her husband at Borthwick, and had made a seditious Proclamation, under pretence of seeking the revenge of the King her late husband, and to free her from captivity; giving out, that the Duke her husband had a minde to invade the Prince her sonne; all which was false, for the Duke her husband had used all means to clear himself, both by a legall way and by the offer of a combate to any that did accuse him, as they knew well enough: As touching her captivity, she was in none, but was in company with her husband, unto whom she was publikely married in the view of the world, and many of the Nobles had given their consent unto this her marriage: As for the Prince her sonne, it was but a specious pretence to the treason and rebellion against her their naturall Sovereign and her posteritie, which they intended to overthrow; wherefore she declared her self necessitated to take armes, hoping that all her faithfull subjects would adhere unto her, and that those who were already assembled with her, would with good hearts and hands stand to her defence; and for the recompence of their valour they should have the lands and goods of these unnaturall rebels. After this Proclamation, the army went on, and the Queen that night came to Seaton, where she lay.

About midnight the Lords of Edinburgh were advertised of the Queen's approach, presently they took armes, and at the sun rising they were at Musselburgh, where they refreshed themselves with meat and rest. The Queen's camp was not yet stirring. About mid-day the scouts that the Lords had sent out, brought word that the enemie was marching towards them; presently they put themselves in two batallias; the first was conducted by the Earle Morton and the Lord Hume; the second by the Earls Athole, Glencarne, the Lords Lindsay, Ruthven, Semple, and Sanchar, with the Lairds Drumlanrick, Tullibarden, Cesfoord, and Graunge, with divers others: their number was almost as great as the Queen's, their men better,

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being many of them expert men, that I say nothing of the cause. The Queen had gained a hill called Carbarry,[1] which the Lords (by reason of the steepness of the ascent) could not well come at; wherefore they wheeled about to get a more convenient place to go to the hill, where the enemie was, and to have the sunne behind them in the time of the fight. At the first the Queen, seeing their thus going about, did imagine they were fleeing away to Dalkeith, but when she saw them come directly towards her, she found her self deceived.

The French Ambassador, seeing them ready to fight, strived to take up the business, and having spoken with the Queen, went to the Lords, telling them, that the Queen was disposed to peace, and to forgive and pardon this insurrection: wherefore it was very fit to spare blood, to agree in a peaceable way The Earle of Morton (in the name of all the rest) answered, That they had taken up armes, not against the Queen, but against the murtherer of the King; whom if she would deliver to be punished, or at least put from her company, she should find a continuation of dutifull obedience by them, and all other good subjects; otherwise no peace: besides, we are not to ask pardon for any offence done by us. The Ambassador, seeing their resolution to stand to the right of their cause, withdrew, and went to Edinburgh.

While the French Ambassadour was thus labouring for accommodation, Bothwell came out of the camp (which was in the trench that the Englishmen had left at their last being in these places, as we have said in the former Books,) well mounted, with a defie to any that would fight with him. James Murray, brother to the Laird of Tullibardin, who before had accepted of Bothwell's challenge, when he made the rodomontade at Edinburgh, immediately after the King's death; but then James Murray did not make known his name. Both-

[1] Carberry-hill, in the parish of Inveresk, about two miles to the south-east of Musselburgh, and seven miles from Edinburgh.

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well refused to fight with James Murray,[1] alleadging he was not his equall. Upon this the elder brother, William Murray, Laird of Tullibardin, answered, That he would fight with him, as being his better in estate, and in antiquitie of house many degrees above him; yet Bothwell refused him, saying, That he was not a Peer of the Kingdom, as he was; then sundry Lords would have gone to fight with Bothwell; but the Lord Lindsey namely, who said to the rest of the Lords and Gentlemen, That he would take it as a singular favour of them, and as a recompence of his service done to the State, if they would suffer him to fight with the braggadocio. Bothwell seeing that there was no more subterfuge nor excuse, under-hand made the Queen to forbid him. After this challenge and answers, Bothwell's complices and followers were very earnest to fight, but others that had come only for the Queen's sake, became little cold, saying, That Bothwell would do well to fight himself, and spare the blood of divers gentlemen that were there. Some counselled to delay the battell till the Hamiltons came, whom they did expect. All this the Queen heard with anger; and riding up and downe, burst out in teares, and said, They were all cowards and traytors that would not fight. Immediately after thus vapouring, the Queen, perceiving sundry to leave her, she advised Bothwell to look unto himself, for she said to him, she would render her selfe unto the Noble-men.[2] Upon this she sent for James Kirkaldie of Grange,[3] with whom she kept discourse for a while, till that she was assured that Bothwell was out of danger. Then she went to the Lords, whom she did entertain with many fair words, telling them, That it was neither fear, nor want of hope of victorie, that made her come unto them, but a meer desire to spare shedding

Note how God changeth things in a moment.

[1] "James Murray, son of umquhill William Murray of Tullibardine," is mentioned in a letter of Queen Mary, in Aug. 1564. (Recueil, &c., vol. i. p. 221.)

[2] Queen Mary surrendered at Carberry-hill, on Sunday the 15th June: She was brought that night to Edinburgh, and on the following day was sent prisoner to Lochleven Castle.

[3] See page 322, note 7.

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of innocent blood: withall she promised to be ruled and advised by them. With this she was received with all respect: But shortly after, declaring that she would go to the Hamiltons, with promise to returne, they restrained her liberty, and brought her along with them to Edinburgh at night: She was very slow in marching, looking to be rescued by the Hamiltons; but in vain. She lay that night in the Provest his house. The next day, the Lords sent the Queen to the Castle that is within an Isle of Lochlevin. Sir James Balfour, seeing the Queen committed, and Bothwell consequently defeated, he capitulated with the Lords for the deliverie of the Castle. Bothwell, finding himselfe thus in disorder, sent a servant to Sir James Balfour, to save a little silver cabinet which the Queen had given him. Sir James Balfour delivers the cabinet to the messenger, and under-hand giveth advice of it to the Lords. In this cabinet had Bothwell kept the letters of privacy he had from the Queen: Thus he kept her letters, to be an awe-bond upon her, in case her affection should change. By the taking of this cabinet, many particulars betwixt the Queen and Bothwell were clearly discovered. These letters were after printed:[1] They were in French, with some sonnets of her owne making.

[About this time the Earle Bothwell was declared by open Proclamation not only the murtherer of the King, but also the committer of it with his owne hand; and a thousand crownes were offered to any man that would bring him in.[2]]

Few dayes after the commitment of the Queen, the Earl of Glencarne with his domesticks went to the Chappell of Halyrud-house, where he brake down the altars and the images: which fact, as it did content the zealous Protestants, so it did highly offend the Popishly affected. The Nobles, who had so proceeded against Bothwell, and dealt so with the Queen, hearing that the Hamiltons had a great number of men, and had

[1] In Buchanan's Detection, &c., 1572.

[2] This sentence is inserted in the 4to edit. 1644, at the close of the preceding paragraph.

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drawn the Earls of Argyle and Huntley to their side, sent to Hamilton, desiring those that were there to joyn with them, for the redress of the disorders of the Kirk and State: But the Hamiltons, thinking now they had a faire occasion fallen unto them to have all again in their hands, and to dispose of all according to their own mind, did refuse audience to the message sent by the Lords.

Upon this, the Lords moved the Generall Assembly then met in Edinburgh,[1] in the moneth of June, to write to the Lords that either were actually declared for the Hamiltons or were neuters: And so severall letters were directed to the Earls of Argyle, Huntley, Cathnes, Rothesse, Crauford, and Menteith; to the Lords Boyd, Drummond, Graham,[2] Cathcart, Yester, Fleming, Levingston, Seaton, Glams, Uchiltry, Gray, Olyphant, Methven, Innermeth,[2] and Somervile, as also to divers other men of note. Besides the letters of the Assembly, Commissioners were sent from the Assembly to the Lords above-named; to wit, John Knox, John Dowglas, John Row, and John Craig, who had instructions conforme to the tenour of the letters, to desire these Lords and others, to come to Edinburgh, and joyne with the Lords there, for the setling of God's true worship in the Church, and Policie reformed according to God's Word, a maintenance for the Ministers, and support for the Poor: But neither the Commissioners nor the letters did prevaile with these men; they excused, that they could not repair to Edinburgh with freedom, where there was so many armed men, and a garrison so strong: But for the Church affairs they would not be any wayes wanting, to do what lay in them.

The Lords at Edinburgh, seeing this, joyneth absolutely with

[1] The General Assembly met on the 25th June, and Mr. George Buchanan was chosen Moderator. The Book of the Universall Kirk contains the letter signed by Knox, Row, Craig, Erskine, Spottiswood, and Douglas, dated 26th June 1567; and also the names of the several persons to whom copies of it were addressed. After appointing a General Fast to be observed on Sunday the 13th and the 20th of July, the Assembly adjourned to the 21st of that month.

[2] In the Edinburgh editions 1644, "Ghram" and "Inderneth."

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the Assembly, (which had been prorogated to the 20. of July,[1] upon the occasion of these Letters and Commissioners aforesaid,) and promiseth to make good all the Articles they thought fit to resolve upon in the Assembly: But how they performed their promises, God knows. Alwayes the Articles they agreed upon were these:[2]

1. That the Acts of Parliament holden at Edinburgh the 24. of August 1560, touching Religion, and abolishing the Pope's authoritie, should have the force of a publike law; and consequently this Parliament defended as a lawfull Parliament, and confirmed by the first Parliament that should be kept next.

2. That the Thirds of the Tythes, or any more reasonable proportion of Benefices, should be allowed towards the maintenance of the Ministery; and that there should be a charitable course taken concerning the exacting of the tythes of the poor labourers. [Moreover, that nothing should pass in Parliament till the affaires of the Kirk be first considered, approven, and established.]

3. That none should be received in the Universities, Colledges, or Schooles, for instruction of the youth, but after due tryall both of capacitie and probitie.

4. That all crimes and offences against God, should be punished according to God's word; and that there should be a law made there anent, at the first Parliament to be holden.

5. As for the horrible murther of the late King, husband to the Queen, which was so haynous before God and man, all true professors, in whatsoever rank or condition, did promise to strive that all persons should be brought to condigne punishment, who are found guilty of the same crime.

[1] At the Assembly in July 1567, "Letters of Excusation," from the Earl of Argyle, the Commendator of Aberbrothok, (Lord John Hamilton,) and Thomas Menzies, provost of Aberdeen, were read; and copies of them are contained in the Book of the Universall Kirk, (vol. i. pages 101-103.)

[2] These Articles are here given only in a condensed or abridged form. See Book of the Universall Kirk, vol. i., pages 106-110.

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6. They all promised to protect the young Prince against all violence, lest he should be murthered as his father was; and that the Prince should be committed to the care of four wise and godly men, that by a good education, he might be fitted for that high calling he was to execute one day.

7. The Nobles, Barons, and others, doth promise to beat down and abolish Popery, Idolatry, and Superstition, with any thing that may contribute unto it; as also to set up and further the true worship of God, his government, the Church, and all that may concern the purity of Religion and life; and for this to convene and take arms, if need require.

8. That all Princes and Kings hereafter in this Realm, before their Coronation, shall take oath to maintain the true Religion now professed in the Church of Scotland, and suppress all things contrary to it, and that are not agreeing with it.

To these Articles[1] subscribed the Earls of Morton, Glencarne, and Marr, the Lords Hume, Ruthven, Sanchar, Lindsey, Grame, Innermeth, and Uchiltrie, with many other Barons, besides the Commissioners of the Burroughs.

This being agreed upon, the Assembly dissolved. Thereafter the Lords Lindsay and Ruthven were sent to Lochlevin to the Queen, to present unto her two writs; the one contained a renunciation of the Crowne and Royall dignitie in favour of the Prince her son; with a Commission to invest him into the Kingdome, according to the manner accustomed: which after some reluctancy, with tears, she subscribed[2] by the advice of the Earle of Athole, who had sent to her; and of Secretary Lethington, who had sent to her Robert Melvill[3] for that pur-

[1] The names of the Subscribers to these Articles, amounting in all to 79 persons, are inserted in the Book of the Universall Kirk, (vol. i. p. 110.)

[2] The three Instruments signed at Lochlevin, by Queen Mary, on the 24th July 1567, were published with other documents connected with them in Anderson's Collections, vol. ii. Edinb. 1727, 4to: see also Keith's History, vol. ii. p. 706, &c.

[3] See page 361, note 2.

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pose: So there was a procuration given to the Lords Lindsey and Ruthven, by the Queen, to give up and resign the rule of the Realm, in presence of the States.

The second writ was, To ordain the Earle of Murray Regent during the Prince's minority, if he would accept the charge: And in case he refused [to accept the said office upon his single person, that he with] the Duke Chattelarault, the Earles of Lenox, Argyle, Athole, Morton, Glencarne, and Marr, should govern conjunctly.

These writs were published the 29. of July 1567, at the Market Crosse of Edinburgh. Then at Sterlin was the Prince crowned King, where John Knox made the sermon. The Earle Morton and the Lord Hume took the oath for the King, that he should constantly live in the profession of the true Religion, and maintain it; and that he should govern the Kingdom according to [the] law thereof, and doe justice equally to all.

In the beginning of August, the Earle Murray being sent for, cometh home;[1] in all haste he visits the Queen at Lochlevin, strives to draw the Lords that had taken part with the Hamiltons, or were neuters, to joyne with those that had bound themselves to stand for the King's authoritie: He was very earnest with divers, by reason of their old friendship, but to little purpose. The twentie of August, he received his Regency, after mature and ripe deliberation, at the desire of the Queen, and Lords that were for the King, and so was publikely proclaimed Regent, and obedience showed unto him by all that stood for the young King.

THE END OF THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, TILL THE YEAR 1567, AND MONETH OF AUGUST.

[1] At the time of Queen Mary's renunciation of the Crown, the Earl of Murray was in France. After his return to Edinburgh, the 11th August, he had an interview with the Queen at Lochleven. He was solemnly inaugurated as Regent in the Council Chamber of the Tolbooth, or Parliament House, and publicly proclaimed at the Cross of Edinburgh, 22d August 1567

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APPENDIX.

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APPENDIX.

No. I.

Interpolations and Various Readings in the Editions of Knox's History of the Reformation, by David Buchanan, printed at London, 1644, folio, and reprinted at Edinburgh, 1644, quarto, (Continued from Vol. I. page 494.)

BOOK THIRD.

(THE PAGES AND LINES AT THE LEFT-HAND SIDE REFER TO THE PRESENT EDITION.)

Page 9, line 18. *that they destroyed not*—to stop them from destroying. —22. *all credibility*—almost credit.—28. *they slew*—was slain.

10, l. 9. *but a cowart*—a very coward.—13. *the said*—and.

11, l. 10. *schybaldis*—scybalds and rascals.—13. *glansing . . . . feirceness, stamered almost*—glasing . . . fear stumbled.—20. *scatring . . . creatures*—straying and wandering . . . people.

13, l. 1. *xxiij. day*—the thirteenth.—3. *sea-cost*—coast.—11. *seased* —seized upon.—15. *foir-ryderis*—forwarners.—17. *the ryveing of a baird*—pulling of bairds for anger.

14, l. 8. *Verry tyme reteiring*—time returning.—10. *fouchtein*—foughton with.

15, l. 30. *of Ingland*—of State in England.

16, l. 7. *occupyed*—taken up.—10. *as it*—as the favour it.—12. *these my presentis*—my present letter.—13. *breve*—few.

17, l. 9. *and* p. 21, l. 28. *defectioun*—desertion.

19, l. 9. *cruellie*—rudelie.—19. *guid*—cleare.

20, l. 14. *against*—against, or answered.

21, (*Marginal note wanting.*)—9. *dejectioun*—defection.—10. *thair faces*—faire faces.—21. *ather yet of any continuance to remaine*

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in England—or yet to remain any long time in England.—23. *furthe to my awin*—thorow to my.

22, l. 12. *theirefter*, (*omitted.*)—18. *Yff England*, (*in margin,*) As England had interest then not to suffer Scotland to perish, so likewise Scotland hath interest now [1644,] not to see England undone.

25, l. 17. *naturall*—wise.—32. *humill*—most humble.

26, l. 6. *in tennour as efter followis*—The tenour whereof follows thus.—11. *in* a few and simple words of *my*.—15. *writter*—writers thereof.

27, l. 1. *Chryst Jesus*—for Christ.—2, 3. *of the same to*, (*omitted.*)—7. *nett*—not should.—20. *Quenis Grace*—Queen's favour.—21. *not*, (*omitted.*)—23. *The* common things here.

28, l. 17. *retract*—recant.—19. *that either your Grace, either yitt ony*—that your Majesty, or any.—29. *thristit*—wished.

29, l. 3. *that*—that book.—14. *crouche*—crouche and bows.—23. *factious*—fact.—27. *woman*—women to command and bear rule over men.—30. *before men*, (*omitted.*)

30, l. 4. *be long, prosperouse*—be both prosperous.—14. *hasard*—travall.—21. *idollatrie*—idolatry, going to Masse under your sister Mary, her persecution of God's saints.—33. *contrair to nature*—contrary to the ordinary course of nature.

31, l. 5, 6. *gif the premisses . . . neglected, ye sall*—if you neglect . . . these things, and shall.—19. *discretioun of spreittis*—direction of his spirit.

33, l. 8. *Lords*—Lords of the Congregation.

39, l. 7, 8. *amanges which . . . is maid*, (*omitted.*)

45, l. 27, 28. *Hamyltoun, second . . . the Counsalle*—Hamilton and others of the Councell.

46, l. 9. *ministeris*—Monsieurs, I had almost said monsters.—14. *so intollerable*—hath been, I say, so intolerable.—22. *gentillis . . . covenantes*—willingly . . . conditions.

49, l. 10. (*Margin,*) Let us mark our advantage from France.

53, (*The names arranged in a different order.*)

57, l. 1. *army*—armie by land.—22. *catyveis awin qukynger*—wretches own dagger.—29. *army be land*—of the land.

61, l. 15. (*Margin,*) The Fourth Covenant.

63, l. 13. *before . . . please*—as it pleaseth them.—*In* pp. 63 *and* 64, *the passage in brackets, and the marginal note in* p. 64, *omitted.*

64, (*Margin,*) Let the Princes now adayes make use of this.—23.

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(*Maryin,*) So now [1644] the worldlings speak unto the King concerning the Scots into England.

65, l. 12. *geving us in*—delivering and giving into.—18. *hir affectiouns*—their affections.—(*Margin,*) The Hamiltons, namely.

66, l. 23. (*Margin,*) Note this diligently.

67, l. 19. (*Margin,*) We must go to the first cause in all things.

70, l. 23. (*Margin,*) Let the Princes now make use of these words of this dying Queen.

71, l. 12. *annoyntit of*—anointed with extreme unction, after.—28 *to* 72, l. 4. *God, for . . . to appeir.* The Guisian councells, as they were wicked and cruell to the people, so they proved mischievous to themselves, and to them that followed them, to this day.

72, l. 15. (*Margin,*) Note a Character of Popishly addicted French Officers of State.

73, l. 3. *transactit and aggreit be the Reverend Father in God, Johne*—translated and agreed by John.—10. *anent the*—and the.

74, l. 11. *be not affirmit*—be affirmit.—16. *deprivation*—ruine.

75, l. 25. (*Margin,*) Note how they limit the Prince.

76, l. 27. (*Margin,*) Note how the Prince is limited; and his will is not a Law.

77, l. 4. *sevintene*—five.—17. *the saidis xvii*—the said five.

78, l. 10. *not be lefull*—be lawfull.

79, l. 4. *saidis sall oblisse thame*—said States shall oblige them.—27. *pairtis,* (*omitted.*)—31. *denude*—take from these any of them, their subjects, the *offices.*—32. *bruikit*—brooked, and enjoyed.

83, l. 7. (*omitted.*)—11, 12. *To the loving . . . Christians*—To the glory of the Almighty Lord God, and to the comfort of all Christians.—23. *charge to the brekaris*—charge that none shall break the same.

86, l. 21. *aith and covenant*—(*margin,*) Note a Covenant betwixt England and Scotland, 1560.

88, l. 8-12. (*Margin,*) Some Prelats left Antichrist and did adhere unto Christ.

92, l. 8. *haif*—leave.—19, 20. (*Margin,*) See how this agrees with our times.—22. *are not injust*—and are unjust.

93, l. 8. *Godis word*—God.

95, l. 13. *laitlie*—now again *borne.*

97-120, l. 24 inclusive, (*The marginal notes to the Confession of Faith are omitted, and the Scripture references multiplied.*)

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102, l. 33. *visibillie* and apparently *returne.*

103, l. 7. *unfaithfull*—unthankful.—12. *refranit*—reservit.—22. *and supreame*, (*omitted.*)

106, l. 6, 10, *and* 20, *and* 108, l. 6. (*Marginal notes omitted.*)

113, 114, 116, *and* 117, (*Marginal notes omitted.*)

120, l. 5, 13, 16. (*Clauses in brackets wanting.*)—27. 28. *August*—28. July.—(*Margin,*) This we confirmed, 1567, in the first Parliament of James 6, held by the Earle Murray, and all Acts in any Parliament before whatsoever, against the truth, abolished.

121, l. 2. *Articles*, (*Margin,*) The Lords of the Articles are a Committee of twenty-four, whereof in former times there was eight Lords, eight Church-men, who were called Lords, and eight Commons: So from the greater part they were named Lords, and of the Articles, because all Articles and Heads that are to passe in Parliament are first brought to them, who, having discussed them, sends them to the House of Parliament. The Latin Histories calls their (thir) Lords of the Articles *Apolecti.* —7. *could, any*—could say any.

122, l. 2, 3. *and many, the rather, because that the Bischoppis wold nor durst*—and the rather, because that fain the Bishops wold, but durst.—(*Margin,*) *vote* pious voice.—7. *my God*, who *this day.*—21. *that thei*—that have.

123, l. 6. (*Margin,*) This Act is particularly confirmed 1567, in the Parliament under James VI., holden by the Earl Murray.—19. *usurpit*, (*omitted.*)

124, l. 7. [. . .] (*omitted.*)—11. *justifieing to the dead*—chastising by death.—14. *judges whatsumever*—judges. The Act for abolishing of the Pope, and his usurped authority in Scotland.—23. (*Margin,*) This also was confirmed by one particular Act, 1567, by the Parliament holden by the Earle Murray.

125, l. 2, 6. [. . .] *omitted.*—8. *sute*—claim.

126, l. 6. (*Margin,*) Note this diligently.

127, l. 3. (*Margin,*) Note this, I pray you, for these dayes sake.—11. great *counsallouris.*—12. just *commandiment.*—21. *since it was;* (he meanes untill 1566, when this book was written.)—22. misled *Prince.*

128, l. 10. (*Margin,*) See how this agrees with the worldlings now adayes.—20. *hanged*—crucified.—23. *a verray Jesabell*—a very evill woman.—(*Margin,*) What blessings hath been since in the house of Erskin, they know best.

129, l. 18. *Galloway*, (this Bishop of Galloway, as he renounced

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Popery, so did he Prelacie, witnesse his subscription of the Book of Discipline, as the rest of the Prelats did who did joyne to the Reformation,) *Alexander Campbell*, &c.

130, l. 2. *thairto eikked*—thereto asked.—(*Margin.*) Note how although the Prelats being convinced of the truth, did subscribe unto it, yet it was with this Proviso, That they should enjoy their rents for their lives.—17. *invasion*, and common enemies. —(*The remainder of the paragraph, referring to the Earl of Arran, omitted.*)—20. hard *besieged*.

131, l. 13. (*Margin,*) Note men to their own country.

132, l. 10. (*Margin,*) Note this for our dayes.—18. (*ib.*) Let this teach us to seek God.—25. (*Margin,*) *Jesabell*—Queen.

133, l. 9. *Mother* of the King.—11. *Prince* of Conde *his brother*.

134, (*Marginal note omitted.*)—14. (*Date also on margin.*)

135, l. 3. *The godlie* . . . . (*to* 136, l. 19,) *devoir you*, (*omitted.*)

(*Instead of the verses, Buchanan has inserted the following statement, and in thus bringing the matter down to his own time, he has mistaken the allusion in the verses to the Emperor Charles the Fifth, as if it referred to Charles the Ninth of France:*) —Some in France, after the sudden death of Francis the 2d, and calling to mind the death of Charles the 9th in blood, and the slaughter of Henry the 2d, did remark the tragicall end of these three Princes, who had persecuted God's servants so cruelly by their instruments the Guisians; and by their pens, both in prose and verse, did advise all other Princes not to authorize any persecution or wrong done unto God's servants, lest they should have the like end. And indeed the following Kings of France unto this day hath found this true by their infortunate and unexpected ends.

137, l. 4-8. *Ambassadouris* . . . *the pryde* (*omitted.*)—12. *The Erle of Arrane* having suffered repulse in his designe to marry the Queen of England, he begane to fancie unto himselfe *that the Queen of Scotland*.—18. Such *answer*.—21. *then* his friends *wold have wissed*, for grief he was troubled in his understanding.—24. *churches* abroad, *and some*.—25. *letteris*, (*omitted.*)

138, l. 4. *conference* alone, the Erle of Arrane was in Jedburgh, to whom.—11. *purposes; and he* comforting them; For *whill* (*we say*) *thei three*.—18. *devulgat and*, (*omitted.*)—24. *sub-principall*, and under-master of one of the schools *of Abirdene*.

139, l. 13. (*Margin,*) Note this well.

140, l. 16. *Messe is* said to be *a sacrifice*.

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141, (*First marginal note taken into the text.—Second marginal note omitted.*)—10. (*Margin,*) Note Lesly his answer.—12. "That is Anno 1566 when this book was written."—14. *for* we understand *that* . . . *gett* and bastard.—20. *doted* and endowed.

142, l. 18. (*Margin,*) Note the liberality of the Earle Murray.

143, l. 30. (*Margin,*) Note this diligently.

144, l. 1, 3. *Superintendent,* and all other ministers at Edinburghe.—4. *minister*—then preacher.—6, 7. *Superintendents,* or overseers.—8. Fourth *and.*

145, l. 10. *Superintendent* or overseer.—25. (*Margin,*) Where then are pluralities and fatnesse of livings in our dayes.

146, l. 5. *Marie,* (*omitted.*)—31. (*Margin,*) Let the Churchmen now adayes look to this.

147, l. 24. (*Margin,*) What can the Prelates say to this.—29, 30. *Superintendent,* or overseer and minister.

148, l. 3. *ministry* and watching over you *against.*—23. *so luifit*—loved.—25. ignominious *deyth* . . . thy *most* precious and *innocent.*—27. *thy,* (*omitted.*)—*in* recent *memory.*

149, l. 9. *dregis*—degrees.—22. *and then,* (*omitted.*)

151 to p. 154 *inclusive* (*omitted.—See footnote,* p. 151.)

155, l. 10. *fleschour* or boutcher.

156, l. 1. *boistit* and threatened.—4. (*Marginal note enlarged.*)—See the study of France to divide the two kingdoms newly bound for maintenance of Religion against the common enemies.—21. (*Margin,*) The Protestants faithfulness ill rewarded.

157, l. 7. (*Margin,*) A foolish play used in time of darknesse, hence we say any foolish thing to be like a play of Robin-Hood.

158, l. 20. *unhonest*—and honest.—28. *quhilk*—till.

159, l. 10. *five deaconis*—six deacons.—25. *penny,* or afternoon's pint.

160, l. 5, 6. *spare it,* nor forget it.—11. *haif* heard *befoir.*—23. *to purye*—to repugne.—(*Margin,*) death—*buriall.*—25. *was* wrapped *in a* coffin *of lead.*

161, l. 3, 4. *It may* . . . *this Realme*—As men do, so they receive.—10. *calsay* or street.—20. *usaris*—hanters.

162, l. 10. *and that* . . . *thairupoun,* (*omitted.*)

163, l. 1. (*Margin,*) Note diligently.—20. (*ib.*) Let this also be considered, and referred to our times.

165, l. 14. *upone the* now decayed *Pont of Change.*

166, *after* l. 16. The Lords answer to the French Ambassadour.—17. (*Margin,*) Reader, remark the advantages that Scotland hath from France.—29. (*Margin,*) A good character of Bishops.

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167, l. 9. (*Buchanan's edition has the words in brackets.*)

168, l. 5. (*Margin,*) Let us stick to God, and he will not leave us.

169, (*Inserted,*) The Ambassador's letter, *followed by* Madame.—1. (*The date is put to the end.*)—(*All omitted before*) *I send.*—8. *so*, I told her, *did.*—10. *offices* of civilitie.—12. *proporte*—tenour.—20. *answer*, as followeth, (*title.*)—23. a verray gude case, and in way of a full recoverie.—26. *respect*—defer.—(*Margin,*) Faire words to no purpose.

171, l. 24. (*Margin,*) *Lyet not*—said not amisse.

172, l. 15. *the King* of France.—23. *dissimulatioun* and policy, as thay terme it now adayes.—30. (*Margin,*) *The consecratioun . . . yow*, (*omitted.*)

173, l. 9. *my Lord*, the.—12. *Caiaphas*—The High Priest.—23. (*Margin,*) *Bot . . . him self*, Notwithstanding his own disorder.—30. (*Marginal note omitted.*)

174, l. 13. *amitie*, of which there should be no want on hir behalf.—23. *renuncit*—renewit.—*oure* ill-counselled and misled Queen.—29. *And . . . thrid*, (*omitted.*)

175, l. 25. (*Margin,*) Note this false lye, and see how it answers to the calumnies of these dayes.

177, l. 1. (*Margin,*) *Princes little* regarded *that.*—4 *or* 5. (*Marginal note omitted.*)—30. (*Margin,*) All power is not then in the Prince, if the States have any, as they have. Note this.

178, l. 31. Madame, *Pleis.*

179, l. 8. *in Goddis presence*, (*omitted.*)—13. *allegeance*—obedience.—21. Note the Scots acknowledgement.

180, l. 12. *Thorntoun*—Throgmorton.

181, l. 2. *Roman harlot*—Roman Antichrist.—7. *to* p. 182, l. 5. (*This paragraph is wholly omitted; and in its place we read:*—)

The Books of Discipline have been of late so often published, that we shall forbeare to print them at this time, hoping that no good men will refuse to follow the same, till God in a greater light establish a more perfect.

183-260, The Buke of Discipline: *see* No. II. *of this Appendix, page* 587.

BOOK FOURTH.

263, l. 5. (*Margin,*) Isaiah xl. 31.—9. (*ib.*) A true acknowledgement of man's weakness, to the glory of God; and as it was then, so hath it been in this last Reformation.

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264, l. 7. (*Margin,*) As it was then, so it is now, by God's mercies to that nation.—11, 12. *our* own *wisdome.*—24. (*Margin,*) Let this be noted for example.

265, l. 5. *till that mo Pharaoes then*—till that now the Pharaohs then.—11, 12. 1566 *in May*—in May 1561.—15. (*Margin,*) *the words*, of the Kirk, (*omitted.*)—26. *may nott* these men *have* their *Masse, and the form of* their.

266, l. 9. (*Margin,*) He means the Lord James, Earle Murray.—16. *suche deape root in flesche and bloode*, and was (as yet alas they are) *preferred to God, and to his messengeris rebuckingis vice and vanity*, that from thence *hath all our miserie proceeded.*—33. (*Margin,*) Wicked Councellours fathers all their mischievous plots upon misled Princes, and causeth them to take all things upon them.

267, l. 10. *to justice*, (*omitted.*)—17. (*Margin,*) The Queen's arrival from France, 1561.

268, l. 4. (*Margin,*) Triste et Lugubre Cœlum.

269, (*Margin,*) (*Buchanan agrees with footnote* 1.)

270, (*The footnotes* 1, 3, *and* 5, *agree with MS. G.*)—16. *to bolden*—to be emboldened.

271, l. 2. (*Margin,*) *Lord James*, notwithstanding his former zeal to the Truth, complying with the Court, favoureth Idolatry.—8. (*Note omitted.*)—12. (*Margin,*) A godly resolution.

272, l. 20. *may be*, to their serious consideration. *And* lest *that.*

273, l. 1. *thame selffis* in the meanetyme, while.—5. *contentment of* all, the law bidding, *That nane.*—20. *derisioun*—assault.—31. (*Margin,*) The Lord Arran's stout and godly protestation against the Queen's Masse.

274, l. 31. (*Margin,*) Good resolution, if followed.

276, l. 23. (*Margin,*) The *Courteouris* making (mocking.)—31. (*ib.*) Note diligently how wise and godly men are so mistaken oft, as to play after games: and this M. Knox doth acknowledge here.

277, l. 5. (*Marginal note omitted.*)—9. *slokin*—slacken.—34. (*Margin,*) Note how that Princes are informed against God's servant.

278, l. 11, 12. (*Margin,*) Let this be noted diligently.—15. (*ib.*) Let the Prince note this.—33. (*ib.*) Let this wise reply be noted.

279, l. 18. *Nero*, the Roman Emperour.—23. *Jesabell*—Mary.—28. *authoritie*—anxietie.

280, l. 12. (*Margin,*) Note this undertaking.

281, l. 27, 29, *and* 282, l. 10. (*Marginal notes omitted.*)—18. (*Margin,*) Note this comparison.

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283, l. 1. *shall* not only *obey you.* (*Marginal note omitted.*)

284, l. 1. (*Margin,*) Strong imagination called conscience.—4. (*ib.*) Question.—12. *and* 23. (*ib.*) (*omitted.*)

285, l. 20. *my lyeff*—my self.—25. *so say* you, (quoth the Queen,) and I believe it hath been to this day. (Quoth he,) for how.

286, l. 7. (*Margin,*) Note this.—20. *faileth me:* and this, I say, with a grieved heart, for the good I wish unto her, and by her to the Church and State.—22. *chosen,* where *were.*—24. *Lord James,* after Earle Murray; and these were appointed as certain *to wait.*—27. *Duck D'Omell*—Duke D'Anville.

287, l. 4. *idolatrie*—idolatrous Masse. *Fyre followed* the Court, *commounlie.*—7. they *returned.*—8. the Queen *was received.*

288, l. 5. (*Margin,*) Note the disposition of a misled soul.

289, l. 9. (*Margin,*) Note this diligently.

290, (*Both marginal notes omitted.*)—11. *iniquitie, Jessabellis letter*—impiety, the misled Queen's *letter.*—16. *that* the Queen's unreasonable *will.*—19. (*Margin,*) Yet in the Parliament holden in 1563, there is ane express Act for punishing of adultery by death: It is the Act 74.—25. *from* this *bondage* of sin.

291, l. 2. *Queen* (evil men abusing her name and authority) *took upoun hir.*—3. *Baalles*—Balnam's.—7. (*Margin,*) Note this.

292, l. 26. *Liddisdaill,* except that *execution was* then *made in* Edinburgh, *for* her *twenty-aught.*

294, l. 12. *sche could* dissemble *in full perfection, but how soon that ever* the French people had her *alone,* they told her, "That since she came to Scotland," *she saw* nothing there *but gravitie which repugned altogether to her* breeding, *for.*

296, l. 6. (*Margin,*) The Queen fain would have all Assemblies discharged.—24. (*ib.*) Note this diligently.

297, l. 8, 9. *Quene to*—be sent to her Majestie, *if.*—14. *scripped at*—stopped. (*Margin as at* 296, l. 24.)—28. *dayis,* the hearers thereof were resolved, *as all.*—(*Margin,*) Note this passage.

298, l. 4. *The Baronis*—Thomas Borrows.—7. *provisioun*—propositions.—13. *But,* when.—16, 17. *intromitted* and middled: *and so.*—19. *wold no moir* cause rents to be paid unto any that formerly belonged to the Churchmen, nor suffer any thing to be collected for the use of any whosoever, *after the Quenis.*

299, (*The date of the Act,* vicesimo; *and the Sederunt omitted.*)

300, l. 10. *the rest of* the States *mycht have* appeared.—23. *content* with the two *partis . . . and the third parte.*

301, l. 3. *Ferd*—fourth.—8. *mair, quhill*—more, if.

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304, l. 21, 22. *Superintendentis*, overseers, *ministers*.

306, l. 5. *mailles*, tythes, or teynds, *fermes . . . canis*—fruits.—28. *furthcumand*—forth commanded.

307, (*The Sederunt omitted.*)—11. *hir Majestie's* present wants, *and other particulare*.—25. *thair rentallis*, whole and full, *intromissioun*.

308, l. 4. *fundin and declarit*—ordained and declared.—33. *Elgin in Murray*—Elgmen, Murray.

309, l. 10. *the* voting and *maiking*.—17, 18. (for) *the Cleark of Registre, and the Secretar*—the Steward and Controller.

311, l. 6. 100 markis, (*Margin,*) That is five old pieces.—10. *nygartnesse*—ingratitude,—17, 18. *Comptrollare . . . his awin*—Controllers . . . their own.—19. (*Margin,*) *Ane Proverb* upon Pittaro, Controller.

312, l. 16. *a thousand pound*—a hundred will suffice.—23. *smyled*—singled.—29. (*Margin,*) The right that Princes have to the patrimony of the Church.—32. *Quenis* flatterers *bettir*.

313, l. 5. *Queene, and her*—Queene's.—7. *but* her flatterers.—10. *sche and hir faction*—the Court faction.—13. *Quene* and King.

314, l. 1. *Earle of* Murray.—3. At the blessing of *the marriage*.—(*Margin,*) *Marriage of the Earl of* Murray.

315, l. 13. who was suspected to have been in love with the said Alison.—14. *raritie*—veritie.

316, l. 21. 317, l. 10. (*Margin,*) Note this diligently.

318, l. 3, 4. *for sche lacks . . . in especiall,* (*omitted.*)—10. *others*—Scotland.—*is free*—she did see so *free*.

319, l. 15, 22. *joyousitie*—jollity. It had been good for our Queene that she had been brought up in better company, both for her credit and for the course of her life: And it may be, that her excellent naturall endowments had been better employed for her reputation and happinesse then they were to her great misfortune, and to the grief of those that wished her truely well. *But punishment*, &c.—(*Both marginal notes in this place omitted.*)—25 *to* 320, l. 1. *Some . . . lamented,* (*omitted.*)

320, l. 15, 16. *Erle Bothwell and his* son, *that*.

321, l. 6, 7. *but as hap . . . . keapt him,* (*omitted.*)—10. *The Master of Maxwell,* (after Lord Herreis) *gave*.

322, l. 12. *convened*—remained.

323, l. 3. (*Margin,*) The Earl of Bothwell's communication with John Knox, 1562.—25. *my* great grandfather, grandfather—and *father*.—(*Margin,*) Note the compliment.

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324, l. 7, 8. *of God*, wherefore he *often*.—12. (*Margin*,) Note diligently.—21. *commonyng*—coming.—23. *Borthwick*—Berwicke.

325, l. 3. *certane*—vertue.—8. *Gavin*—Gabriel.

326, l. 6. *Gawane*—Gabriel.—7. *Kynneill*—Enmell.—11. *upon* the third *day*.—19. reasonably *betrayed*.

327, l. 8. (*Margin*,) Note diligently.—24. (*line omitted*.)

330, l. 10. *dansing*—mirth.—14. *Quenne had* been merry, excessively dancing *till after*.—15. *persecutioun*—pacification.

331, l. 21. (*Margin*,) Note diligently.

333, l. 19, 22. (*Margin*,) Note diligently.

334, l. 4. (*Margin*,) Let Princes note this.—24. (*Margin*,) Let Court chaplains and unthrifts of the time note this.

335, l. 20 *to* 336, l. 3. *liked* not our Queene one whit, for as yet she could not resolve to be wife to the King of Sweden, having been lately Queene of France: And yet she refused not one much inferiour to a Soveraigne King.

336, l. 4. (*Margin*,) The Earle of Lennox and his lady imprisoned in the Tower of London for traffiquing with Papists.

337, (*Margin*,) *Anno* 1566 *in Maij*, (*omitted*.)

338, l. 5, 6. *From* the Father.—8, 9. *by the Eternall God*, (*omitted*.)—25. *and* base *service*.—31. *Word and*, (*omitted*.)

339, l. 11. *and body*, if you do not repent.

340, l. 2. *for lack of punishment*, (*omitted*.)—(*Marginal note omitted*.)—15. *neglecting* the execution *of his*.—20. (*Margin*,) Note diligently.—23, 24. *pay their* hire, *that*.

341, l. 19, 20. *that some . . . releaf and*, (*omitted*.)

342, l. 17. *Last*—Sixthly.—22. Seventhly, *we desire*.—33. *Farther, we most*—Eightly, we most.

343, l. 8. *dyttament*—judgment.—15. (*Margin*,) Note that diligently.—20. (*Margin*,) Note this for our times.

344, l. 31. *and wemen*, (*omitted*.)

345, l. 8, 9. *hurt, and* was for a long time *mutilat*.

346, l. 2, 18. broke the prison.—(*Margin*,) *ward* or prison.

347, l. 10. (*Buchanan substitutes for the note*)—Note another wavering of the Hamiltons.—21. (*Margin*,) Commissionaris, (*omitted*.)

348, l. 3. (*Margin*,) A new Covenant 1562.—6. *and assist*, (*omitted*.)—7. *offered* and granted *unto*.—21. Erratum 1552.

352, (*Marginal note omitted*.)

353, l. 25. *malice*—matter.

354, l. 6. *inflammed*—angred.—11. *sone* to *James*.—12. *of soldartis*, (*omitted*.)—(*Margin*,) the day of Corrichie-field, Octob. 22. 1562.

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355, l. 9. *houris* in the morning.

356, l. 5. *foote* and *maid.*—10. (*Marginal note omitted.*)—16, 17. *keapt thame . . . The Erle,* (*omitted.*)—(*Margin,*) *at Corrickie,* (*omitted.*)

357, l. 2. *this day,* (*omitted.*)—3, 4. *injustlie*—justlie.—5. *on* the *sweird.*—9. *joyned*—rejoyned.—15. *ney,* (*omitted.*)—21. *overthorte* or upon *a pair.*—(*Marginal note omitted.*)

358, l. 3. (*Note taken into the text.*)—11, 12. *against . . . . . plainess,* (*omitted.*)—29. (*Margin,*) Let others that yet live mark this.

361, l. 2. *unhappilie*—truely.—14. *tacken* upon me *the.*

362, l. 6. (*Margin,*) *Upon* the Courteouris.—18. *Like MS. G,* in *footnote.*

363, l. 1. (*Marginal note altered,*) The end declared their words to be true.—22. *youth* amongst them, *whom.*

364, l. 25. (*Margin,*) The tryall of Paul Meffene's fact.

365, l. 6. *oppressed*—suppressed.—30. (*Marginal note omitted.*)

366, l. 6. *Edinburgh*—Dundie.

367, l. 1. *light and darknes betwix,* (*omitted.*)

368, l. 3, 4. *fassionis* not agreeable to the gravity of *honest women.*—7 *to* 13. *All this winter Chattelett was so familiar* with the Queen, that the Nobilitie being by this means stopped to have so free accesse as they thought fit and due unto them, were highly offended; at length Chattelett having conveyed himselfe privately *under the Quenis bed.*—30. *lyeth in me to* give your Majestie content.

369, l. 13. *luvaris may devine*—I leave to conjecture.—18. (*Margin,*) death and famine.—22 *to* 370, l. 1. *the famyn* in the wheat, the beare or barley, the meale, the oates, beefe, mutton, &c., were exceeding dear and scanty; yea, *all things.*

370, l. 4, 5. *wicked* rulers.—*suffered hir*—suffered them.—8. *court*—city—*that wicked woman*—the prophane Court.—14. (*Note omitted.*)

371, l. 18. *of God,* (*omitted.*)—20, 21. *the Quene*—the Court *she,* they.—22. *she send for Johne*—the Queen advised to send.

372, l. 24-27. *And in this case—unpunissed,* (*omitted.*)—34. and that not, but in God ye are bound.

374, l. 23. (*Margin,*) Bishop of Cathnes.

375, l. 13. (*Margin,*) The Lady Argile was naturall Sister to the Queen, as the Earle Murray was naturall Brother.

377, (*After the 7th, insert*) My Lord.—17. *withdraw* your conversation *from hir.*—21. *unto hir* in all due benevolence.

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378, l. 9. *convict hir of* any fault *since.*

379, l. 9. the Parliament of Pope's knights appeared. The, &c.—16. *unfreindis*—friends.—19. (*Margin,*) The Clergie did pretend to be free from all Jurisdiction, save the Popes.

380, l. 1. *Norwell*—Horwell.—(*Marginal note omitted.*)—8, 9. parenthesis, (*omitted.*)—13. *gioun.* At that Parliament, (*new paragraph.*)

381, l. 3. *Lairdis*—Earles.—5. *law* or Counsellor.—5-7. *in that . . . Whytlaw,* (*omitted.*)—12. (*Marginal note omitted.*)—16. *the* superfluities of their cloathes, *and.*

382, l. 1. (*Margin,*) Note diligently. And so was *religion,* &c.—8. (*Margin,*) Occasion painted with a bald hind-head.—27. *long* to.

383, l. 7. *betwix . . . Knox*—betwixt them.—11. *slocken*—slacken.—11. (*Margin,*) God knowes if our times be better.

384, l. 2. (*Marginal note omitted.*)—21. *the* charges *of Edinburgh.*

385, l. 3. *Queen* sayes you *will not agree with us.*—6. *with* them in.—27. But this my Lordis will (I say) note.

387, (*The marginal notes omitted.*)

388, l. 4. (*Margin,*) Let this serve for our times.—17. *conscience*—office.—20. *shall* be content, and *consent.*—*unfaythfull*—unlawfull.

389, (*Margin,*) Note women.

390, l. 4. *fard*—heat.—6. (*Marginal note omitted.*)

391, l. 14. (*Marginal note omitted.*)—22. (*ib.*) Note diligently.

392, l. 8. *wickedness*—fury, (*also,* 393, l. 5.)—18. *thair . . . throttes . . . mouthes*—his . . . throat . . . mouth.

394, l. 19. *hamesukken*—having made.

395, (2*d marginal note,*) *quhingar*—weapon.

396, l. 2. 15*th*—five and twentieth.—23. *Messe,* publikely *to.*

397, l. 3. *be made* to the country, *and that.*—7. (*Margin,*) Bond to a mutuall defence in the cause of Religion.—(*The note is omitted.*)

398, l. 8. (*Margin,*) Note Pastors.

399, (*In the foot-note to line* 12, *Buchanan agrees with MS. G. Instead of the* 2*d marginal note, he adds to the* 1*st,* " and their reasoning together.")

400, l. 2. *day,* (*omitted.*)

401, (2*d marginal note omitted.*)

402, l. 19. (*Margin,*) Note a wise reply.—29. *trouble* me.

403, l. 8. *noumer*—number.

404, l. 5. *lackit* nathing of an *womanly gravitie.*—11. caused me to crie, and shed *never.*—12. *greit*—grieve.

405, l. 23, 25, 27, 32. *convocation*—vocation.

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406, l. 5. (*Margin,*) Note diligently.—23. *unlauchfull*—lawfull.

408, l. 1. (*Margin,*) As the Irish Papists have done to Protestants in Ireland.—13. (*Margin,*) Let this be noted for this day.—28. *ane liar and,* (*omitted.*)—32, 33. *I am* commanded in my conscience to speak the truth, and therefore the truth I speak, *impugne.*

409, (*Margin,*) *quhat,* ensued.—11, 12. *and conjureit . . . . Christ,* (*omitted.*)—*smyleit*—singled.

410, l. 2. (*Margin,*) Note Pastors.—5. *onie upfall,* (*omitted.*)—20-22. *to see . . . rejoise,* (*omitted.*)

411, l. 19. (*Margin,*) Note diligently.

412, l. 17. (*Margin,*) Note *the craft of the Court.*—24. (*Note taken into the text.*)—27. (*Marginal note omitted.*)

413, l. 5, 6. *but of . . . Borrowis,* (*omitted.*)—18. (*Margin,*) Note.

414, l. 10. *als*—all.—*haif* power *to.*—23. *Sir Johne Ballentyne,* (*omitted.*

415, l. 5. (*Margin,*) Remark false brethren.—(*ib.*) *Sempill and Levingstoun,* (*omitted.*)

417, l. 1. *delyver us from the* wickedness of this corrupt Court, for thy own name's sake.—(*Margin,*) *Prayit . . . authoritie,* (*omitted.*) —10-12. *And . . . houris*—(*this sentence is nearly repeated on margin.*)—20. *the suspitioune of,* (*omitted.*)—(*The three last marginal notes omitted.*)

418, l. 20. *sik,* him.—*Nobill-vemin*—Nobleman.—23. *coule*—kowll.—(*Margin,*) Cucullus.—29. (*Marginal note omitted.*)

420, l. 1. (*Margin,*) Note how this agrees with our time.—25. *Papists*—Priests.

421, (*Buchanan has the marginal notes mentioned in last foot-nots.*)

422, l. 1. *began* one David, an Italian, *to.*—3. *in France,* (*omitted.*)—5, 6. *to speik,* and refer it to another fitter occasion of time and place, *becaus . . . whole.* The first day.—(*Clause in brackets and marginal note omitted.*)

423, l. 9. *Rothes*—Lord Rosse.

424, l. 10-14. *but, because . . . . publict audience,* (*omitted.*)—25, 26. (*By a semicolon misplaced, Hay appears as Superintendent of Glasgow instead of Willok.*)

425, l. 23. (*Margin,*) John Knox his answer.

427, l. 17, 24. (*Margin,*) Note diligently, and see how the Bishops did forbid to pray for the conversion of the Queen that now is in Britain.

435, l. 2. *present*—publike.

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436, l. 6. (*Margin,*) Let this be noted diligently.—9. [*the poweris,*] (*omitted.*)

437, l. 1. (*Margin,*) Note this.—23. (*ib.*) Note this Discourse diligently.

438, l. 7. *nocht,* (*omitted.*)

439, l. 24. *but,* (*omitted.*)

440, l. 3. (*Margin,*) God craves of us, that we oppose ourselves to iniquity.

441, l. 4-7. *unless that . . . the deith,* (*omitted.*)

442, l. 13. *tuik*—think.

443, l. 9. (*Margin,*) Let this be noted for our times.—34. *acknawlege* and esteem the benefits received, *when.*

444, l. 9. (*Margin,*) Whether this hath come to passe or not, let the world judge.

445, l. 8. (*Margin,*) Note this diligently.

447, l. 13. "*He be his awin commandment,*" &c. *Between these words and* "*sik as craif,*" &c., 448, l. 13, *a whole page is omitted.—Thus the passage in Buchanan's edition is quite unintelligible,* viz., He by his own word confounds all such as crave further approbation of God's will, &c.

449, l. 3. (*Margin,*) When the Prince does serve God sincerely in private and publike, and hath a care that the people do the same, then assuredly they are faithfull to him: but if he faile in these, or in either of them, he findes disobedience in his people, because he is not carefull to obey God, and to see him obeyed. Deut. 18, 13. 2 Paral. 26.—24. (*Margin,*) Let this be applyed to the late affairs of Scotland.

451, l. 15. *ye will* not *say.*

452, l. 24. *deith*—punishment.—33. *thairintill*—therefore.

453, l. 22. *either misknaw*—must either know.—29. *tyrant*—misled King.

454, l. 1. *scripped*—stouped.

455, l. 10. *voit*—wrote. (*To each of the two names in the margin of pages* 455 *and* 456, *is added*) his vote.

457, (*The Latin original of the* Conclusio, *omitted.*)—13. *deposed*—bridled.—*also* 458, l. 12.

458, l. 23. (*Buchanan agrees with second foot-note.*)—10. (*Margin,*) Note diligently.—*also* 459, l. 3.

460, l. 19. *be knawin*—he knew.

461, l. 17. (*In the second foot-note Buchanan agrees with MS. L,* 4. *Marginal note omitted.*)

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A few particulars respecting DAVID BUCHANAN, the Editor of Knox's History, may be subjoined to the preceding collations. The author of the Genealogical Account of the Buchanans, in 1723, states that he was the second son of William [John] Buchanan of Arnpryor, an ancient family in the parish of Kippen, Stirlingshire. John Buchanan, eldest son of the late John Buchanan of Arnpryor, had a charter of the lands of Arnpryor, 3d May 1598; and having sold the estate of Arnpryor to Sir John Buchanan of Buchanan, he settled in Ireland. He was killed by the Irish rebels in 1641. "There was a younger brother, Captain William, a gentleman of very much courage, and of the greatest art and dexterity in managing a sword of any of his time;" and two instances of his prowess are related in that work, (p. 61.)

David Buchanan, whom the above author describes as "a gentleman of great learning, who flourished in the latter part of the reign of James the Sixth," was born towards the close of the sixteenth century, probably about the year 1592. He appears to have prosecuted his studies during part of the usual course in St. Leonard's College, St. Andrews, where he matriculated or became an Intrant in the spring of 1610. It has not been ascertained at what University he took his degree of Master of Arts; or, indeed, any particulars of his mode of life for a period of upwards of twenty years. According to his own words, he must have spent many years on the Continent, and is not improbable he may have filled a Professor's chair in one of the Protestant Colleges in France. In 1636, he published a learned work under this title: "Historia Animæ Humanæ, Auctore Davide Buchanano, Scoto. (No place of printing,) M.DC.XXXVI." Small 8vo. This was followed by a similar treatise in French, entitled "Histoire de la Conscience. M.DC.XXXVIII." 12mo.

From a passage in Milton already referred to, (vol. i. p. xlii,) it would seem as if the publication of Buchanan's edition of Knox's History of the Reformation had been delayed by the Censor of the Press in 1644. The preceding collations, (for which, and also for those in the next Article of this Appendix, I am indebted to the unwearied care and accuracy of my venerable friend, MR. MEEK,) serve to show the actual liberties Buchanan has taken with the text. Frequent instances of palpable blunders will be observed, as if the Editor himself had not corrected the proof-sheets. In the marginal

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notes he has added various allusions to his own times; and the interpolations he has introduced into the text are remarkable, chiefly on account of the anachronisms; and as these have been laid hold of, in some measure, to discredit the authenticity of the original work, it has thus been rendered necessary to take so much pains in collating his editions with the genuine text. In regard to passages omitted, or expressions modified and softened, it is highly probable that this may have proceeded from the Licenser of the Press in London, rather than Buchanan himself; and whether similar or even greater liberties may have been taken with Book Fifth, we have unfortunately no means of ascertaining.

In the following year Buchanan published at London a little volume, which, with another tract printed in 1646, involved him in some trouble. Baillie, who was personally acquainted with him, in a letter to Spang, who was then Minister of Campvere in Zealand, in June 1645, speaks of "your cousigne, Mr. David Buchanan, as a most honest and worthy man." In a subsequent letter, dated 24th April 1646, he says, it was thought necessary that the Papers given into Parliament by the Scottish Commissioners should be printed; and "among others, Mr. DAVID BUCHANAN, *a most sincere and zealous gentleman, who has done both in write and print, here* (in London) *and over-sea, many singular services to this Parliament, to his Nation, and to the whole Cause; . . .* hazarded to print them with a Preface of his own, and an introduction, both very harmless and consonant to the three following papers which we had given in to both Houses." Baillie further adds, that within two or three days, 3000 or 4000 copies were sold; and that this having excited the indignation of "our small friends," both Houses of Parliament agreed in ordering the books to be burnt by the hands of the hangman, and in denouncing the publisher, Mr. Buchanan, as an incendiary. (Baillie's Letters and Journals, vol. ii. p. 367.) The two publications thus referred to were,—

"Truth its Manifest; or a short and true Relation of divers main Passages of things, (in some whereof the *Scots* are particularly concerned,) from the very first beginning of these unhappy Troubles to this day. Published by Authority. London, printed in the year 1645." 12mo, pp. xviii., 142.

"Some Papers of the Commissioners of Scotland, given in lately to the Houses of Parliament, concerning the Propositions of Peace. London, printed for Robert Bostock, &c., April 11, 1646." 4to, pp. 26.

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The following extracts from the Journals of the House of Commons confirm Baillie's statements:—

On the 10th April 1646, the House of Commons "Ordered, &c., That the Report concerning a Book, entituled, 'Truth's Manifest,' be made on Monday morning," &c. (Journals, vol. iv. p. 505.)

"Die Lunæ, 13° Aprilis 1646. Mr. Lisle reports the state of the business concerning the printed book, intituled, 'Truth's Manifest;' read many passages out of it; and said, The Author of it was one Mr. Buchanan; who delivered one of the said books to the Committee, and did avow it to be his writing.

"Resolved, &c., That Mr. David Buchanan be forthwith sent for, as a Delinquent, by the Serjeant at Arms attending on this House; and brought to the Bar to-morrow morning.

"Resolved, &c., That the book intituled, 'Truth's Manifest,' does contain in it many matters false and scandalous; and they do *Order*, That the said book be forthwith burnt by the hands of the common hangman." (ib. p. 507.)

On the same day, the House also declared, that the book entituled, "Some Papers of the Commissioners of Scotland, given in lately to the Houses of Parliament, concerning the Propositions of Peace, doth contain in it matters scandalous and false," &c., and was Ordered to be burnt, &c. (ib. p. 507.) But this declaration was so far modified on the 20th April, in restricting the sentence simply to the Editor's Epistle and Tract, "The State of the Question concerning the Propositions of Peace," (which are prefixed by the Editor, on three leaves, after the title page.) (ib. p. 517.)

During the latter period of his life, Buchanan was engaged with Gordon of Straloch in illustrating the topography and antiquities of his native country, in connexion with the great Atlas of Scotland, which was published in Holland, by Bleau, in 1654. His papers afterwards fell into the hands of Sir Robert Sibbald, by whom some of them were printed. Two MS. works, "De Scriptoribus Scotis," the one dated 1627, and attributed to Buchanan, were printed for the Members of the Bannatyne Club, with a learned Preface by the Editor, Dr. Irving, in 1837.

From his Confirmed Testament, it appears that "Mr. David Buchanan," who died at Edinburgh before the end of August 1652, on the 19th of that month, had nominated "his loving brother, Mr. William Buchanan," his only executor. Whether "Captain William," above mentioned as David's brother, should be identified with this "Mr. William Buchanan," may be left to conjecture.

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No. II.

ON SPOTTISWOOD'S EDITION OF THE FIRST BOOK OF DISCIPLINE.

It is well known that Queen Mary, both in France and after her return to this country, refused to ratify the Proceedings of the Parliament which met at Edinburgh in August 1560; and its Acts were not included in the authorized collection of the public statutes. In order to obviate this legal want of the royal sanction, it was judged expedient that the Confession of Faith, and some special Acts, should be renewed in the first Parliament of James the Sixth, during the regency of the Earl of Murray, in December 1567. It was proposed to have inserted in this Appendix a list of the Members and some passages relating to the proceedings of that Parliament, along with an account of the early editions of the Confession of Faith, 1560; and some notes respecting the First Book of Discipline. Want of space has rendered it necessary to omit these notices; but another opportunity may be afforded of introducing them in a subsequent volume.

It is also well known that the selfish rapacity of some of the Nobility who had supported the Reformed doctrines, and had obtained possession of Church-lands and property, prevented the Policy of the Kirk from being established according to the plan drawn up by Knox and his brethren. But the First Book of Discipline must always be regarded as an important work to illustrate the form of Church government and discipline submitted for approval by our early Reformers; and it is now presented to the Reader in a much more perfect and authentic form than it has ever appeared.

The following notes, selected from a careful collation of the Book of Discipline, with the copy inserted by Spottiswood in his History of the Church, will prove how very little reliance can be placed on the Archbishop's assertion of his having given it "word by word." As the omissions and emendations referred to might have been made by the Editor in 1655, (see page 181, note 5,) the new edition, printing for the Spottiswoode Society, (edited by Bishop Russell, and collated with the author's original MS.,) has been employed.

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Page 183-184, Spottiswood omits the whole of the Preface, and introduces the Book of Discipline with the short paragraph already quoted at page 181, note 5. There is a slight variation in the new edit. (p. 331,) reading, "I *have* thought meet, word by word, to insert the same," &c.

187, There are several omissions in this page; for instance, in line 7, the words "devysed by men;" various words in lines 15 to 22; and nearly the whole of lines 24 to 26.

188, lines 21, 22, altered; and lines 24 to 29 abridged.

189, l. 10, omits "cursed" as applied to "Papistrie."

190, l. 12, reads, "in open audience of his flock, he may preach and deliver his knowledge in the Articles," &c.

192, l. 4 to 6, "and so . . . of the Kirk," omitted.

193, l. 4 to 19, varied and abridged; and lines 25, 26, read, "The Ministers were publicly admitted."

195, l. 14, altered; and lines 24 to 27, "And gif," &c., omitted. The next head, "For Readeris," is partially abridged.

198, l. 1, the words, "at the discretion of the congregation," omitted.

199, l. 3, the words, "in Goddis presence we witness," omitted; and lines 7 to 15 amended.

200, l. 12 to 14, part of the sentence omitted; and the paragraph that follows, "Restis yit," &c. concerning provision for the poor, and the teachers of youth, contracted to about one-third.

201 to 203, Under the head, "Off the Superintendents," the original which here consists of 38 lines, is contracted by Spottiswood to 6 lines.

204, l. 11, "to leave as your idill Bischopis," changed to "to live idle as the Bishops."

205, The third head, "Of the Election of Superintendentis," appears as if re-written and abridged; l. 18, reads, "we think it sufficient that the Council nominate;" and lines 22 to 25 omitted.

207, l. 6 to 12, "Yff the Ministeris," &c., omitted.

208, l. 16 to 26, "Of one thing, in the end," &c., omitted.

208, 209, "For the Schollis;" the introductory paragraph omitted, and the next 14 lines contracted to 5 lines.

214, l. 24, reads, "New Testament, and shall finish his course the same year. And in," &c.

221, l. 2 to 12, "not doubting," &c., omitted. Under the "Sext Heid," except the first sentence, the whole of the first paragraph, "But befoir we enter," &c., is omitted.

222, l. 4 to 9, "We dar not flatter," &c., omitted.

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223, l. 27, &c. "Your Honouris," &c.; the whole of this paragraph omitted.

225, l. 13, The "Additio" is not found in Spottiswood.

226, l. 23, "Yf this Ordour," &c., to the end of the paragraph, omitted.

227, The second paragraph, "But becaus this accursit Papistrie," &c., omitted.

230, l. 21 to 23, Spottiswood reads, "This sentence, as being the most heavy censure which can be inflicted by the Church, ought not to be rashly used but for grave causes, and due process of time kept, but being pronounced, ought with all severity to be maintained, and intimation thereof made through the whole realm, lest any should pretend ignorance of the same."

235, l. 3 to 18, "Yea, the Seniouris," &c. This paragraph is thus altered: "If a Minister be of a loose conversation, negligent in his study, and one that was little bent upon his charge or flock, or one that proponeth not fruitful doctrine to his people, he ought to be admonished by the elders; and if he amend not, the elders may complain to the ministry [of the two next adjacent churches, to whose admonition, if he shall be disobedient, he ought to be discharged of his ministry] till his repentance appear."

The words enclosed within brackets are omitted in the old printed editions of Spottiswood's History, we may suppose by accident, as this appears to be the only variation which Bishop Russell has discovered upon collation with the MSS.

253, A great part of this page is omitted.

255, The last paragraph is somewhat altered, or at least transposed.

255-8, "The Conclusioun" addressed to the Lords, with the "Act of Secret Counsall," and the signatures, are wholly omitted.

A great many lesser variations, consisting of words omitted, sentences abridged, &c., might have been specified, if such an enumeration would have served any useful purpose. The above may suffice to satisfy any impartial reader, who desires in this FORM OF POLICY "to see what were the grounds laid down at first for the government of the Church," that implicit reliance should not be placed upon the Archbishop's fidelity, although he does affirm, "I HAVE THOUGHT MEET, WORD BY WORD, HERE TO INSERT THE SAME." (History, vol. i. p. 331.)

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No. III.

FUNERALS OF MARY OF GUISE, QUEEN REGENT OF SCOTLAND.

Marie de Lorraine, daughter of Claude Duke of Guise, was born 22d November 1515. On the 4th August 1534, she was married to Louis of Orleans, Duke de Longueville; and after his death, in 1538, she became the second wife of James the Fifth, King of Scotland. (See vol. i. p. 61, note 6.) In this place it was proposed to collect merely a few notices respecting her death and funerals.

In the present volume, at page 71, Knox has given an account of the Queen's death, which took place in the Castle of Edinburgh—he says on the 9th June 1560. Dr. Robertson following Bishop Lesley, and other early authorities, says it was on the 10th; while according to Chalmers, and later writers, it happened on the 11th June. In the Diurnal of Occurrents the time is very precisely stated, yet it so happens that either the 10th or the 11th might be assigned for the date. The passage stands thus:—

"Upoun the tent day of Junij, the yeir foirsaid (1560,) Marie Quene Dowriare and Regent of this Realme, *at 12 houris at evin*, deceissit in the Castell of Edinburgh, and maid the Erle of Merchell, and Schir Johne Campbell of Lundy, knycht, hir executouris in Scotland." (p. 59; see also p. 276 of the same work.) This would seem to fix the 10th; but in the grant to Seigneour Francis, referred to in a note, page 507, the 11th of June was reckoned as the day of the Queen's decease. Sir William Cecil and Dr. Nicholas Wotton, in a letter written on the 17th June, intimate their having heard of the Queen's death, when they were on their way from Berwick; and in a subsequent letter from Edinburgh, dated the 19th June, they say, "The xith of this monethe, the Quene Dowagier dyed here at Edenborough, as we understande of a dropsie; by whose deathe the Nobilitie of Scotlande be entred into greater boldness, for mayntenaunce of their quarrell, then before they durst shew." (Lodge's Illustrations, vol. i. p. 329.) In the Treasurer's Accounts of that month are the following entries:—

"Item, to Johne Weir pewtterar, for ane wobe of leid weiand (blank) stanis, to be ane sepulture to inclose the Quenis Grace in. iiij lb. xv s.

"Item, to the said Johne for sowdane of the said wobe of leid, ... xxxij s.

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" Item, for ij^{e} dur nalis to the Quenis Grace sepulture, . iij s.

" Item, for xxj elnis and ane half of blak gray, to hing the chapell of the Castell of Edinburgh the Quenis G. bodie lyand thairin, vj lb. ij s. iiij d.

" Item, foure elnys of quhite taffateis of the cord to mak ane cross aboun the Quenis Grace, price of the eln xxiiij s. Summa, iiij lb. xvj s."

After these items, there follows a list of sums paid to the attendants, servants, and other persons connected with the Queen's household; in all 97, chiefly French, amounting to £1352, 8s.

Bishop Lesley, in noticing the Queen's death, says, " Hir bodie thaireftir was carried to France in ane ship, to the Abbey of Feckin in Normandie." (History, p. 289.) Knox, at page 160, speaks of her burial having been deferred, and that " lappet in a cope of leid," her body lay in the Castle of Edinburgh till the 19th October, " quhan scho by pynouris was caryed to a schip, and sa caryed to France." Another authority asserts, that it was not till the spring following that her body was removed from Edinburgh.

" Upoun the xvj day of the said moneth of March, [1560-1] at xij houris in the nycht, the corpes of vmquhile Marie Quene Douriare of Scotland and Regent, was convoyit secretlie furth of the Castell of Edinburgh, and put in ane schip in Leith, and convoyit thairfra to France, be Mr. Archibald Crawfurd person of Eiglishame; quhair sho was honourablie buryit." (Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 282.)

In mentioning the Queen Regent's funerals, Bishop Lesley, in his Latin History, is somewhat more circumstantial, by adding, that after reaching the sea-port of Fécamp in Normandy, and lying for a time in the Monastery, the body was finally removed to Rheims. His words are,—" Ejus autem corpus in Galliam postea transvectum primum ad Monasterium Feckamense, quod in Normania est, deinde ad cœnobium S. Petri Rhemis in Campania, cui Soror ipsius pie tunc præerat, delatum, honorifice condebatur." (De Rebus gestis Scotorum, p. 569.)

Throckmorton also, in a letter addressed to Queen Elizabeth from Paris, 13th July 1561, says, " The said Queen of Scotland's determination to go home continues still: *She goeth shortly from Court to Fescamp, in Normandy, there to make her Mother's funerals and burial;* and from thence to Calais, there to embark." (Tytler's History, vol. vi. p. 398.)

After the funeral ceremonies at Fécamp, the Queen's body was transported to the city of Rheims, and interred in the Church of the Abbey or Convent of Saint-Pierre-les-Dames, of which her sister

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Renée de Lorraine was Abbess. This younger daughter of Claude de Lorraine, first Duke of Guise, was born in 1522. She became Abbess in 1546, and survived till the 3d of April 1602, when she was interred beside her sister the Queen of Scotland. There was a handsome marble monument erected in the choir of the church; but the Abbey itself was in a great measure destroyed during the excesses of the French Revolution in 1792. The monument was adorned with a full length figure in bronze of the Queen in royal apparel, holding the sword and the rod of justice, "tenant le sceptre et la main de justice." (Anselme, Hist. Genealogique, tome iii. p. 492.)

No. IV.

NOTICES OF JOHN BLACK, A DOMINICAN FRIAR.

Friar John Black, of the Dominican Order, is celebrated by Lesley, Dempster, and other Roman Catholic writers, for his learning and exertions on behalf of the orthodox faith. In August 1559, the Queen Regent came from Dunbar to Edinburgh, and having taken possession of Holyrood House, it is stated, that Archbishop Hamilton, "upon a day, past to the pulpit in the Abbay," and after displaying "a little of his superstition, he declared he had not bene weill exercised in that profession, (*i.e.* of preaching,) therefore desyred the auditors to hold him excused. In the meantyme he showed unto them that there was a learned man, meaning Fryer Blacke, who was to come immediately after him into the pulpitt, who would declare unto them the truth; and therefore desyred them to lett him cease." (Hist. of the Estate of Scotland, Wodrow Miscellany, vol. i. p. 67.)

Bishop Lesley mentions a public disputation between Friar Black and John Willock, at Edinburgh, in the summer of 1561, which lasted for two days. As usual, however, in all such controversial disputes, "*in the ende, nothing was agreit.*" (Hist. p. 295. See also Leslæus de Rebus Gestis Scotorum, p. 577, Romæ, 1578, 4to; and Sir James Balfour's Annals, Works, vol. i. p. 235.) Under the year 1560, (see this vol. p. 68,) Knox mentions Friar Black as performing Mass when the Queen Regent was in the Castle of Edinburgh, notwithstanding that she was aware of his licentious conduct. Two

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years later the Town Council of Edinburgh having apprehended and confined Friar Black "for manifest adultery," Queen Mary addressed the following letter to the Provost, Baillies, &c., of Edinburgh, commanding them to deliver the said Friar to the Captain of the Castle, to remain there till he should be brought to trial:—

"PROVEST, BAILLIES, AND COUNSALE OF EDINBURGH,—It is oure Will, and we charge zow, that incontinent efter the sicht heirof, ze deliver Freir Johne Black to the Capitane, Constabill, and Keiparis of oure Castell of Edinburgh, till be keipit thairintill surelie, unto sic tyme as we haue ordanyt for the triell of his offences before oure Justice-Generale or his Deputtis; and this on na wayis ze leaf undone, as ze will ansuer to ws thairupoun. At Sanct Androis, the 11th of April 1562.

(*Sequitur subscriptio,*) "MARIE R."

The records of criminal proceedings furnish no evidence of the Friar having ever been brought to trial; but this warrant, no doubt, saved him from the punishment which the Town Council at this time had adjudged to all fornicators, to be ducked in the North Loch. (See Maitland's Hist. of Edinb. p. 25.)

On the 12th February 1565, Andro Armestrang, and three other burgesses of Edinburgh, were brought to trial, "delatit of the hurting and wounding of Freir Johne Blak, betwix his schulderis, to the effusione of his blude, upon the fyft day of Januar last bypast, betwix aucht and nyne houris at evin, in the Cowgait, betwix Nwyderis Wynd and the Freir Wynd." (Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. i. pp. 475*, 476*.) From another authority, mentioned below, it would seem that the Friar was killed during the fray in Holyrood, on the same night when Riccio was murdered.

The transcriber of MS. W, of Knox's History, has introduced some lines, playing upon the Friar's name, "because he was borne in the *Blak* Freirs in Edinburgh, and was a man of *Blak* personage, called *Blak* to his name, and one of the Ordour of *Blak* Friers;" and in the margin of the MS. he says, "This was added be me, Tho. Wood, quhilk I heard, thocht not mentioned by Mr. Knox." Mr. Sharpe, who says, "this copy of verses affords an excellent (?) specimen of the satirical poetry of the Reformers," has inserted the lines, in a note to Kirkton's History of the Church, p. 10, Edinb. 1817, 4to.

In a MS. volume of Calderwood's History, written in the year 1636, we find introduced, as "A description of the Queen's Black Chaplane," a somewhat different version of the lines referred to:—

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"Master Knox relateth, that the Queen Regent herself had a little before deprehended the said Frier Black with his harlot in the chappel. But whoordoome and idolatrie agrie weill together. This Frier Black was Black in a threefold consideration, first in respect of his Order, for he was a Black Frier by profession; secondlie in respect of his Surname; thirdlie in respect of his Black workes. Wherupon these black verses following wer made as a black trumpet to blaze furth all his blacknesses:—

"A certane Black Frier, weill surnamed Black,
And not nicknam'd: for Black wer all his workes,
In a black houre borne, in all black deedes frack;
And of his black craft one of the blackest Clerks;
He took a black whoor to wash his black sarks,
Committing with her black fornication:
Black was his soule to shoote at such black markes;
Frier Black, Black Frier, Black was his vocation."

It may be considered more important to notice, that Black had been promoted by Archbishop Hamilton, to the place of Second Master in St. Mary's College, St. Andrews. This fact, not elsewhere recorded, appears from the following grant, in the Register of Presentations to Benefices:—

"Our Soverane Lord, &c., ordanis this letter under the Previe Seill, ratifland and perpetualie confirmand the gift and provisioun maid and grantit be John Archebishop of Sanct Androis, foundar and erectar of our Lady College, within the citie of Sanct Androis, to Maister Robert Hamiltoun, then Third Maister of the said College *of the Secund place and Maister thairof*, usit to be possessit be ane theologe (the lyke quhairof he is) *vacand be decess of Johne Black, Blackfriar*, last possessour of the samyn," &c., 12th November 1567. "Subscrivit at Saint Androis the last day of Maij 1569." (Register of Presentation to Benefices, vol. i. fol. 25.)

Dempster celebrates Black (*præclarus Christi miles*) for his eloquence and opposition to heresy, and for having sealed his constant profession of the faith with his blood. (Hist. Ecclesiastica Gentis Scotorum, p. 85.) This alludes to the fatal termination of the Friar's career, not on the 7th of January 1562, for which he quotes Lesley, p. 577, but on the 8th March 1565-6, when he was slain on the night of David Riccio's murder, in Holyrood House. It is singular that no notice of this should occur in our own historical writers. But Parkhurst, Bishop of Norwich, in a letter to Bullinger, giving him a summary of passing events, dated 21st August 1566, after noticing the

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murder of "Signor David, skilled in necromancy, and in great favour with the Queen of Scots," mentions that Black, a Dominican Friar, held in great estimation among the Papists, was also killed that night. But even this grave prelate cannot restrain his humour in reference to the Friar's name; his words are: "Fraterculus quidam, nomine Blacke (niger, *Swartz*,) Papistarum antesignanus, eodem tempore in Aula occiditur.

"Sic Niger hic Nebulo, nigra quoque morte peremptus,
Invitus Nigrum subito descendit in Orcum."

This letter, first published by Burnet, (Hist. Reform., vol. iii. App., p. 360,) is included in the collection of Zürich Letters, published by the Parker Society, p. 99. London, 1842, 8vo. The translator thus renders the above distich:—

"Seized by black Death, this blacker Knave
Descended to the gloomy grave." (Ib. p. 166.)

No. V.

NOTICES OF DAVID RICCIO.

It appears somewhat doubtful whether Knox contemplated giving any detailed account of Riccio's life: compare vol. i. p. 235, and vol. ii. p. 422. If so, it would probably not have been so much a narrative of his private history, as an exposure of the influence which he seems to have exerted in public affairs, tending to the overthrow of the Reformed Religion. Although we cannot attribute to Knox the passages in the Fifth Book which relate the murder of Riccio, yet some detached notices exhibiting his progressive advancement at the Scotish Court, chiefly derived from the Public Records, may not be considered as out of place in this Appendix.

David Riccio, a native of Pancalieri, in Piedmont, was born about the year 1534, and was first in the service of the Archbishop of Turin. In December 1561, the Marquis de Morette, the Ambassador of Savoy, arrived in Scotland to congratulate Queen Mary on her return to her native kingdom. It was in the suite of the Marquis that Riccio, when about twenty-eight years of age, came to this country

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in quality of Secretary. (Labanoff, Recueil des Lettres de Marie Stuart, Reine d'Ecosse, vol. i. p. 120, vol. vii. pp. 65, 86.) His knowledge of the French and Italian languages, and his skill in music, recommended him to the Queen's notice, and led to his permanent residence in Scotland as "virlat," "chalmer-cheild," or one of the valets of her chamber. In the Treasurer's Accounts in the early part of the year 1562, we find the following payments:—

1561-2.—"Item, the said day, (viij day of Januar,) be the Quenis Grace precept to David Ritio, virlat in the Quenis Grace chalmer, l. lib. (£50.)

1562.—"Item, the xvj day of Aprile, be the Quenis Grace precept to David Ritio, Italiane, chalmer-cheild, as his acquittance schawin vpoun compt beris, ... xv. lib."

These payments seem to have been additions to the annual pension granted to him by the Queen. In the "Compt of the Collector Generall of the Thirds of Benefices," for the year 1561, and rendered 18th February 1563-4, we find among the pensions paid, the following entry:—"And of the soume of threscoir fivetene pundis, paid be the Comptare to DAVID RYCHEO, Italiane, vallet of the chalmer, for his zeirlie pensioun, granted to him be the Quenis Majestie, of the zeir compted, as hir Hienes letters vnder hir subscriptioun, and the said Davidis acquittance schawin and producit upoun compt proportis, lxxv. lib."

In 1564, Riccio's salary was £80, paid quarterly; and in December that year, he was nominated French Secretary to the Queen, in place of Raulet. (Randolph's Letter to Cecil, 3d December 1564. Keith's Hist., vol. ii. p. 259; and Labanoff, vol. i. p. 248.) In the Treasurer's Accounts in August 1565, there are numerous payments made "to David Riccio Secretar," for articles of furniture, dress, &c., "be the King and Quenis Graces precept," chiefly for the use of "the Kingis Grace." He had been an active promoter of the Queen's marriage with Darnley, which may have contributed to increase his interest at Court. Randolph, in a letter to Cecil, dated 3d June 1565, uses this strong language:—"David now worketh all, and is only governor to the King and his family; *great is his pride, and his words intollerable.* People have small joy in this new master, and find nothing but that God must either send him a short end, or them a miserable life. The dangers to those he now hateth are great, *and either he must be taken away, or they find some support, that what he intendeth to others may fall upon himself.*" (Keith's Hist., vol. ii. p. 291.) It has been said that he was appointed Keeper of the Great Seal

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about this time. This undoubtedly is a mistake: see vol. i. p. 446. But the influence he had obtained, and the prospect that when the Parliament assembled he might prevail upon the Queen to proceed against the Earl of Murray and the chief Protestants, in connexion with the foolish jealousy of her husband, gave rise to that conspiracy which terminated in Riccio's murder—one of those deeds which disgrace the history of this country.

Referring again to the Treasurer's Accounts, one or two other entries may be quoted:—

"Item, be the Quenis grace command, the last of Januar [1565-6,] to David Riccio, for reparatione of his chalmer, as his acquittance schawin upoun compt beris, ... ij° lib. (£200.)"

On the last of February he received, on the Queen's account, £2000 in part payment of 10,000 merks, for "the dewitie of the Cunzehouse." And after his death, we find,

"Item, the xxix day of Maij (1566,) to ane boy passand of Edinburgh with letters of our Soueranis, to be deliverit to Robert Commendator of Halierudhouse, to command and charge all and sindrie personis, intrometteris, havaris, withhalderis, and detenaris of the horssis quhatsumevir partening to umquhill DAVID RICCIO, *Secretar*, to be deliverit to the said Commendator, ... ix s."

The Collection of Queen Mary's Letters, formed with almost unexampled care and zeal by the Prince Alexander Labanoff, includes two long and interesting dispatches in Italian, (one without date, the other, 8th October 1566,) addressed to Cosmo Duke of Tuscany, which furnish various particulars both relating to Riccio's history and the events preceding his murder, on the evening of Saturday the 9th March 1565-6. "Ah povero Davit, mio buono et fedel servitore, Dio habbi misericordia di vostra anima!" (Recueil, &c., vol. vii. pp. 65, 86, 93.)

Calderwood repeats what George Buchanan states in his History regarding Riccio's funeral: "After the flight of the Noblemen from Edinburgh, the Queen caused to take up in the night Seigneur Davie his corps, which had been buried before the Abbey kirk doore, and lay it near to Queene Magdalene; which ministered no small occasioun to the people of bad constructions." (History, vol. ii. p. 316.)

"A Relation of the Death of David Rizzi, chief favourite of Mary Stuart, Queen of Scotland; who was killed in the apartment of the said Queen on the 9th March 1565. Written by the Lord Ruthen, one of the principal persons concerned in that action," was printed at London 1699, 8vo, and has been several times reprinted.

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One of these editions, forming part of a volume entitled, "Miscellanea Antiqua Anglicana," London, 1815, 4to, is accompanied with a portrait of Riccio: It has much the look of an original by Zucchero, and is "painted on a small circular pannel; and on the back are rudely cut into the wood the name *Davit Rizio*, and the date 1564."

No. VI.

THE ABBOTS OF CULROSS AND LINDORES IN 1560.

It is often impossible to identify persons at an early period who held high ecclesiastical appointments, from only their baptismal names and designations being given in deeds and the public records. But it is singular that any difficulty should have been experienced in regard to persons who flourished so late as the middle of the 16th century. Among the dignified clergy who were present at the condemnation of Sir John Borthwick for heresy, in May 1540, we find the names of William Commendator of Culross, and John Abbot of Lindores. Both of these individuals took their seats as Lords of Session, on the Spiritual side, 5th November 1544; they had also a seat in Parliament; and both of them having joined the Reformers, were present when the Confession of Faith was ratified and approved in August 1560.

I. William Commendator of Culross, 1539-1564.

I have two deeds dated in 1539-40, and 1541, granted by "William Commendator and Usufructuar of Culross, and John be the permission of God Abbot of that ilk, and Convent of the samyn," signed, "Villelmus Commendatarius de Culross, Johannes Colvile Abbas," and by "Frater Johannes Christeson," and the other brethren of the convent. Another deed, dated 20th March 1564-5, is signed by William Commendator, &c., along with the brethren of the Convent; John Colville, Abbot, having probably died before this. William Commendator of Culross filled the office of Comptroller from 1546 to 1550. His name occurs among the signatures to the Book of Discipline, see page 258. That the Commendator as well as the

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Abbot was a Colville might be shown from several incidental notices. One instance may suffice; in the Register of Signatures, there is recorded the Confirmation of a pension of £61, 6s. 8d., and "twenty bollis rynnand met of quheit, granted by umquhill WILLIAME Commendator of Culross, and Convent thairof, TO MAISTER ROBERT COLVILL BROTHER TO THE SAID UMQUHILL COMMENDATOR," 15th April 1569.

II. JOHN ABBOT OF LINDORES, 1540-1566.

There is much less certainty in regard to this Abbot. In a deed dated 19th February 1539-40, John Abbot of Lindoris signs as Coadjutor and Administrator of the Abbey of Kelso, during the minority of Lord James Stewart Commendator, who was then under age. In 1540, John Abbot of Lindores had a seat in Parliament; and four years later he appears as one of the Lords of Session. In the Provincial Council held at Edinburgh in 1549, he sat as Abbot; and, as Knox states under the year 1559, (vol. i. p. 392,) having submitted to the Congregation, he was stigmatized as an apostate. In August 1560, he gave his sanction to the Confession of Faith. John Commendator of Lindoris is named as having been present at the meeting of the General Assembly, 25th June 1566, but probably did no long survive.

In the "Epistolæ Regum Scotorum," there is a letter addressed by John Duke of Albany, Governor of Scotland, to Pope Hadrian the Sixth, dated 9th March 1521-2, which may assist in ascertaining this point. It states that the venerable father, Henry Abbot of Lundoris, on account of the increasing infirmities of age, "ad solicitudines et vigilantiores loci sufferandos labores, præcipuum et probatum virum JOHANNEM PHILP, inibi professum Monachum Presbyterum, delegit;" and therefore he had resigned to him the Abbacy, reserving to himself for life the revenues of this benefice, requesting his Holiness to confirm the said John Philp as Abbot. "Johannes Philp" appears in the list of Determinants in St. Salvator's College, St. Andrews, in 1536; and the following year "M. Johannes Philp" is included among the Licentiates for the higher degree of Master of Arts. That this person may have been the son or nephew of the Abbot is by no means improbable.

It is not ascertained how long Abbot Henry, who sat in Parliament in 1513, may have survived the appointment of his coadjutor in 1522. That Abbot John may have held the office for a period of forty-five years, is, at least, a probable conjecture; and in the ab-

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sence of more direct proof, that this individual was JOHN PHILP, it may be noticed that several persons of that name appear connected with Lindores for a length of time. Among others, (1.) James Philp of Ormeston, (who died in 21st January 1579-80,) and Margaret Forrest his spouse, had a charter of lands in the Grange of Lindores, 24th March 1574. According to his testament, confirmed 26th April 1583, John Philp, burgess of Newburgh, was his brother-german, and mention is made of Henry and John Philpis, as his lawfull barnes. (2.) James Philp, junior, and Margaret Philp his spouse, had a lease of 3½ acres of land in the regality of Lindoris, 18th October 1580. (3.) Letters of Legitimation of Henry Philp, bastard, natural son of Mr. John Philp in Newtoun of Lindoris, were granted 10th September 1580. (4.) The same person styled simply Henry Philp, son of Mr. John Philp in Newburgh, had a charter of five acres in the Hauch of Lundores in Fife, 21st December 1592.

III. JOHN BISHOP OF ROSS AND ABBOT OF LINDORES, 1560.

A few particulars may be added respecting another Abbot of Lindoris, who was much more distinguished both in his literary and political career—JOHN LESLEY, Bishop of Ross. He was born 29th September 1527. KNOX, at page 141 of this volume, calls him "a priest's gett," or bastard; and this assertion is fully confirmed by some original documents which Bishop Keith examined, showing that he was the natural son of Gawin Lesley, parson of Kingussie in Badenoch, and Official of the See of Murray. In 1537, John Lesley obtained a dispensation, notwithstanding the defect of his birth, to become a clergyman. He was inducted to a canonry in the Cathedral Church of Aberdeen and Ellon in August 1550. He then spent four years abroad, in the study of the civil and canon laws in the University of Poictiers; and was created a Doctor of Laws at Paris. He returned to Scotland in April 1554; four years later, in April 1558, he was appointed Official at Aberdeen; and in July 1559, he was inducted to the parsonage, canonry, and prebend of Oyne. In April 1561, he was deputed, on the part of the Roman Catholic party, to invite the Queen to Scotland, after the death of Francis the Second. He returned to Leith in the same vessel with her; and for a period of upwards of twenty years continued one of the most active and zealous adherents and assertors of the rights and character of his Royal Mistress. On the 19th January 1563-4, he took his seat as a Lord of Session, by his designation as Parson of Oyne. Soon afterwards he

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obtained the Abbacy of Lindores *in commendam;* and upon the death of Henry Sinclair, Bishop of Ross, having been promoted to the vacant See, his appointment was confirmed in April 1566.

Among the various documents relating to John Lesley parson of Oyne, and afterwards Bishop of Ross, of which Keith has given some account, is one, No. 7, which, if correctly stated, would have shown that the name of the Abbot, his immediate predecessor, was also John Lesley. It will be seen, however, that this is a mistake. Having obtained a sight of the original paper, which is written in a small hand, and full of contractions, it may be described as a petition intimating in the usual form, that JOHN, ABBOT OF THE MONASTERY OF LINDORIS, of the Order of St. Benedict, in the diocese of St. Andrews, had resigned the Abbacy in favour of JOHN LESLIE, Clerk in the diocese of Murray, and a Doctor of both Laws, who had a seat on the bench as one of the Lords of Council in Scotland. To this added the *fiat ut petitur*, granting Lesley a dispensation to hold this benefice *in commendam*. It is dated "Rome apud Sanctum Petrum sexto Kal. Martij, Anno Primo." That this was during the first year of the Pontificate of Pius V., (who was elected on the 7th, and crowned on the 17th January 1565-6,) is evident from the document itself, which refers to letters in favour of Lesley, "by Henry and Mary, King and Queen of Scotland," thus fixing the date to the 24th February 1566.

In June following, John Bishop of Ross, and Commendator of Lindores, obtained a Royal mandate, and took an active part in regard to the confirmation of various feu-farms of lands pertaining to the Abbey of Lindores. In the letter describing Riccio's murder and the Queen's conduct, addressed to the Council of England by the Earl of Bedford and Sir Thomas Randolph, the 27th March 1566, it appears that Bishop Lesley, along with his colleague James Balfour, Parson of Flisk, was that night in Holyrood,—"Atholle had leave of the Kinge, with Flyske *and Landores, (who was lately called Lyslaye, the Parson of Ovne,)* to go where they wolde; and being convoide oute of the courte," &c. (Wright's Queen Elizabeth, vol. i. p. 229.)

The latter portion of Bishop Lesley's life is well known, and need not be detailed—his imprisonment in England in 1571—his long residence in different parts of the continent, and his death near Brussels on the 31st May 1596, in the sixty-ninth year of his age. See in particular the account of his life and writings, by Dr. Irving in his "Lives of Scotish Writers," vol. i. p. 122, &c.

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GLOSSARY.

A

Aback, *to hold or keep back.*
Abaid, *abode.*
Abnegation, *denial.*
Abone, abuif, *above.*
Abyid, *abide.*
Addettit, *indebted.*
Adjonit, *adjoined.*
Advoutrie, *adultery.*
Affray, *terror.*
Affrayid, *frightened.*
Afoir, afore, *before.*
Aggreage, *aggravate.*
Agylytye, *agility.*
Aiges, *ages.*
Aithis, *oaths.*
Aittis, *oats.*
Alane, *alone.*
Alay, *walk, alley.*
Allanerlie, *solely, only.*
Alluterlie, *entirely, wholly.*
Almany, *Germany.*
Almous, almouse, *alms.*
Als, alse, *as, also.*
Althocht, *although.*
Alwise, *always.*
Amangis, *amongst.*
Ambassade, *embassy.*
An, *if.*
Ane, *one, a.*
Anefold, *onefold, sincere.*
Anent, *touching, concerning.*
Anes, anis, *once.*
Aneuche, *enough.*
Appeiris, *appears.*
Appell, *appeal.*
Appone (*for* oppone,) *oppose.*
Appreve, *approve.*
Arguessin, *lieutenant of a galley.*
Armite, *hermit.*
Art and part, *aider and abetter.*
Assistaris, *assisters.*
Astonyed, *astonished.*
Attour, *besides, beyond, moreover.*
Aucht, aught, *ought.*
Aucht, awght, *eight.*
Auditure, auditoure, *auditory.*
Aughtand, *owing.*
Aughtein, *eighteen.*
Auld, *old.*
Auncestouris, *ancestors.*
Avoid, *remove, evacuate.*
Avoutrie, *adultery.*
Aw, *doth owe.*
Awaitand, *waiting.*

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Awin, *own.*
Ay, aye, *always, evermore.*
Ayre and laitt, *early and late.*

B

Backis (to give), *to retreat, to turn their backs.*
Baikin, *baken.*
Baith, *both.*
Baldness, *boldness.*
Balling, *revelling.*
Banded, *joined together, combined.*
Bannis, *bans.*
Barnes, bairnes, *child, children, also pupils.*
Bauldlie, *boldly.*
Bawbie, *a halfpenny.*
Bayr, *bore.*
Bayre, *bear.*
Beand, *being.*
Bear, *beer.*
Beck, *bow down.*
Begouth, *began.*
Begynand, *beginning.*
Beiris, *bears.*
Belyiffit, *believed.*
Belyve, *speedily, in a little time.*
Beseik, *beseech.*
Besiness, *business.*
Besyde, *near hand, by, with.*
Bigane, *bygone.*
Bigged, biggit, *built.*
Bill, *indytement, letter, petition.*
Birsit, *bruised, pressed.*
Birst, *burst, broke.*
Blawe, blawin, *blow, blown.*
Boddom, *bottom.*
Boit, *boat.*
Bolden, boldened, *to swell, swollen, embolden.*
Boosome, *besom.*
Bordell, *brothel.*
Bordouris, *the Borders.*
Bosses, *drunkards.*
Bot, *but.*
Bourd, *jest.*
Bow, bowes, *an arched gate, gates.*
Bowes, *Papal Bulls.*
Boyth, *both.*
Brack, *broke.*
Bragg, braggis, *boast, boasting.*
Braid, *broad.*
Braid, breid, *bread.*
Brede, *breed.*
Brek, *breach.*
Brek, *separate.*
Breke, *break.*
Brethir, *brothers, brethren.*
Breve, *brief.*
Brig, *bridge.*
Brocht, *brought.*
Brod, *board.*
Broillie, *disturbance.*
Browen, *brewed.*
Bruikit, *enjoyed.*
Bruited, *reported.*
Bruittis, bruytis, *reports.*
Bruke, bruik, *enjoy.*
Brunt, brynt, *burned.*
Bucheowris, bowcheouris, *butchers.*
Buddis, *buds, blossoms.*
Buddis, *bribes.*
Buffatis, *blows.*
Buikis, *books.*
Buirdeit, *boarded.*
Buist, buistis, *box, chest.*
Buist, (*for* browst,) *brewing.*
Burding, bourding, *jesting.*
Burn his bill, *make recantation.*
Burstit, *burst.*
But, *without.*

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Buttis, bootis, *butts.*
Byding, *staying, waiting.*
Bylle, *bill.*
Byrunne, *bypast, bygone.*
Byrse, *bristle, used metaphorically for the beard.*

C

Cagots, *an unfortunate race of people in the Pyrenees, included by French writers among the* Races maudîtes.
Cair, *care.*
Cairtis, *cards.*
Cais, *case.*
Cald, *cold.*
Calsay, *causeway.*
Cammoise, *canvas, coarse linen.*
Camped, *encamped.*
Campiounes, *champions.*
Cannabie, *canopy.*
Carcageis, *carcasses.*
Cartit, *carted, exposed as a malefactor.*
Carvit, *carved.*
Cassin, cassein, *cast.*
Cassit, *set aside.*
Cauldness, *coldness.*
Cautioner, *surety.*
Cayr, *care.*
Ceis, ceissit, *cease, ceased.*
Censement, *judgment, opinion.*
Certane (a), *certain number.*
Certes, *truly, of a truth.*
Chalmer-cheild, *valet-de-chambre.*
Chayre (open), *pulpit, public place.*
Cheaf, *sheaf.*
Cheinzies, *chains.*
Cheise, cheisit, *choose, choosed.*
Chymlay, *grate, chimney.*
Claw-backs, *flatterers.*
Clengeit, *acquitted, cleansed.*
Cleything, *cloathing.*
Clois, *close.*
Cloiss, *court, narrow lane, inclosure.*
Clud, *cloud.*
Cockle, *a weed abounding chiefly in corn-fields.*
Coft, *bought.*
Cohort, *exhort.*
Cold, *could.*
Collationat, *collated, examined word by word.*
Colourit, *pretended, apparent.*
Commend, *a benefice* in commendam.
Commendatar, *Commendator, who enjoys the rents of an Abbacy or other Benefice.*
Commoun, *common.*
Community, *commonality.*
Companyounis, *companions.*
Compeir, *appear.*
Compone, *agree.*
Compt, comptis, *account, accounts.*
Comptit, *reckoned, accounted.*
Conjured, *sworn.*
Consaif, *conceive.*
Consignit, *consigned, safely deposited.*
Consuetude, *custom.*
Contraryes, *opposers, contradictors.*
Contynew, *continue.*
Convenit, *convened, assembled, met together.*
Conveyit, *conveyed.*
Conzie-house, *the coining or mint-house.*
Conzied, *coined.*
Cope, *covering.*
Corse, *corpse.*

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Coule, cowll, *a cowl or cap.*
Coup, cowp, *cup.*
Cowhuby, *cowherd.*
Cowpit up, *turned upside down.*
Craftis, *craftsmen.*
Craig, craggis, *rock, rocks.*
Craig, *throat.*
Crazit, *infirm.*
Creatit, *created.*
Creillis, creallis, *panniers, or wicker-baskets.*
Crock, *a kind of musket.*
Croppin, *crept.*
Crown of the Sun, *a gold coin of the value of* 18*s.*
Cullorit, *pretended, coloured.*
Cullroun, *silly fellow.*
Culveringis, *firelocks.*
Cumed, cumit, *come, proceeded.*
Cummer, *trouble.*
Cunning, *skilful, knowing.*
Cunzie to be cunzeit, *money to be coined.*
Cursing, *excommunication.*

D

Dadding, *beating, knocking.*
Dagg, *a pistol.*
Dagged, *shot thickly.*
Dalye, *daily.*
Dampne, damne, *condemn.*
Dantoun, *intimidate.*
Darnell, *a common weed.*
Debtful, *due, indebted.*
Debtfully, *duly.*
Decernit, *adjudged, decreed.*
Decoir, *decorate.*
Decreyt, *decree.*
Decydit, *decided.*
Deid, *death*; deid, *died.*
Deidis, *deeds, or doings.*
Delatioun, *accusation.*
Delaytit, delatit, *accused, summoned.*
Demanit, *ill used.*
Denude, *resign, take away.*
Depesche, depeches, *dispatch, dispatches.*
Deponar, *deponent.*
Deposed, *laid down.*
Deprehended, *taken, apprehended.*
Derthing, *dearth, scarcity.*
Desone, *dozen.*
Desparat, *desperate, hopeless.*
Desyres, *desires.*
Dettis, *debts.*
Devulgatt, *divulged.*
Dey, *die.*
Dictament, *dictation.*
Dicton, *a motto, inscription.*
Din, *noise.*
Ding, *defeat, drive, overcome.*
Disaguisit, *disguised.*
Dispite, *grudge.*
Dispone, *dispose.*
Dissait, *deceit.*
Disseased, *died, deceased.*
Divagatioun, *wandering.*
Divulgat, *divulged.*
Dochtir, dowchter, *daughter.*
Domage, *damage.*
Dome, domme, *dumb.*
Dome, *doom.*
Dong, dung, *driven, beat down*; doung back, *driven back.*
Dontibouris.—Dr. Jamieson explains this, *probably courtezans.*
Dortour, *a sleeping place or dormitory.*
Dote, *dowry.*
Dotit, dotted, *endowed.*

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Doun-thring, *pull down, oppress.*
Doutis, *doubts.*
Doutit, *doubted.*
Dow (can), *can effect.*
Dowbill, *double, copy.*
Draw-brig, *draw-bridge.*
Drawin, *drawn.*
Dreddouris, *fears, terrors.*
Dress, *manage, prepare.*
Dressit, *addressed.*
Dryft of tyme, *lapse of time.*
Duck, *Duke.*
Duiris, duris, durris, *doors.*
Dule-weed, *mourning-garments.*
Dytit, *dictated.*
Dytement, *dittay, indictment.*
Dyke, *wall, fence.*

E

Effauld, anefald, *honest, sincere.*
Effayres, *affairs.*
Effectuous, *effectual.*
Effeiris, *concerns.*
Effeiris (as), *as accords.*
Effray, *confusion, fear.*
Effrayit, *afraid, frightened.*
Eftir, *after.*
Eik, eikit, *add, added.*
Eik (an), *an addition.*
Eikand, *adding.*
Eird, erd, *earth.*
Eirdit, *buried.*
Eirdly, *earthly.*
Eis, eyis, *eyes.*
Eit, *eat.*
Ellis, ells, *already, also.*
Embassade, *embassage.*
Eme, *uncle, kinsman.*
Emonge, emongis, *among, amongst.*
Empeach, empesch, *oppose, hinder.*
Empreasonment, *imprisonment.*
Ensenzie, *standard, banner.*
Enteress, *interest.*
Entres, *entrance, access.*
Ere, *before.*
Erst, *already.*
Eschape, *escape.*
Eschaipit, *escaped.*
Escheitts, *escheats.*
Eschewit, *avoided.*
Esperance, *hope, expectation.*
Espye, *perceive, to behold.*
Espyellis, *spies.*
Estaitis, *estates.*
Estimett, *esteemed.*
Evangell, *Gospel.*
Evinly, *fair, honest, equal.*
Ewest, *towards, nearest.*
Exerce, *exercise.*
Exonerit, *cleared, acquitted.*
Expone, *expose, explain.*
Exprimit, exprymit, *expressed, mentioned.*
Extingeise, *extinguish.*
Extrye, *axle-tree.*

F

Fader, *father.*
Fais, *foes.*
Falcone, *a cannon.*
Falsett, *falsehood.*
Fand, *found.*
Fard, *ardour, violence.*
Farder, *further.*
Fashous, *troublesome.*
Fassoun, *fashion.*
Faught, fawght, *fought.*
Feads, *feuds.*
Feallis, *dependants.*
Fecht, ficht, *fight.*

Digitized by Google

Feir, fere, feiris. *fear, fears.*
Fenzie, *feign.*
Fenzeit, *feigned, dissembled.*
Ferd, feird, *fourth.*
Ferses, *pageants.*
Fertour, *a little chest, or coffer.*
Fest, *fast.*
Figowreis, *figures, types.*
Flambis, flammes, *flames.*
Fleyed, *frightened.*
Flingaris, *dancers.*
Flyrt and flyre, *mock and deride.*
Fole, *foal.*
Foranent, *over-against.*
Forbearis, *ancestors.*
Forder, *promote, further, set forward.*
Forespake, foirspak, *foretold.*
Forgeit, *forged.*
Forgett, *forgotten.*
Forgevance, *forgiveness.*
Forrow, *foray.*
Forsamekill, *for as much.*
Forsuith, *truly, indeed, verily.*
Foryett, *forget, forgot.*
Foursum, *some four.*
Fowsee, fowsees, *foss, ditches.*
Frack, *bold, resolute;* maid frack, *made ready, prepared.*
Fracklie, *stoutly, boldly.*
Fray, *fright, panic.*
Frear, *friar.*
Freisit, *frozen.*
Fruct, fructis, *fruit, fruits.*
Fuillis, *fools.*
Fule, *fool.*
Fulische, *foolish.*
Furiouris, *scouts, also a foraging party.*
Fute, futt, *foot.*
Fye, fie, *fee.*
Fylit, *guilty.*

G

Ga, *go.*
Gadder, *gather.*
Gaitt, *street, or way.*
Galayis, gallayis, *galleys.*
Gamound, gawmound, *gambol.*
Gang, gangand, *went, going.*
Gangand against, *complaining of, opposing.*
Gangis, *goes, or leads to.*
Garneyshed, *adorned, garrisoned.*
Gar, gart, *made, compelled, caused.*
Garreson, *garrison.*
Gat, *got.*
Gawfe, *burst of laughter.*
Gear, *wealth, possessions.*
Gefe, geve, gif, *gave.*
Gernall, girnall, *granary.*
Gett, *bastard.*
Gevin, *gives.*
Gif, *if.*
Gin, *if.*
Glister, *lustre.*
Glondouris, *in a state of ill humour.*
Glowming, *frowning.*
Gluffis, *gloves.*
Goddis woundis, *a profane oath.*
Gois, *goes.*
Good-night, *to take farewell.*
Gracis, *graces.*
Graith, *harness, wares, furniture.*
Grandschir, *grandfather.*
Greis, *degrees.*
Greit, *salute.*
Greit, greitting, *weep, weeping.*
Greitness, *grandeur.*
Greitomlie, *greatly.*
Grit, *great.*
Gude, guidis, *good, goods.*
Gudlie, *conveniently.*

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Guitchir, *grandfather by the mother's side.*
Gyrth, *sanctuary.*

H

Habilitie, *ability, capacity.*
Hable, *able, qualified.*
Hackquebote, haquebute, *hagbut, a kind of short musket.*
Haif, *have.*
Haill, hoill, *whole.*
Hailsome, *wholesome.*
Haillely, *wholly.*
Haistyet, *made haste.*
Hait, haitterent, *hatred.*
Haldin, *held, detained.*
Halse, *throat.*
Hame, *home.*
Hamesuckin, *a law term for beating or assaulting a person within his own house.*
Happit, hoppid, *leaped, skipped.*
Hard, *heard.*
Hard-heidis, *name of a small coin.*
Harle, *drag, draw.*
Havand, *having.*
Hecht, *promised.*
Hechtis, *vows.*
Heich, *high.*
Heichar, *higher.*
Heid, *head.*
Heiranent, *therein.*
Heirfoir, *therefore.*
Helas, *alace.*
Helsumness, *wholesomeness, health.*
Helvetia, *Switzerland.*
Herbrie, *harbour.*
Herschip, hereschipe, *depredation, a plundering expedition.*
Hes, *has.*
Hie, *he.*
Hie, *high.*
Hie-gate, *high-street.*
Hingis, *hangs.*
Hipoticary, *apothecary.*
Hoggish, *harsh, swinish.*
Hoise, *hose.*
Hole, holesum, *whole, wholesome.*
Holy, hollie, *wholly.*
Homlock, *hemlock.*
Hoore, *whore.*
Hoppeit, *leaped.*
Horne, put to the horn, *denounced a rebel.*
Hot, *heat.*
Humill, humilly, *humble, humbly.*

I

Ilk, *every.*
Illuster, *illustrious.*
Impesch, *hinder, prevent.*
Impyre, *bear rule, govern.*
Incertaine, *uncertain.*
Inch, *small isle, or island.*
Incke, *ink.*
Incontinent, *forthwith.*
Incredulitie, *unbelief.*
Increse, *increase.*
Induration, *hardness.*
Indurat, indureit, *hardened, impenitent.*
Induring, *during.*
Inemitie, *enmity.*
Inflamb, *inflame.*
Inflambed, inflammed, *inflamed.*
Ingrait, *ungrateful.*
Ingynis, *ingenuity.*
Inhabill, *unable, disable.*
Inlaik, inlake, *deficient, want, absence.*

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Inquiett, *disquiet.*
Insamekill, *insomuch.*
Insew, *ensue.*
Intrappit, *insnared.*
Intromittit, *intrometted, meddled with.*
Intrused, *intruded.*
Irons (prenting), *instruments for coining.*
Ische, *the act of coming out, passing forth.*

J

Jacks, *quilted garments for defence, coat-of-mail.*
Jackmen, *armed followers.*
Jefwellis, *knaves, or a contemptuous expression, equivalent to "jail-bird," derived from* javel, jeffell, *jail or prison.*
Joiss, joyse, *enjoy.*
Jouk, *stoop down.*
Jow the bell, *toll the bell.*
Joyousite, *pleasure.*
Justifieing to the dead, *executed, put to death.*

K

Keching, *kitchen.*
Ken, *know.*
Kendillit, kendilled, *kindled.*
Kennand, *inticing, directing.*
Kepid, *kept.*
Ketterelles, *base fellows.*
Kirk, *church.*
Knapped, *struck.*
Knapscall, *a covering for the head, a head-piece.*
Knaw, *know.*
Knawlegand, *knowing.*
Knycht, *knight.*
Kow, *cow.*
Kyn, *kindred, kin.*
Kystis, *chests.*
Kythed, *shown, exhibited.*

L

Lack, laik, *want.*
Laif, *loaf.*
Laik, *want, deficiency.*
Laird, (*sometimes written* Lord,) *a landholder, under the degree of a Knight.*
Lakeing, *lacking, wanting.*
Lang, *long.*
Langis, *towards.*
Lapp up, *leaped up.*
Lap in, *leaped in.*
Lappit, *wrapped up, enclosed.*
Lassour, *leisure.*
Latt, *forbear.*
Lauchfull, *lawful.*
Lave, *leave.*
Lawis, *laws.*
Lawly, lawlie, *lowly.*
Lefull, leichfull, *lawful.*
Leif, *leave.*
Leif, as leif, *willing.*
Leill, *true, honest.*
Leis, *lyes.*
Leisingis, *falsehoods.*
Lentron, *time of Lent.*
Leprouse, *lepers, afflicted with leprosy.*
Less-age, *non-age, under-age.*
Lestand, *lasting.*
Lestit, *lasted.*
Lesum, *lawful.*
Lettin down, *let down.*

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Levand, *living.*
Levely, *lively.*
Lever, *rather.*
Levis, *lives.*
Leving, *living.*
Leyaris, *liars.*
Lichtness, *levity, merriment.*
Lifting, *exacting, levying.*
Limmis, *limbs.*
Lippin, *depend, rely upon.*
Lois, *loss.*
Loppin, *leapt.*
Lothesomness, *very loath, unwillingness.*
Loup, *leap.*
Loveabill, *laudable, allowable, lawful.*
Lovittis, *beloved.*
Lowsitt, *loosed.*
Ludgeit, *lodged.*
Lufe, luif, *love.*
Luifsome, *lovely.*
Luifer, *lover.*
Luik, *look.*
Luiking, *looking.*
Lyck, lyked, *lick, licked.*
Lycour, *liquor.*
Lyek, lyik, lycke, *like.*
Lyeff, lyff, *life.*
Lymmaris, *an opprobrious term, vagabonds.*
Lyne, *lain.*
Lytill, *little.*

M

Mack, maik, *make.*
Maid, *made.*
Maikis, *makes.*
Maill, *rent, duty.*
Mair, *more.*
Makand, *making.*
Malhure, malleure, *misfortune.*
Mallapert, *arrogant, presumptuous.*
Man, maun, *must.*
Manassingis, *menacings, threatenings.*
Mank, *deficient, imperfect.*
Manrent (bond of), *engagement of a vassal to his superior.*
Marcat-croce, *market-cross.*
Mark, merk, *a silver coin of the value of* 13*s.* 4*d. Scotish money, or* 1*s.* 1⅓*d. sterling.*
Marmouset, *a little monkey.*
Marrow, *mate, fellow, companion.*
Matynes, *matins, morning prayers.*
Meary, mearely, *merry, merrily.*
Meddill, *middle.*
Mekle, meikle, *much.*
Mell, *meddle.*
Mensworn, *perjured.*
Ment, *meant.*
Menzie, *crowd of followers.*
Met, *measure.*
Metar, *meeter, more proper.*
Minister, *administer.*
Minstrel, *musician.*
Minzeonis, *minions.*
Mirk, *dark.*
Mister, myster, *need.*
Mo, *more.*
Moder, *mother.*
Moist, *most.*
Mon, *must.*
Monifould, *manifold.*
Mony, *many.*
Morn, *next day.*
Morrion, *a steel cap or helmet.*
Mote, *may, might.*
Movit, *moved.*
Moyen, *interest, power.*

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Mummeris, *jesters.*
Murmour, *regret, murmur.*
Myddis, *midst.*
Mylnes, *mills.*
Mynded, *proposed.*
Mynt, *aim at, essay.*

N

Na, *no.*
Nakit, *naked.*
Namit, *named.*
Narrest, *nearest.*
Naturall, *disposition, affection.*
Ne, *nor.*
Neffis, *fists.*
Nevelling, *blows with the fists.*
Ney, *nigh.*
Nocht, *not.*
Nor, *than.*
Notour, *notorious, well known.*
Noumer, *number.*
Nowther, *nor, neither.*
Nuik, *corner.*
Nune, *noon.*
Nuriss, *nurse, also nourish.*
Nychtbour, *neighbour.*
Nychtis, *nights.*

O

Obleyst, *obliged.*
Oblissand, *obliging.*
Oblisse, *oblige.*
Of befoir, *frequently, oft before.*
Officiaris, *officers.*
Ofter, *often.*
Ones, *once.*
Onless, *unless.*
Ony, *any.*
Oppin, *open.*
Oppinit, *opened.*
Oppone, opponeing, *oppose, opposing.*
Or, *before.*
Oraison, *oration.*
Outher, *either.*
Oulk, *week.*
Oure, owre, *over.*
Over-thorte, *across.*
Owerluikit, *overlooked.*
Owerquhelm, *overwhelm.*

P

Pacocke, *peacock.*
Paip, *Pope.*
Palyeanis, *pavilions.*
Palzeoun, *pavilion.*
Pane, *pains, labour.*
Pannel, *a criminal, or person impeached.*
Pareiss, *parish.*
Parochinaris, *parishioners.*
Parson, *person.*
Pasche, *Easter.*
Pasche-evin, *Easter-eve.*
Pasementit, *laced.*
Patrocinye, *patronage.*
Patron, *skipper, master of a vessel.*
Pauckis, *cunning, sly practices, artifice.*
Paynis, *pains.*
Peir, pier, *equal.*
Peregryne, *stranger, foreigner.*
Phrenesy, *insanity, phrenzy.*
Pickis, *pikes.*
Pik, *pitch.*
Placeboes, *parasites, applauders.*
Plack, *a small coin, the third of a penny sterling.*
Plaiges, *pledges, hostages.*

Digitized by Google

Platt, *plan or model.*
Platt, *plot.*
Playnit, *complained.*
Pleinyeing, *complaining.*
Plenzeit, *complained.*
Pleuch, *plough.*
Pock, polkis, *bag, bags.*
Policy, *polity, form of government.*
Pollicie, *device.*
Portis, *posts, gates.*
Pose, poise, *hoard, money in store.*
Posted, postit, *sent, communicated.*
Postis, *messengers.*
Pottingar, *apothecary.*
Poulder, *powder.*
Practick, *practises.*
Praysit, *praised.*
Prease, *press.*
Preassit, *attempted.*
Prechouris, *preachers.*
Preichit, *preached.*
Preif, *proof.*
Presoneris, *prisoners.*
Prevented, *preceded, going before.*
Princes, *princess.*
Proclamit, *proclaimed.*
Proctours, *procurators, proxies.*
Proiffit, *proved.*
Promittis, *engages, promises.*
Proporte, *purport.*
Propyne, *offering.*
Propyned, *gift presented.*
Provents, *revenues.*
Provyd, *providing.*
Puir, pure, *poor.*
Puneist, punist, *punished.*
Pynouris, *workmen, pioneers.*

Q

Quatt, *quit, relinquish.*
Querrel, *quarrel, cause, interest.*
Quhair, *where.*
Quhairas, *whereas.*
Quhais, quhois, *whose.*
Quhame, *whom.*
Quharintill, *wherein.*
Quhat, *what.*
Quhidder, *whither.*
Quhilk, *which.*
Quhill, *until.*
Quhilum, *sometimes, deceased.*
Quhow, *how.*
Quhynger, *hanger, a short broad-sword.*
Quick, *living.*
Quitclaimis, *absolves, renounces.*

R

Raccompt, *account.*
Raid, *foray, border excursion.*
Raid, *rode.*
Rainzeis, *reins.*
Raiss, *rose.*
Rakeless, *rash.*
Rapper, *rapier.*
Rasit, *raised.*
Rawishe, *ravish.*
Rayd, *rode, or expedition.*
Reacomteris, *rencounters.*
Rebellours, *rebels.*
Reciproce, *reciprocal.*
Recklessnes, *rashness.*
Reclamit, *proclaimed.*
Recule, *recoil, fall back.*
Reculling, *falling back.*
Red, *read.*
Rede, *advice, counsel.*
Reft, *ravaged.*
Refusand, *refusing.*
Regardand, *regarding.*

Digitized by Google

Regentrie, *regency.*
Regiment, *government.*
Reid, *rode.*
Reif, *ravage, theft.*
Reifeit, *plundered.*
Remanent, *remainder.*
Remeid, *remedy.*
Remit, *remission.*
Repugn, *impugn.*
Resett, *receive, harbour.*
Resolute, *consonant, agreeable to.*
Ressait, *receipt.*
Ressavit, *received.*
Retearis, *retires.*
Revocalit, *recalled.*
Rewill, *rule.*
Rewyne, *ruin.*
Reyll, *reel, stagger.*
Ring, *reign.*
Rive, *tear, rend.*
Roose, *praise, commend.*
Roundit, *whispered.*
Roung, *reigned.*
Rowme, *place.*
Rowpit, *cracked.*
Rubberie, *robbery.*
Ruit, *root.*
Ruse, *boast.*
Rycht, *right.*
Rynnis, *runs.*
Ryped, *searched.*
Ryvar, ryvere, *river.*
Ryve, *tear.*

S

Sa, *so.*
Saccage, *spoil or pillage.*
Sacrate, *consecrated.*
Sackless, *guiltless.*
Sacklesslie, *innocently, without guile.*
Saddest, *very sad, or melancholy.*
Sair, *sore.*
Sait, *throne.*
Salfgard, *safeguard.*
Sall, *shall.*
Saltable, *open to assault.*
Samin, *same.*
Sanctis, *saints.*
Sark, *shirt.*
Saule, saulis, *soul, souls.*
Sawin, *sown.*
Scabruslie, *doubtfully.*
Scaillis, *scaling-ladders.*
Schaike, *shake.*
Schavellings, *a term of contempt applied to Churchmen having their heads shaved.*
Schaw, schawis, *show, shows.*
Schawin, *shown.*
Scho, *she.*
Schone, *shoes.*
Schopped, *chopped, struck.*
Schot, *shot.*
Schote, schuitt, *shoot.*
Schuik, *shook.*
Schybaldis, scybaldis, *mean, worthless fellows.*
Schyftis, *shifts.*
Sclait, sclaittis, *slate, slates.*
Scouparis, *skippers, dancers.*
Scrippit, *mocked, derided.*
Seallie, sely, *silly, helpless.*
Secritar, *secretary.*
Seidgit, *besieged.*
Seik, *sick.*
Seill, seillis, *seal, seals.*
Semblabile, *like.*
Sen, *then, thereafter.*
Sen, sensyne, *since.*
Send, *sent.*
Senzie, *synod, assembly.*

Digitized by Google

Serk, *shirt.*
Sers, *search.*
Servitouris, *servants, attendants.*
Sew, *saw, sow, disperse.*
Sey, *sea.*
Seym, *seem.*
Schir, *sir.*
Schored, *threatened.*
Schort space, *for a small way.*
Schyris, *shires, counties.*
Sic, sick, *such.*
Sicht, *sight.*
Sicklyke, *also.*
Side, *signifies long, when applied to wearing apparel.*
Sindered, *parted, separated.*
Singular, *single.*
Skaill, *disperse, separate.*
Skair, *fright.*
Skairse, *scarce.*
Skaith, *harm, prejudice, hurt, damage.*
Skaithless, *blameless, harmless.*
Skarslie, *sparingly.*
Skeife, *powerful, well provided? probably from* skaff, *food, provision.*
Skooft, *mocked, scoft.*
Skrimpled, *scorched.*
Skruiff, *applied to money that is both thin and base.*
Slap, slop, *breach or broken.*
Slepand, *sleeping.*
Slockened, *quenched.*
Slogorne, *war-cry.*
Smaikis, *mean, pusillanimous fellows.*
Smored, *smothered.*
Smote, *blot or stain.*
Smyrk, *smile.*
Snapparis, *stumbles.*
Sned, *pruned, lopped off.*
Snouttis, *heads, beaks of vessels.*
Socht, *sought.*
Soldartis, *soldiers.*
Solempn, *solemn.*
Solempnizat, *solemnized.*
Solist, *solicitous, careful, eager.*
Solistaris, *solicitors.*
Soliste, *solicite.*
Somer, *summer.*
Sone, *soon.*
Sone, *sun.*
Sonnar, sonner, *sooner.*
Sowmis, soumeis, *sums.*
Sowp, souppit, *sup, supped.*
Sowped, souppit, *swept.*
Sowtar, *shoemaker.*
Spack, *spake.*
Spanes, *Spanish.*
Sparsit, sparsed, *spread abroad, circulated.*
Speirit, *asked, inquired.*
Speris, *spears.*
Splentis, *armour for the legs.*
Sponk, *spark.*
Spreat, Spreit, *the Holy Spirit.*
Spulzie, *spoils.*
Spulzeit, spuilzeid, *spoiled, plundered.*
Spune, *horn-spoon.*
Spurtill, *a wooden stick used for stirring pottage when boiling.*
Stableis, *establish.*
Stabillis, *stables.*
Stall, *stole.*
Stammered, *staggered, or thrown down.*
Stane, stainis, *stone, stones.*
Stark, *strong.*
Stark money, *good coin.*
Stay, *hindrance.*

Digitized by Google

Steik, *shut.*
Steikand, *shutting.*
Steir thair taills, *bestir themselves.*
Sticked, *run through.*
Stogged, *stabbed.*
Stoir, *store.*
Stoole, stuill, *pulpit.*
Stope, *hindrance.*
Stowth, *theft.*
Stracking saill, *shortening sail.*
Strakis, straikis, *blows.*
Strang, *strong.*
Strowit, *covered, strewed.*
Stryck, *strike.*
Strykin—the field was strykin, *fought, the battle was fought.*
Sturt, *disturbance, grief, trouble.*
Styff (haldeth), *holdeth fast.*
Stylit, *stiled, designed.*
Sua, *so.*
Subdittis, *subjects.*
Subscryve, *subscribe.*
Subscrivit, subscryving, *subscribed, subscribing.*
Suddartis, *soldiers.*
Sueir, *swear.*
Suir, *sure.*
Suld, *should.*
Sum, *some.*
Sumquhat, *somewhat.*
Suppostis, *followers, adherents.*
Surfett, *surface.*
Suyttis, suytit, *suits, solicited.*
Suyting, *soliciting.*
Swash, *a drum.*
Sweard, sweardis, *sword, swords.*
Swongeoris, *drones, sluggards.*
Swynge, *rule.*
Syndre, *sundry.*
Syne, *afterwards.*
Sythense, *since.*

T

Tabornes, *tabors.*
Tack, *take.*
Tackin, taikin, *taking.*
Taigill, *retard, hinder, entangle.*
Take, *taken.*
Takinnis, taikinnis, *tokens.*
Takkis, *leases.*
Tanted, *taunted, reproached.*
Tants, *taunts.*
Targetting of thair tailles, *bordering their gowns with tassels.*
Tarie, *stay.*
Teiris, *tears.*
Tendernes of blood, *proximity of blood.*
Teythes, *tythes.*
Thai, *they.*
Thairfoir, *therefore.*
Thairfrae, *from thence.*
Thak, *thatch.*
Tham, *them.*
Thare, thair, *there.*
Thei, *these.*
Theiranent, *thereabout.*
The self, *itself.*
Thinkand, *thinking.*
Thir, *these.*
Thocht, *though, although.*
Thole, thoill, thoillis, *suffer, undergo, endures.*
Thrall, *enslave, overcome.*
Thriddis, thrid, *third, third part.*
Thrist, thristit, *longing, desired.*
Throcht, throwght, *through.*
Thrustit, *thirsted.*
Thyne, *thence.*
Tickattis, *placards.*
Till, *to, unto.*
Tint, *lost.*

Digitized by Google

Tirrit, *teased, stript.*
Tolbouth, *the prison, also the place where sometimes the Courts of Justice sat.*
Toome, tume, *empty.*
Tor of the chyre, *arm of the chair.*
Towartis, *towards, to.*
Traist, *trust.*
Trap, *entrap.*
Travailled, *endeavoured, laboured.*
Trawall, travaill, *travel.*
Treatie, *treatise.*
Tressoun, *treason.*
Trow, *believe.*
Tryist, *appointment.*
Tryit, *tryed.*
Trynschis, *trenches.*
Trysting, *appointing.*
Tuck, tuick, *took.*
Tuich, tueich, *touch.*
Turnpike, *winding stairs.*
Turse, *carry,* (*in bundles or turses.*)
Tweiched, tweiching, *touched, touching.*
Tweich-stone, *touch-stone.*
Tykis (mastif), *mastiff dogs.*
Tymmer, *timber.*
Tymous, *betimes, early.*
Tyne, *lose,*
Tynsall, *loss.*
Tynt, *lost.*
Tyran, *tyrant.*
Tytillis, *titles.*

U

Umquhill, *late, deceased.*
Uncunzeit, *uncoined.*
Underly, *lie under, undergo.*
Understand, *understood.*
Unhap, *unhappy, unhappiness.*
Unhappe, *misfortune, mischance.*
Unknawin, *unknown.*
Unleisum, *unlawful.*
Upfall, *what casts up, an incident.*
Uphald, *uphold.*
Utermaist, *uttermost.*
Utheris, *others.*
Uttermost prick, *extreme point, the smallest iota.*
Utwith, *without.*

V

Vaik, vaking, *vacant.*
Valable, *valid.*
Valour, *value.*
Veray, verray, *very.*
Veseit, *visited.*
Vincust, *vanquished.*
Visie, *visit.*
Vissorne, *mark.*
Vivaris, viweris, *provisions, victuals.*
Voce, voces, *voice, voices.*
Voit, *vote.*

W

Wadset, wodset, *mortgaged.*
Wae, *sorrowful, grieved.*
Wait, God wait, *wot, God knows.*
Walkryfe, *watchful, careful.*
Walkynit, walknit, *awaked out of sleep.*
Wan, *did win.*
Wan-weird, *bad or ill fortune.*
Wappinis, *weapons.*
War, *were.*
War, *worse.*
Wardill, warld, *world.*
Wardit, *in ward or custody.*

Digitized by Google

Wark, *work.*
Was, *in the singular number oftentimes for were.*
Wat-nocht, *understood not.*
Wayit, *weighed, considered.*
Wecht, *weight.*
Wedder, *weather.*
Weddir, *sheep.*
We do you wit, *know ye.*
Weill, weall, *well, welfare.*
Weris, *wars.*
Wes, *was.*
Weseing, *visiting, viewing.*
Weyit, *weighed, considered.*
Whais, *whose.*
While, whill, *until.*
Whilk, *which.*
Whill, a while, *for a time.*
Whinger, *a short broad-sword.*
Whyder, *whether.*
Wief, wieffis, *wife, wives.*
Wirk, *work.*
Wirking, *working.*
Wirschep, *worship.*
Wissit, *wished.*
Witt, wyte, *blame.*
Wod, *mad.*
Wold, *would.*
Wolter, *overturn.*
Wousche, *washed.*
Wowaris, *wooers.*
Wraitt, wrett, *wrote.*
Wrak, *wrong, undoing.*
Wretar, *writer.*
Wrocht, *wrought.*
Wyif, *wife.*
Wynd, wind, *street, lane.*
Wyndock, *window.*
Wyning, *gaining.*
Wyrk, *work.*
Wyrschipping, *worshipping.*
Wyseit, wysit, *visited, viewed.*
Wyte, *blame.*

Y

Yaird, *yard.*
Ydill, *idle.*
Ye, *ye, you, yea.*
Yea, *yea.*
Yead, yeid, *went.*
Yeid, *went.*
Yeiris, *years.*
Yerne, yrn, *iron.*
Yett, yettis, *gate, gates.*
Yett, yit, *yet.*
Yle, *isle, island.*
Yillis (the), *the Isles.*
Yneuche, ynewcht, *enough.*
Yond syd, *the other side.*
Ypocreit, *hypocrite.*
Ys, *is.*
Yscheare, *usher.*
Ytt, *it.*
Yule, Youle, Yuile, *Christmas.*

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